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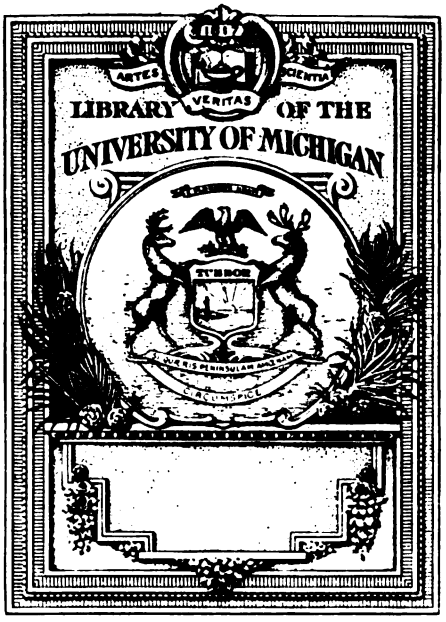
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WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REV. JOHN ENGLAND,

FIRST BISHOP OF CHARLESTON,

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED

UNDER THE ADVICE AND DIRECTION OF HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSOR,

THE RIGHT REV. IGNATIUS ALOYSIUS REYNOLDS,

AND PRINTED FOR HIM,

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

"Remember your Prelates, who have spoken the word of God to you."—Heb. xiii. 7.
"He shall show forth the discipline he hath learnt, and glory in the Covenant of the Lord: many shall praise his wisdom, and it shall never be forgotten."—Eccl. xxxix. 11, 12.

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PART IV.

(CONTINUED.)

DISCOURSES, PASTORAL LETTERS, ADDRESSES, AND ORATIONS.

ORATION,

DELIVERED ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

ON WEDNESDAY THE 9TH OF MAY, 1832, IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. FINBAR, IN THE CITY OF CHARLESTON, BY THE RIGHT REV. DR. JOHN ENGLAND, BISHOP OF CHARLESTON, A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY:—An ample apology is due to you from him whom your partiality has honoured with the station of your orator. It conveys to his mind a reprimand, when he recollects that anniversaries have been suffered to pass since his appointment, without his having discharged the duty which you were kind enough to impose, and he was so inadvertent as to undertake. He can only urge in extenuation, the serious accession of pressing and indispensable duties which necessarily caused his absence from the city on those occasions, and the uninterrupted occupations that scarcely left him a moment for devotion to an object which, however important and estimable, he was obliged to view as only of secondary value.

However accustomed he is to appear in public on other occasions, he is free to avow, that at present he is sensible of labouring under great disadvantages. There was indeed a period when he was somewhat familiar with the topics of which he undertakes to treat; but he has now experimental conviction, that comparative disuse, the withdrawal of his mind to different subjects and a number of other circumstances have combined to render the task which he endeavours to discharge, far more difficult than he could have supposed. He trusts, therefore, to the indulgence of his friends for the imperfection of the attempt now made to meet their wishes.

In reflecting upon the subjects of which he might most beneficially treat, it struck him, that as the great object of the Society was the promotion of literature and philosophy, he would best assist in its attainment, by giving his views, humble and imperfect as they must be, and rendered more imperfect by reason of the little time which he could give to their arrangement and development, upon the importance of a regular classical education as one of the most effectual means of cultivating literary taste, and then by examining some of the difficulties that obstructed philosophical improvement, for the purpose of ascertaining the way in which aid might be given for the cultivation of science.

That learning is useful for the purpose of perfecting civilized society, has been so frequently repeated, and so generally and unhesitatingly received as a maxim, that no

one would be found to question its truth. But probably one of the greatest evils which accompanies the spontaneous assent to evident propositions is, that being generally couched in universal terms, their expression becomes ambiguous; and whilst words are preserved, ideas may be lost. Would it not then be desirable, sometimes to revert to those maxims in order to fix their meaning by elucidating their phraseology?

Literature has usually been considered under a twofold aspect: speculative and practical; whilst the former merely regards abstract truth, the latter applies it to our concerns. I am inclined to believe that there exists much less of merely speculative learning than is generally supposed, and, that what frequently receives this appellation, is but the appropriate basis upon which is raised the great superstructure of that which is practical. If I be correct in this view, it will greatly narrow the inquiry which I propose to make. Allow me, therefore, to illustrate by example, rather than to establish by theory, what will, I trust, justify me in assuming this position.

The demonstrations of mathematics and the calculations of algebra would, by several persons, be instantly denominated speculative; and even some might be found who would call their study idle: but abandon them, and see how much practical knowledge you destroy! The surveyor, the engineer, the architect, the ship-builder, and many others, will immediately experience the most sensible checks in their several pursuits. The observations of the heavens, the calculation of the paths of the planets, of the distances of the stars, their magnitude, relation and position, would seem to have little influence upon the ordinary avocations of busy life; it might specially be supposed that they have no connexion whatever with mercantile transactions; yet it is clear, that the science of navigation depends chiefly upon astronomy, and the interchange of commodities is carried on through navigation: and thus, much of the profit derived by the modern active merchant from the facilities of our age, has been remotely created by the researches of some secluded, contemplative sage whose bones have mouldered in former centuries, either in Chaldea or in Egypt. How well may we compare the results of learning to the action of the human frame! We can seldom detect the original source, and we are altogether ignorant of the principle of motion; so the great bulk of men observe clearly the continued effects of causes which to them are totally unknown. Place the rude canoe and a steam frigate side by side; erect the wigwam upon the area of the capitol; bring the accomplished surgeon or the reflecting physician to the desolate child of the forest, who lies mangled or gasping near the uncouth weapon of the chase; send a competent master on board of that vessel, to bring joy and safety to an exhausted crew, who since the loss of their leader have been worn down by exertion and fatigue, sailing in a variety of directions, unable to make any harbour, and totally ignorant as to whither they have been driven. In all these cases, the utility of practical learning will be admitted; but in most of those instances the knowledge which confers the unquestioned benefit is evidently founded upon what many persons have designated abstract or speculative science.—But I will go farther and will not hesitate to say, that in nearly all the ordinary concerns of life, this science produces the most beneficial effects, without vainly exhibiting its agency; whilst we, who have lived only in polished or civilized society, view those very effects as the results of unaided nature; just as those Eastern beings, who have never gone beyond the precincts of their own palaces and gardens, and upon whose presence even the cultivator or the artist must not intrude, can form no idea of what aspect the uncultivated mountains would present; nor of the labour and industry that have been expended to produce those scenes with which they have always been familiar, and which they regard as being natural.

It might be then inquired whether there exists any merely speculative science, that is, any which is not applicable to the common purposes of life. I am inclined to believe that there does not. My conclusion is founded upon a view of particulars, and in this view, I think that I embrace all necessary to make the enumeration perfect. Let us chiefly take up what are usually designated as the learned professions.

Law should be considered under its twofold aspect, legislation, or the creation of appropriate rules of conduct, together with their sanction; and judgment, or the application of those laws, as well by the enforcement of the rule as by the punishment of the offender. Here life, liberty, property, public peace, private security, and a great variety of the principal concerns of man in his earthly career, are deeply and perpetually implicated. Besides that severe mental discipline and habitual restraint which arise from a good education and a regular exercise of the superior faculties, a nice power of discrimination, extensive acquaintance with ancient legal enactments of the several civilized nations, the circumstances which

called them into existence, their mode of operation, the knowledge of how far they proved remedial or useful, by what means they degenerated or became injurious, perverted, or abused, will be at least highly desirable; to which should be added, familiarity with their history, as also the intimate observation of the actual state of society, and generally of the human character. It must be confessed that here there is much of what is usually called practical, rather than speculative science. But to converse beneficially with the ancient legislators and moralists, we must speak their language. It is true, that an interpreter might be employed; but which of us would feel himself justified, under the pretext of having a translator, and saving more time to study facts in preference to words, by neglecting the study of those languages which had during centuries been used in the republic of letters, to restrict his intercourse with the most distinguished citizens of the civilized world? But if we give the principle to which I here allude its full play, we shall not have left to us even the interpreter himself; since if the acquisition of languages be a waste of time, no person should be encouraged to extravagance! Whatever my respect might be for gentlemen who think differently, I am clearly of opinion, that a perfect knowledge of the ancient languages is required for the study of ancient documents and of ancient history, and that such learning is far from being unnecessary for an accomplished legislator. It is to him the experience of several ages.

It is, not unfrequently, urged against this position, that we have seen in these republics, many instances of great men who have well discharged their duty without these aids. I do not question the truth of the assertion; but my inference would be, that they would have done better, had they been so aided. It is added, that men of this description have, in some instances, outstripped those of classical attainments. I would only reply, that with the help of those attainments, they would have gone farther. I am equally far from supposing that what is useful is all-sufficient, as I am from imagining that every rule is without an exception, or that a prodigy is an ordinary production. As well might it be argued, that the improvements which produce speed and comfort in our packets are useless, because our rivers and our seas were passed before their introduction. I have arrived then at the conclusion, that for the legislator the perusal of ancient documents is extremely valuable; and that as they can be best understood in their original phraseology, the study of the languages in which they are written is not, for him, a mere speculative engagement, but a useful portion of practical literature.

The judicial application of the law requires all the critical qualifications of the legislator in a more perfect degree, because, for this purpose the object and meaning of the statute or custom must be perfectly comprehended: not only must its principles be appreciated, but the fair exceptions should be known with equal accuracy as the rule itself: the judge should be familiar with the great maxims of evidence, by whose aid facts will be clearly developed and placed in their proper and precise station, for the purpose of learning how far they come under the operation of the enactment. Nor can the jurist who is to arrange and bring his case under the observation of the court, be less able to make that disposition of his materials without serious injury to the client, who, relying upon his capacity, has placed his interests in his hands. How much then, of what is thoughtlessly called speculative learning, is of absolute practical necessity to the sages of the bench, and the members of the bar? He who will make ancient language and ancient history his study, and will look patiently to their mutual aid for their mutual explanation, will discover treasures of ancient lore, which the half-informed pronounce, hastily, to be barbarism, because in a different state of society from that to which we are accustomed, they aptly provided for the public weal, by remedies which would be equally unsuited to our circumstances, as our regulations would be inapplicable to the customs of that age. Their laws and ours, like the coin of different nations, bear different devices and unlike inscriptions, but each is plate or bullion; and he who possesses both is richer than is the one who in fastidious self-sufficiency flings either away. Certainly, he who could acquire coin of only one description, would act prudently in preferring that which is current where he sojourns: and if the contracted mind or the curtailed opportunities of a professional man compelled him to be satisfied with only an alternative; the language which is now used, and the laws now in force demand his preference; but if his leisure and opportunities will allow him to extend his studies, the added wealth of ancient times will better qualify him for enacting, for expounding, and for applying the provisions of the law to the circumstances by which he is surrounded.

Let us view the requisite qualifications for a useful member of the medical faculty, or for an accomplished and scientific sur-

geon. Besides that power of acute perception with which as a kind of instinct, a man might be specially gifted, so as almost intuitively to detect the seat, the nature, and the extent of a disease, it is highly desirable that the mind should have been so disciplined, as to avoid the hasty conclusions to which an overweening and too confident self-sufficiency would rush. The general and usual diagnostics are greatly modified by the habits of the individual, by the influence of climate, by the period of life, by the previous treatment, and by a number of other peculiarities, which vary to an indefinite extent. If the truth of the admonition *festina lente* can be more usefully practical in any one case than another, it is here. Genius, decision, and action quick as thought, can often do much for life and health; but unfortunately, they may also by one mistake, fix the irrevocable doom of the patient. It is not by the knowledge of the names of diseases, and of their usual stages; it is not by the repetition of the vocabulary of a dispensary, and an acquaintance with some of the chief properties of drugs; it is not from the hasty, wanton mangling of a decaying subject, and possessing a general notion of the uses of bones, muscles, and vessels, that correct and useful medical skill is acquired. No; it is by the laborious investigation of a clear, calm, and cautious mind. No reading can supply the want of judgment, but no power of judgment will avail much, without facts upon which its decisions may be formed. An original and distinct perception united to deliberate reflection and steady habit of observation form the best foundation for useful healing knowledge: and every mode by which these faculties can be improved, is an important branch of previous education.

I would here ask, whether, generally speaking, the mind is prepared to receive the seeds of science by what is usually known as ordinary school discipline. I know not much the opinion of others, but I have formed my own. I would unhesitatingly say, No! And my impression is, that it would be just as reasonable for the planter to expect a superior crop from an unprepared soil as it would be to look for medical or surgical proficiency, from the attendance upon lectures by a half-educated youth, let his abilities be what they may. Whoever, either from his own experience or the testimony of others, is acquainted with the progress of knowledge amongst students, must at once concede, that even the best-prepared tyro in science will lose at the commencement far more than is usually supposed, from the mere inability of an untrained mind to comprehend the views, or to keep pace with the strides of an experienced proficient. We are the creatures of individual habit; no speculative observation will supply the place of training; it will certainly do much to improve the observer; but it will never, even in a moderately remote degree, be equally beneficial. It is true, you may sometimes meet with apparent exceptions to this rule, but I apprehend, that upon examination they will not be found such in reality. As there are men of great natural strength of body, of well-regulated courage and extraordinary agility, who will always be an overmatch for the best-trained individuals of puny frame and nervous debility; so in the literary world, there are those to whom God has given great mental energy, but to which power man has added little cultivation; such persons will always surpass these others, upon whom great human labour has been comparatively lost, because the Creator has withheld the necessary share of capacity. I need not, with you, dwell upon the impropriety of raising a sophism upon this fact. I believe you will agree with me, that they whom this delusion could influence, are not of the race of intellectual giants. Yet, in a community like ours, where there exists a general ambition to obtain the honours and emoluments of the learned professions in the shortest possible time, with the least possible expenditure, and only that quantity of exertion which will barely suffice, there must always be a disposition to dispense, as far as possible, with extensive preparatory education. When we add to this, that self-love which in every individual, creates partiality and great esteem for ourselves and for all our connexions; and take into account a propensity to draw conclusions rather from possibilities and the imaginary fitness of things, than from observation and fact, we need not be surprised at the prevalent disposition to dispense with altogether, or greatly to curtail, those preliminary modes of mental exercise which discipline the understanding and regulate the judgment; we need not be astonished, that by several persons, the information which I would call practically useful will be denominated speculative. Under this head, I would class especially, mathematical, arithmetical, and metaphysical reasoning. The mind thus prepared, will be more powerful, more attentive, more patient, more discriminating, and more expert. The attendance upon a single course of scientific lectures by a person thus prepared, will generally be far more beneficial than the

same course thrice attended by the same person, without this previous exercise.

Medicine is a more extensive school than that of law. Every observation which I have made regarding the utility of the dead languages to the lawyer, will apply with at least equal force in this school. It is in those languages that one will best converse with the great fathers of the science; it is in those peculiar idioms of which no translation can convey the spirit that yet dwells in the original, that the very soul of the master is discovered. The structure and organization of the human frame is everywhere the same: and the science of healing its diseases is one of universal interest. Wherever the victim of the original malediction is found, whether at the equator or near the pole, in China, in California, upon the Mississippi, the Ganges, the Danube, or the Nile; in the monarch's palace, or in the Arab's tent; whether he discourses in the halls of the academy, or encounters the lion or the panther in the recesses of the forest, or under the open canopy of heaven; whatever be the tinge of his complexion, or the quality and form of his vesture, he is equally a child of Adam, and not only bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, but moreover liable to all those disorders which that flesh is heir to. The necessity of studying and remedying or alleviating those disorders is, and has always been, and will always continue to be, a universal and an important concern. The subject of those disorders being then, everywhere the same, and the attention of so many persons of various nations and ages having been given to the improvement of the science of healing, nothing can be more beneficial, or desirable, or proper, than that the good men so employed should possess the faculty of communicating with ease and precision to their brethren throughout the world, the useful discoveries which they make; and thus rapidly give to each individual of the fraternity the benefit derived from the experience of the whole body. This can only be continued as it has heretofore been effected, by the preservation of a common language, the meaning of whose terms is not liable to change, and which is more or less prevalent through the regions of science and civilization, all over the universe. In this view I fearlessly assert, that an accurate and extensive knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, so far from being speculative or unnecessary literature, is essential for the preservation and perfection of medical knowledge and surgery.

Allow me to add one other observation. The names of drugs, of chemical, mineral and botanical productions, of which such extensive use is made, are, I may say, altogether in those languages, and certainly the vernacular appellations of substances in one region would be unintelligible in another; and whosoever would profit by foreign research, or turn the discovery of another to account, must be at least acquainted with the tongue in which he speaks. The acquisition by all, then, of a few common languages, so far from being a useless waste of time and labour, is to the physician the saving of both: because it relieves him from the necessity of acquiring several new dialects, that he may converse with men of science; or, in case of neglect, he cannot profit by their labours, he must have his knowledge greatly abridged, he must be dependent upon his own experience and that of the comparatively small number by whom he is surrounded. In fact the want of such a medium of scientific intercourse would be equivalent to a professional exclusion of each nation from the remainder of the universe. And what would now add to this evil, is the fact that the present nomenclature is to those who are critically acquainted with the languages, an extremely well-regulated mode of instantly and exactly bringing several useful and important facts, regarding the nature of diseases and remedies, before the mind with the lightest possible tax upon the memory. Thus, to the physician, the labour of a few years in childhood is, in fact, the economy of a large portion of his after life, and the greatest aid to his accuracy in practice. For him a large portion of what is hastily called speculation is the basis of truly practical knowledge.

My own peculiar situation, as well as the state of our religious society, preclude the detail regarding the science of theology. I shall merely observe that nearly all the principles that have been applied respecting the two professions which I have reviewed, are equally of force here. I shall make but a single statement regarding that science in the church to which I belong: and in doing so, I would not be understood to insinuate any contrast to any other society, but merely to testify a fact for the purpose of sustaining the conclusion which I am anxious to support. In our view, the science of theology does not, in the whole system of revealed religion, recognise a single speculative opinion, but views the entire as a collection of facts, whose truth is to be ascertained by the most strict application of the ordinary rules of evidence. Supposing them to have been thus demonstrated, it considers every one of them to have an important bearing, not only upon the moral conduct of man in

this transitory world, but upon his happiness or misery in that which is eternal. Thus we assume that in what is called speculative or dogmatical theology there does not exist one merely speculative opinion. The church itself is considered as a numerous society, whose discipline is law, one portion of which is a constitution that is considered permanent and unchangeable, another portion consists of statutes enacted by the universal legislature for the universal body, or by the local authorities for their particular districts. The enactment, repeal, amendment, and application of those laws must be governed by the same principles that regulate all other descriptions of correct legislation and judgment. However, upon this topic I do not wish to proceed farther, nor indeed is it necessary for my present purpose; I only desired to show that in each of the learned professions the usual classical education was an exceedingly useful preparation for the professional study itself; and I believe that I have made a sufficiently extensive enumeration, with observations calculated to show that, in preparing for the learned professions at least, what is too generally pronounced to be speculative literature is but the proper foundation for that which is truly practical.

I do not undertake to defend the abuses of the schools, or of systems, nor to deny that there did exist a very injudicious mode of what was called "sharpening the mind," by habituating it to distinguish when there existed no ground for distinction; to affect doubt, where not only was common sense satisfied, but one would scarcely find room to thrust the other ingredients of a syllogism between the plain maxim and the palpable conclusion: neither will I make common cause with those superlatively ingenious disputants, who demanded, for maxims, proof beyond the universal testimony of common sense; and who would set up the assumed possibility of a doubt as of sufficient weight to counterbalance an ascertained fact. It is true that, at a former period, the schools of Europe trained up many of their students in an excess of this mode of exercise; it is true that the technical phraseology which they used was harsh and barbarous. But it is equally true, though perhaps it is unfashionable to make the statement, that many of the persons who in those days had to contend with disadvantages which we might imperfectly describe but can never feel, have left us the evidence of the prowess which was then in existence. This is not the place, nor this the occasion, to say how many of the productions of those times have perished, like the glories of ancient Egypt, leaving but a few heavy pyramids and some splendid ruins to testify, amidst the lasting desolation, that before the day of wreck there was an age of genius.

During centuries, the way to the temple of literature has been through the halls of the ancients, and the languages of the republic of science have been principally the Greek and Roman; especially and more generally the latter. They who have been eminent in these great departments of knowledge, were made familiar with these tongues by their early and assiduous conversation amongst the classic authors. As it has sometimes happened that a nation has been assailed with the arms furnished from her own arsenal; so has the study of the classics been chiefly, and most formidably and adroitly, decried by men whose minds were amply furnished from these extensive and varied stores. We have occasionally, it is true, beheld some gigantic warrior, careless of discipline, untutored in tactics, and despising evolutions, rush boldly into the fight, and spread destruction and terror for a time: the contusions of his uncouth mace gave to the carcasses of his victims an appearance even more horrid than that of death: but when the first emotions subsided and his manner was observed, how easily was he overcome? The transient success which he obtained was the result of the mighty force with which he had been originally gifted, and the unusual mode in which he made his assault: but had he added to his natural prowess the advantages of discipline, how much more formidable would he have been? The war-cry of such a combatant excited attention; an unusual interest was felt on his behalf; in his own person, he for a time seemed to furnish a practical illustration of the soundness of his cause. Yet, I would ask, to what are we to attribute that suggestion which is continually urging the observer to make considerable allowance in favour of such men because of their want of regular education; if it be not a universal concession that the mind thereby prepared is made therefore superior? For why should anything be conceded because of the neglect of classical education, if the want of that disciplinary course be not a manifest disadvantage?

The principal objection of those who would discontinue the study of the ancient classics, is the alleged waste of time. They thus assume the very point at issue, that the time is wasted. They attempt to prove the waste by the new assumption that no advantage is derived from the study. I

have endeavoured to show that the advantages were very great indeed. Conceding them to be great, they assert that the time and the means consumed are beyond the value of the acquisition. To sustain this position, they assume that the whole period during which the study of those authors is continued, the students have little or no other occupation. Such, however, is not the fact. This is not the place to enter into details, but it will easily be perceived that in a well-regulated course, though the classics appear to be the principal, because the prominent objects, yet there are a multitude of others which, as an aggregate, equal, if they do not exceed, the quantity that occupies the foreground. It is stated that the time given to this useless occupation would be better devoted to more practical studies which are omitted on its account. I apprehend the argument would be found quite defective if it were required to specify, on one side, what the more practical omitted studies are; and then the occupations of a judiciously arranged course of education were exhibited in contrast; for not only would the object of these particular studies be found not omitted, but it would be seen that their perfect attainment was facilitated by the very means which were said to impede their acquisition.

Objections have frequently been made to the works used in the acquirement of those languages. They are said to be calculated to pervert the judgment, to delude and corrupt the imagination, and to taint the heart; perhaps I would be more accurate in saying that the allegation is, they tend to confirm its depravity. Were either of these statements sustained by evidence, I trust our society would be one of the last to encourage the destruction of the mental powers, or to ruin the eternal prospects of the children of Carolina; and if the classic authors usually read in schools were fitted to ends so mischievous, we would, indeed, be criminal in the highest degree by continuing or by encouraging their use. But let us not too hastily decide.

I know it is fashionable to decry almost the whole body of those men whom the civilized world, during ages, has regarded as learned. Men who have never read a page of their works have passed judgment upon them; persons who do not understand their language have furnished essays upon their demerits; they who know nothing of either the peculiarities of their situation, the circumstances of the nations in which they lived, the genius of their age, or the objects they had in view, have condemned them. For some it was convenient, for others it was easy; where the bold and the reckless lead the way, and some of the leaders are distinguished, it becomes as facile as it is fashionable, for the multitude to follow: and he who hesitates is perhaps undervalued. We can easily observe how the great bulk of mankind is led along in fashion, in party, in taste, in politics, in amusement. Boldness, perseverance, zeal, and tact in turning favourable circumstances to account, will generally insure success. Hence, though it be fashionable amongst a large class of our modern writers to cast obloquy upon the genius and acquirements of from twelve to fifteen centuries, the individual who addresses you must be permitted to say that he cannot unite in the vituperation. His own vision may be imperfect, or it may be that he mistakes the phantoms of imagination for the realities of life; and if it be a misfortune, he is unfortunate in common with a large portion of the great lights of our latter age; men in whose track he is proud to follow at a mighty distance. Though he be not "habituated to swear to the words of any master," yet he pays great deference to the united judgment of the learned men of every age and every nation of the civilized world: and, with very few exceptions, they have, by their precepts and their practice, exhibited the classic authors of Greece and Rome as the most correct models upon which to form the judgment of the literary student. To the mind's eye of him who stands before you, these witnesses appear venerable on both sides of the Bosphorus; rising up in the more polished parts of Asia, upon the continent and in the islands of Greece, spread along the northern coast of Africa, as also through Italy, Gaul, and Spain, during some centuries. It is true that the brilliancy of this scene was, for a time, overshadowed by the clouds of the tempestuous North, and the desolating East. But as the atmosphere became attenuated, the beams of knowledge again diffused their cheering influence. Much has been swept away by the ruinous flood; but the cultivation became more widely extended, many of the former regions of science again produce their flowers and their fruits: Britain, Germany, and even Scandinavia herself became mellowed and fertile. In all those places, the classic authors have been principally used for the direction of the judgment and the improvement of the taste: here, too, does he find many witnesses, and their succession continues. They appear also respectable and comparatively numerous at our side of the Atlantic. And though the speculative mind should indulge the inquiry as to the mode in which they aid

the judgment and improve the taste, and should declare itself unsatisfied with the philosophy of the explanation; yet the fact would not be the less obvious, and its nearly universal admission might be reasonably considered as good evidence as that which we have of our power of motion, though some abstruse investigators might be disposed to question the existence of even this too, as they can discover neither its origin or process.

Will not the architect be greatly improved by the study of the ancient models? Does not the painter eagerly review the productions of former masters? Would the works of Phidias or of Praxiteles be useless to the sculptor? It is true, he might employ himself beneficially in contemplating those of Canova, of Thorwaldsen, and of Chantry: but why should even the torsos and fragments of former ages be cast away? Will the jurist make no useful acquirement, by studying the disused or the repealed code, or the obsolete pleadings of his mighty predecessors? Though he should not find them obviously applicable to his immediate purposes, yet will they expand his mind, extend his views, confirm his knowledge of principles, and render him more acute in the investigation and arrangement of his facts. Thus will he be better qualified to turn to useful account the science that bears upon the very business in which he is engaged. The study of these ancient authors is not only useful to guide the judgment, and to correct the taste, but to refine and warm some of our best affections. When the cloak of Cincinnatus is flung upon the shoulders of Washington, the coldness of even affected philosophy will thaw, in the glow of that current which diffuses life and heat and ardour through the frame of the patriot; and the energy of his feeling has already secured in action that result, regarding whose attainment our semblance of reasoning would be only commencing its calculation. It is not so easy to give a demonstration of the mode in which the ardour is excited, as it is to prove that excitement itself exists; neither is it so perfectly within our reach to determine the process by which our faculties are improved, as to observe and to testify the improvement. The principle upon which the human mind is formed, the springs of action, and the workings of the human heart, are alike impervious to human observation: perhaps there is only one eye in the universe by which they are clearly discernible; and how immense is the distance between its strength and the weakness of ours? Shall we then deny the plain results of the experience of centuries, because we cannot perhaps give a demonstration from principle? To my view, this would not be the perfection of wisdom: the larger portion of the little that we know, has been derived from the observation of facts; we have very little, indeed, scarcely any, that is the mere deduction from principle: and though I have the full conviction that I am surrounded by my friends, still I am, as yet, altogether a stranger to the principle upon which consciousness accompanies vision; and I must candidly avow, that it is not by the aid of my philosophy I have become convinced of your presence.

The experience of the learned world has testified generally in favour of classical education, for directing the judgment and correcting the taste in composition, as well as for opening vast stores of useful information upon several of the most important subjects of practical science and historical details. My object not being to enter at large upon the vindication of the opinions which I communicate, nor to refute at length those from which I dissent, but rather to bring the topics under your consideration, and to suggest the points which would seem to demand special attention, I shall not enter farther upon the subject. To me, individually, the testimony to which I point is sufficient.

But, if I were insensible to the varied beauties of Virgil, the power of Demosthenes, the simplicity of Cæsar, the polish of Horace, the sublimity of Homer, the wit of Lucian, the neatness of Epictetus, and the perfection of so many other models of composition; if, in addition to all this, I held in no estimation men whose names have been rescued by admiring multitudes, in every age, from the grasp of death, that fame should preserve them burnished—if the structure of my mind differed so widely from that of the great bulk of my fellow-mortals—and that, considering my own judgment and my own feelings the only tribunal by which I should be guided, I should find myself alone, or with few associates; I might claim indeed to be unmolested, though I could not reasonably expect to have that which was esteemed valuable destroyed, because of the singularity of my notions. There is perhaps no truth, except a palpable fact or a manifest principle, which has not some opponents: and even here, perhaps, I would be warranted in striking out the exception, for Dagoumer denied that there exisited a negative proposition: and I have known an ingenious scholar who asserted that all mathematical reasoning was fallacious, because it flowed from first principles that were absurd, viz.: the definitions of a point

of a line and of a superficies. Hence, the dissent of some respectable men and good scholars, united to the declaration of some unlettered though vigorous-minded writers, weighs, I believe, but lightly against the general testimony in favour of the benefits conferred by an intimate acquaintance with the select writers of antiquity; and those which remain to us are merely a selection from the mighty mass, of which the vastly greater portion has perished. Should I be asked to explain philosophically the process by which the beneficial effect is produced, I will avow that it is as far beyond my power to undertake the specific exhibition, as it would be to demonstrate the special and particular process by which I was nourished and strengthened, and my powers developed by the food which I consumed in my adolescence. I doubt whether any of our medical friends would hazard his reputation by asserting, that he could satisfy us upon the subject: or that the most speculative of our inquirers would abstain from food, until no doubt remained as to the correctness and sufficiency of the demonstration.

Respecting the tendency of these works to delude and to corrupt the imagination, or to confirm the depravity of the heart, I would beg to make a few observations. To the individual who addresses you, it has caused unmixed astonishment, when he more than once noticed this objection seriously urged, upon the ground of their tendency to gloss over the errors of polytheism and idolatry, and thereby to diminish the esteem in which we should hold the Christian dispensation. I trust that, with some few at least, I shall find credit for the declaration, that however imperfect my practice might be, there exists not an individual who holds that dispensation in more high esteem than I do. To me it is everything. I value not the wealth, the fame, the science, the honours of the world, as worthy even for an instant to be taken into competition with the least of its appurtenances; and yet from my keenest scrutiny, from my most jealous examination, this danger has hitherto escaped notice. I will not say, that others might not have made the discovery: if they have, God forbid that I should for a moment condemn their rejection of this stumbling-block in the way of truth and life. If I could find in the annals of eighteen centuries, a single act of apostacy fairly attributable to this cause, I might hesitate. But I find the earliest and the most able advocates of Christianity generally deducing from this topic the very opposite conclusion: and, in several instances, their victory was achieved, and the cause of religion gained glorious accession by the judicious contrast. I am under the impression that this is only one of those exhibitions in which there is evidenced considerable dexterity in the use of a weapon which is wielded only for exercise or amusement. No, my friends; I cannot think so poorly of the evidences of the Christian faith, as not to feel confident that their polish is made brighter, their temper better proved, and their points better sharpened, by trying them against the defences of opponents. Do forgive me, if I assure you that I am tempted to consider the man who would proclaim danger to Christianity from the perusal of the classics, "would," to use the strong expression of another, "have cried FIRE, in the days of the deluge!" Did I suppose that any one seriously entertained the apprehension, I might seriously undertake to show it was groundless.

Their immoral tendency is the next ground upon which it is sought to sustain the objection. If the accusation be intended to apply to the great bulk of the authors, I apprehend that the charge can by no means be sustained. The works may be ranked in two divisions—into various classes: history, orations, harangues, philosophical disquisitions, literary dissertations, and epistles of friendship. These classes form an exceedingly large proportion of the whole: I do not think that I am by any means incorrect in asserting, that, as an aggregate, this collection is as free from immoral tendency as any equal bulk of the most select literary compositions of the present day. The historian of then and now, will have to relate instances of gross turpitude and crime, but surely the sacred penman has done the same; and, generally speaking, the great crimes which disgrace our nature are censured as fully and as freely and as eloquently by the ancient classic historian, as they are by the modern. If, sometimes, the man of yore lauds the ambitious, the proud, the revengeful, the unforgiving, such characters are praised also in our own day: the maxims of the Gospel condemn both historians alike, and form a splendid contrast to each, showing that, at both periods, man is naturally the same; and that his perfection arises not from the progress of science, the march of intellect, the accumulation of time, and the wisdom of experience, but from a source different from all these. I am under the impression, that the effusions of Cicero and of Demosthenes might be as safely read as any forensic effort, or popular harangue of the last year, within our own states. I do not argue for the perfection of the philosophy taught in

the academy or in the palace: but I admire the efforts of the men, whilst I admit their mistakes, and would correct their errors whilst I point them out. I would also, where allowable, exhibit the simplicity and purity of that moral code bestowed by Heaven, in contrasting it with the doubts, the conjectures, the imperfections, and the mistakes of those merely human efforts which at once exhibit the strength and weakness of the human mind; and would establish their moral philosophy as an authentic document, to prove how necessary it was that man should learn his duties immediately from the mouth of his Creator. In the other compositions contained in this division, I feel confident that the closest scrutiny would result in the conviction, that whilst they show the unchanging principles of literary excellence in the judicious precepts, the correct observations, and the pertinent and apt illustrations which they contain, they are as thoroughly free from any moral poison as the best and purest similar productions of any period or nation.

Another division consists of works of fancy and taste; principally epic and lyric poetry, fables, satires, mythological allegories, and a varied miscellaneous exhibition. I am free to acknowledge, that I know of no language or nation in which productions of this description have not their dangers, and are not, in several instances, liable to serious objection. However, in that portion of the ancient classic authors generally read in the schools, the selection will, I apprehend, be found less objectionable than what is every day in our tongue within the reach of every schoolboy. In the epic poetry, particularly, there is generally not only great delicacy of expression on all occasions, but there are very few instances where either by description or allusion, any indelicacy is suggested: and he who would discover any in the portions of these works usually placed in the hands of children, may, without injustice, be supposed better fitted for the search than not only youths, but than the ordinary class of adult readers. I shall give no opinion as to whether so exquisite a tact for such discoveries, argues more in favour of the vigour of the understanding or the purity of the imagination. There are no well-regulated schools that I have known, in which all the works of any author are read through: selections have been made from several; and the true question is, whether the portions so chosen are of a mischievous tendency. I shall make only two assertions. First, that a superabundance of what is admirable in literary merit, and perfectly innocuous in respect to purity of morals, can be taken from those authors. And, secondly, that in the course of several years of intimate acquaintance with many schools, I have never known a departure from the principle of confining the pupils to the portions so selected. I might add, that I cannot, after considerable reflection, charge my memory with an instance of moral mischief that I could trace to this system of education; and perhaps my opportunities of observation have been less restricted than those of most of my acquaintance. That objectionable passages might be found in other parts of the same work, or that they were taught in other schools, or that they were read subsequently by the pupils, is no answer to the proposition which I sustain; for I do not assert, that there are no actual or possible abuses; and if I am to abandon every useful object which is liable to abuse, the residue which I may lawfully take up, will be small indeed!

Far be it from me to say that an ingenious mind could not get up an admirable dissertation to contravene what I advance. I only make a simple appeal to your own memory and to your own judgment.

The care in selecting from the lyric poetry should be far greater, for I am ready to admit that a large portion of it, in Greek and Latin, as well as in English, is of a most censurable character: but I have never known this read in schools, and am decidedly hostile to its introduction. If a satire be a less perfect mode of censuring vice, yet it is a censure; and though there exists a preferable course of correction, it does not follow that what is less good, is absolute evil, and therefore unfit to be perused, though not under all circumstances the best model for imitation.

The principal ground on which the more numerous body of objections have sought to maintain the position, that morality was injured by the classics, was the assumption that the very essence of mythology is contaminating, by its exhibition of the unbecoming criminal adventures of the very principal deities; whereby, not only is vice made respectable, but the imagination is seriously injured by filling the memory with the knowledge of these demoralizing transactions. This topic has, unquestionably, a better appearance of force than most of the others which I have considered; yet, upon examination, it will be found of little value. In such recitals, the good or evil is produced by the mode of representation. The preacher of the most pure morality is frequently employed with great advantage in painting the most revolting scenes of vice, for the purpose not only of holding it up to

the detestation of the innocent, but to strike the very profligate themselves, with horror at the view of their own likeness, and thus bring them to repentance: whilst on the other hand, the artful and eloquent destroyer of virtue will succeed in his nefarious projects, by delicately turned allusions, which excite the most dangerous passions, without the employment of a single expression of a revolting character.

Two questions would here present themselves for solution. The first, whether all knowledge of ancient history is to be withheld from future generations. The second, if that knowledge neither can nor ought to be extinguished, whether it can be preserved without an acquaintance with mythology. I apprehend the effort to destroy the knowledge of history would be as useless as it would be unbecoming; as ridiculous as it would be unjust. And I would ask, how any one could seriously undertake to preserve the history of nations, whilst he suppressed all allusions to their religion; or how those allusions could be intelligible without entering upon the region of mythology? If then this obliteration of knowledge be neither practicable nor desirable, we must, whether we will or not, examine how it may be communicated, not only with safety, but with advantage. The best things are liable to abuse, and it has frequently happened that what was most sacred has been most perverted. Far be it from me to insinuate that an impure mind has never turned to vile purposes the facts and fictions of this ancient religious delusion, in like manner as such minds have in an impious way perverted the most awful facts and useful institutions of divine truth. The knowledge of mythology, however, is generally, if not always communicated to students in such a way as that whilst it enriches the understanding, it does not defile the heart: and the exhibition of its folly, when held in contrast with our sublime and perfect religious system, is far from being a mischievous or a useless lesson.

The good Fenelon did not confirm the depravity of his pupil's heart, either when he showed him the dangers of the Island of Calypso, or when he led him through the very temple of the Cyprian goddess. It is moreover, impossible to have an adequate knowledge of sacred history, without being conversant with that which is profane, and it is out of all question that a person can be master of either, without an extensive acquaintance with mythology. Let us then even suppose it to be a burning furnace into which these children must of necessity be cast: the angel of the Lord will be seen walking with them through the very flames: they will be protected by his influence. The knowledge might be conveyed in a manner that would be most destructive; but, the fact is, that such is not the mode in which it is communicated; therefore did I state, that although the objection had a semblance of force, it would, upon examination, be found of little value.

It has frequently been urged by excellent men, and from the best motives, that education would be as well cultivated by substituting the sacred volume of the Scriptures for these dangerous books: that thus, not only would all apprehension of the evils be removed, but an immense benefit be conferred by the great knowledge conveyed to the mind upon the subject of our holiest obligations, our highest hopes, the great Author of our being, the glorious Redeemer of our race, the purest morality, the most perfect religion, in fact, the great end for which man is permanently destined. It has been stated that if this volume exclusively would not suffice, at least its use would supersede the more dangerous books now in the schools: that in it the highest perfection of literature is contained, that its diversified style of simple narrative, historical precision, ornamental description, pathetic prayer, sublime oratory and impassioned eloquence, make it a copious and never-failing repository of every topic of improvement; and that its parables and poetry, in rich and varied combinations of glowing fancy and elegant expression, are surpassed by no human production, and probably equalled by none.

Whilst the peculiarity of my situation admonishes me to touch lightly, if at all, upon this topic, and the principle which we have always desired should govern our society, would preclude much that, under other circumstances, I might urge, I trust that one or two observations might be without impropriety, hazarded in your presence.

The questions would present themselves to us in the following order: First, whether, as some contended, the Bible should be made, in our schools, the exclusive textbook, for the purpose of acquiring the knowledge of what we call the learned languages. My previous remarks will easily indicate to you the answer that I should give, and in addition to the reasons urged before, it might be added, that the question could be properly resolved into these:—Whether, if it were even possible to understand the contents of this volume, without previous acquired knowledge of considerable extent, all that other information should be withheld. Whether, because religion is man's paramount concern, it should be his

exclusive occupation. And whether, the effort to bring the learned world to this state, would serve the cause of religion itself. I shall leave the determination of this to your own unbiassed judgment.

I fully assent to all that has been urged in favour of the divine production, though I am not bound to consider it a model of more than human perfection; for whilst I believe all the ideas of the writers to have been regulated by the influence of the sacred Spirit, I am at liberty to believe that the style in which those ideas were communicated, was the natural expression of the individual whom Heaven had used as its instrument. And even if it were otherwise, I apprehend that the use of scriptural phraseology upon the ordinary occasions of life, is not considered the evidence of religious feeling. So that whilst the sacred volume calls for the pious respect of the good, and is, in a peculiar range, worthy of the admiration of the learned, it is not the archetype for the literary world, nor a model for the compositions of business. Hence, invaluable as is the Bible, for the purposes of religion, I do not consider that it was given for other ends, and I cannot, therefore, believe that it would be useful or expedient to make it a substitute for the classics.

Another question, however, presents itself for consideration—whether the volume might not be usefully substituted for those which are most dangerous? I would correct the assertion implied in the question itself; for I would place no dangerous book in the hands of the pupil. The true question. then, would be, whether the Bible should not occupy a considerable place in our literary institutions. The answer to this must depend upon a variety of circumstances which greatly vary, in different times and places, and, therefore, no precise general answer could easily be given. The great object of those who advocate its introduction, it will always be found is, by its means to impart religious information. The great difference of sects in Christianity, arises not so much from a difference, as to what are the words of the book which they acknowledge contains the law, but as to the construction which will give the correct meaning of the great legislator to whom they profess obedience. If there exists a serious difference between them, as to either the construction of the law, or the existence, or the nature, or the authority of a tribunal from which that construction is to be received; in such a case, if this book be given for their common instruction, we must expect that the several will yield to one, or there will be jealousies, disputes or estrangement. Experience has taught us that the first result is not to be expected; charity and prudence would guard against the second. Thus, unless all parties were either agreed as to the construction of the law, or the tribunal by which it was to be expounded, I would consider its introduction into a school of different and discordant denominations, to be, not only a departure from the first principle which the volume inculcates, which is that of charity, but also an impediment to the progress of literature, inasmuch as it would distract the attention from the legitimate objects of the institution, to sectarian contests. I cannot avoid viewing the question as more properly one of religion than of literature, and would therefore give my answer upon that principle by which I have always hitherto been guided. Let religious instruction be freely and fully given, at the earliest period to youth; but never permit the emissary of proselytism to assume the garb of literature as a disguise; when it is intended that religion should be taught, let it be called by its own name—when it is proposed to communicate merely human learning, let nothing else be introduced. If there be no insuperable bar to a union in receiving religious instruction in common, let it be so given; but if, unfortunately, there should be an irreconcilable discrepancy, let not that evil be increased, by superadding those of jealousy and quarrels. Let there, in such a case, be a union in the pursuit of literature—let there be a separation, for the purposes of religious instruction; and in communicating this latter, no one of my hearers will be more gratified than will he who addresses them, at using all due means to extend widely the most perfect knowledge of the religion of the Bible. But when he surveys the actual state of our country, he must beg leave to say, that he cannot, in accordance with the principles that he has advanced, arrive at the conclusion, that it would promote the cause of learning to make the book itself a substitute for any considerable portion of the usual class-books. Though he cannot hope for a general acquiescence in his views, he trusts that in freely expressing his convictions. he will not be considered as outstepping the proper limits of his subject, or intending unkindness to those with whom he might have the misfortune to differ.

I have dwelt upon this subject of classical education, as one appropriate to the literary character of our society, not so much from an expectation of your devoting to its concerns any particular or special efforts, but

considering that not only the standing of the individual members, but the aggregate influence of the body might produce a serious effect upon the public mind; and if the topics I have urged were in accordance with your views, they might, to a certain extent, be enforced by the moral power that you possess in that community to which we belong; and thereby, not only would the rising generation be induced to make more progress in this field, but the general cause of literature be greatly aided by your own example, in continuing to cultivate, what, though long since sown and thriving, has, perhaps, been only seldom examined, and but lightly tended. And for this object, an excellent opportunity is afforded by those literary exercises which the society has lately resumed.

To what I have urged on this head, I shall take the liberty of adding some observations upon the other branch of our duties as a society.

Philosophy is, properly speaking, the deduction of correct conclusions from evident principles and ascertained facts. In order, however, to proceed safely to the results, the premises must be secured, and the mighty evil of which we have to complain, is the great facility with which probabilism, conjecture, and speculation have been substituted for principles and facts. Thus has the region of science been thickly sown with error, and rank weeds have luxuriantly abounded, where order and beauty, and symmetry should prevail. It is with reluctance that the human mind assents to the evidence of its own ignorance, and even when yielding to the conviction, its vanity urges the concealment from others. Hence, the ambition of man is not so much to be wise and learned, as to be thought so. We are more soothed, even when conscious of our defects, by the delusion which overestimates our acquirements, than we are by the possession of that knowledge for which the world refuses us credit. Probably, the mortification in the latter case, exceeds the gratification in the former. The discovery of fact, and the establishment of its evidence, do not always form so easy a process as is generally imagined. Let us consider the revolution of the planets, the circulation of the blood, the attractive power of the magnet; not to speak of a vast number of other instances, how clearly do we now perceive facts of which successive generations were so totally ignorant? Let us contemplate their results. Were not several of those results themselves, facts very obvious, and always observed, for which we can now easily account; whose causes, whose origin, and whose nature are perfectly open to our view? Yet, though the results themselves were always ascertained, their origin was not always obvious, their causes were not always known; even whilst the fact was evident, the source was altogether mistaken; but now, owing to more deep research, more accurate observation, and more fortunate circumstances, both cause and effect are equally exposed to our ken. Let us learn a salutary lesson from the history of our predecessors. In their day, those results were known to be facts, but their origin was not then discovered. Still, desirous of appearing learned, the men of that day undertook not only to declare what they saw, but, moreover, to explain the causes and the objects of those results; and when we read their lucubrations, how are we astonished at their blunders? How do we decry their ignorance, and affect to commiserate their blindness? How do we estimate the superiority of our intellectual powers above theirs? Yet these men were philosophers; they had minds formed by the same Almighty who made ours; they were, in every respect, our equals, but that we have the knowledge of some facts of which they were ignorant—facts discovered and ascertained principally by the men intermediate between them and us. They endeavoured, by speculation, to supply the want of actual knowledge, and this want alone constituted their inferiority. They, too, had a knowledge of facts undiscovered by their predecessors; and smiled at the ignorance of those to whom they were as superior in this sort of information, as we are to them. Are we not destined to pay to posterity, and, perhaps, with usurious addition, the tribute which we have exacted from those at whose ignorance we sneer, and over whom we elevate ourselves, with the importance of our imaginary perfection? Alas! my friends, need I describe to you the feelings which overwhelm us at witnessing the haughty and sarcastic contempt with which a child who blunders towards reading, regards him who only stammers to spell! Does it not expose to us an emblem of that scene which much of the history of human philosophy presents to those spiritual intelligences that, in their graduated perfection, rise circle above circle, occupying that space which intervenes between man and their Creator?

The great obstacles to correct and useful philosophy, then, are to be found, I believe, in the facility with which our sloth and vanity combine in leading us to substitute speculation for fact, because it requires less industry to form a conjecture than to make

a research; in affecting a show of information that we do not possess, and endeavouring to sustain our claim by words without ideas; in rejecting as useless what some others have collected lest we should sink in public estimation, by turning to account what we or our colleagues had not discovered; and in decrying our predecessors, instead of profiting by their labours. It is true that the pick or the crowbar would be exceedingly inappropriate tools for giving the last finish of taste to a splendid golden vase: but had they never been used for excavation, the ore would not have been furnished: and what a variety of intermediate hands must be employed between that which first opened the mine and that which finally touches the vessel? The pioneer who commenced the opening of the forest should not be despised by him who subsequently occupies the mansion, and enjoys the wealth of the harvest and the luxury of the scene. Human science like human labour, is progressive, and the peculiar duty of the philosopher, like that of the workman, is to exert himself for the improvement of what he received in a state of imperfection.

I am far from being an advocate for the modern theory of what is called the perfectibility and gradual progress to perfection of the human mind. My observations and reflections have led me to the conclusion, that God has given this lower world, with all its accumulated treasures and productions, as well as the firmament by which it is surrounded, and studded as it is, with so many glorious decorations, as a vast field for man's temporal occupation; to search out their several parts, to discover their relations, their properties, their uses, their affinities, their opposition, to turn them to the purposes of his own happiness here; I shall not in this place advert to their uses for hereafter. This investigation, this application, is what I call philosophy. The astronomer, who by his patient and laborious observations and calculations enables the navigator in the midst of the waste of waters to know his place and to pursue his proper course; the mathematician and the algebraist, who give to the ship-builder, the engineer, and to so many others, the rules by whose observance they can securely attain the useful objects of their pursuit; the botanist who secures to us the benefits of our diversified vegetation; the chemist who, by analysis and composition, turns such an immense mass of varied productions to the most extensive account; the physician who applies them to the solace of the human family; the anatomist who, by his almost godlike skill, is able to detect and to remove the obstructions as well as to repair the defects of the animal system; the legislator and the jurist who establish and reduce to practice the great principles by whose operation peace, prosperity and liberty are guarded; they who study to provide and to prepare for use the great articles of sustenance, of clothing, of shelter, of defence, of comfort and convenience for the children of Adam: all these form the vast aggregate of the several classes of philosophy. It is true that the climate, the soil, the productions, the temperament, the habits, the special wants and peculiar tastes of nations greatly vary, and that for these variations considerable allowance should be made: yet in all cases the great principle of philosophy is the same; that is, to extend our discoveries in that range which is subject to our research and turn the discovery to beneficial account.

From this view it would seem that the duty of the philosopher was simple, and that by his faithful attention to its discharge, man must necessarily make constant and rapid progress to perfection: for he had only to pursue what he had received, to add his own observations to those of his predecessors, and to transmit the increased fund to those who succeed him; and since this is what really occurs, why should not man speedily arrive at perfection? The theory is plausible, but history and reflection will correct its fallacy. That the duty of the philosopher has been properly described, I readily admit; but that the specified result should be obtained, it is necessary, first, that all which has been acquired should have been preserved; and secondly, that the point of perfection should not be too remote. The advocates for what is called perfectibility, perhaps, never seriously examine either of these topics.

Let us try this theory of the progress of the mind, or as it is sometimes called, the march of intellect, by the test of facts. Think you was the mind of Homer more feeble than that of Milton? Was Virgil or Horace as far below the mental grade of Pope or Dryden, or these latter below Byron or Moore, as there intervened centuries between them? Had the intellect of Demosthenes less vigour than that of Patrick Henry? Or was Cicero twenty degrees upon the scale of forensic merit below William Pinckney or Daniel Webster, or even Baron Vaux and Brougham, the Lord High Chancellor of England? What shall I say of Archimedes and Euclid? Are we to find the proofs of this theory in the legislation of Greece and Rome, in the tactics of Cæsar, in the architecture of antiquity, in the statu-

ary of the remote ages, in the minds that planned and the powers that erected the pyramids of Egypt? It is true that though the energies of the mind be unchanged, the facts upon which they operate may be extended and varied as time advances in his course. In the morning, the little speck which is scarcely perceptible upon the verge of the horizon, alone breaks the serene uniformity of the vacant fields of air; but as the day advances it ascends and approximates, whilst other collections appear, accumulate and unite: the pregnant storm shrouds the meridian sun, and envelopes the ocean in its shade, until amidst the echoes of the heavens it is discharged and expires; yet the unchanged observer preexisted and survives.

How frequently have we witnessed a noble patrimony broken up and scattered by a dissipated heir? How often has the flood or the storm swept away a splendid mansion, and reduced a rich plantation to a desert? How many times has a licentious soldiery or an unruly mob devastated a noble capital in which the wealth of nature and the decorations of art abounded? So too, has the sloth or luxury of one age dissipated the mental acquisitions of those which preceded it: an incursion of barbarians has frequently swept science from its domain, and covered the land with ignorance and ruin and despair. When nations are disturbed for the purpose of ambition or the vengeance of disappointment; when the public mind is filled with discontent and indignation; when maddened hosts fly to arms and rush to mutual destruction in the rage of battle; or when the heavy yoke of robust despotism presses upon a crushed people; or when, animated by the spirit of liberty, men rise to assert their rights and to overthrow their oppressors: in times like these, under circumstances of this description, especially before copies of works were multiplied by the introduction of the press; and the few that existed were destroyed by the wantonness of the victor, or the indignation of the vanquished, how frequent and how extensive was the destruction of the records and of the collections of the philosopher? Thus has the knowledge of many an ancient art been obliterated. The evidence of their existence, like the remnants of stained glass which are still found in many ancient churches, lets in upon us a soft and mellowed light, which informs us that if we possess knowledge which did not exist amongst men of other days, they enjoyed some which has not reached us: like many a rich cargo that has been lost at sea, it is covered with the waters of oblivion. Who will undertake to assert that the mass of what has been lost does not equal the bulk of what exists to-day? I am far from inclining to the opinion that it does; but I think it would savour of rashness, boldly to make either assertion.

But suppose all the ancient discoveries to have been faithfully preserved and the new ones duly transmitted; when will the accumulation fill up the measure of perfection? What is its capacity? Should a myriad of men be continually occupied in depositing grains of sand, when would they form a globe whose axles would touch opposed points in the orbit of Herschel? Let us compare the progress of mind with the progress of motion. If we take our observations upon what was the perfection of the mind in the Augustan age and what it is to-day, you may assume superiority to the fullest extent of your disposition, you will at all events allow that the progress has not been with the rapidity of light. And yet, even with this acceleration, when would you reach those fixed stars that show so dimly in their distance? Yet is the immensity of Him who alone is perfection spread abroad infinitely beyond where their faintest rays terminate in an opposite direction! When do we hope to reach it? I therefore admit that there is abundant room for the continual progress of philosophical improvement, though I cannot subscribe to the fallacious theory of human perfectibility. I allow that there are great incentives for approaching as nearly as we can to perfection, though we can never attain it: like the asymptotes of the hyperbola; he who alone is perfect, continues in one changeless direction through eternity, whilst though the created mind, like the curve, should continually approximate as it advances, yet will they never coincide.

There is another circumstance also upon which I desire to observe. Men do not always receive with implicit confidence the principles and facts of whose truth their predecessors were satisfied. The patrimony of the philosopher is not like material wealth, manifestly prepared and made quite available. And to a certain extent, this too is useful. First principles need scarcely an explanation, they readily receive our assent; but it is otherwise with the conclusions to which the ancients have arrived. In some cases our pride, our curiosity, our spirit of independence, our love of novelty, will lead us not only to question and doubt, but to use our efforts to prove them erroneous. This disposition, moderately indulged, has frequently been of the greatest advantage in detecting error, in correcting mis-

takes, and in protecting truth by the erection of new bulwarks, or of rendering it more bright by collision. When carried beyond its proper limits, it has not only been a waste of time and of energies, but a source of perplexity and error. How many fine minds have been ruined by this most mischievous practice? This was the great source whence flowed that cold scepticism, which, whilst to some it seemed to be an enriching stream of philosophy, chilled the soil, and destroyed its prolific power. It was like crystal to the eye, but its taste was of nitre.

But let us suppose the absence of doubts, and the disposition to believe. Still all minds are originally placed alike uninformed at the vestibule of science, and they cannot arrive at the shrine without proceeding through the temple: though the progress of some be more rapid than that of others, yet the advances of all are really slow. No anxiety to admit the truth of a mathematical demonstration will enable the tyro to comprehend it without the tedious preliminary process, though it is true, that when the way has been explored, and the road formed, the consumption of time and labour is wonderfully diminished for us, who have the benefit of the works constructed by the preceding occupants; and thus, to a certain extent, we have considerable advantages; but the wealth of the mind cannot be attained without a large expenditure of years, and application by the individual himself, let the deposit which has been transmitted be ever so valuable. Add to this consideration, the brevity of life, the variety of avocations, the allurements of pleasure, the duties of religion, the demands of family, the wants of ourselves and of our connexions, the claims of the unfortunate, the concerns of the state, the faction of parties, and the vast multitude of other embarrassments; and what then becomes of the fine visions of philosophical accumulation, and man's perfectibility? The realities of life correct the delusions of the sophist.

The portion, therefore, which any individual is able to contribute to the general fund, must be exceedingly small: exceptions will be noticed, and are admitted. But if we have our eyes drawn to the admiration of Plato, of Ptolemy, of Copernicus, of Galileo, of Columbus, of Newton, of Bacon, of Locke, of Des Cartes, of Leibnitz, and so many others, how many myriads have passed away, from whom no contribution has been received? It is this poverty of individuals that renders association useful, because from the difference of tastes there will arise a diversity of pursuits, and mutual exhibition of knowledge will create mutual confidence; each can easily judge how far he might with prudence and safety use the production of his associate, and each will be urged to greater exertions by the example which encourages, and the emulation which provokes. Thus the very difficulties which would seem to impede us, should but animate us to proceed.

An additional motive will be found in contemplating the extensive opportunities which offer of increasing our advantages by a communion with similar societies of which so many are found in the several states of our own Union, not to mention those of other regions of the civilized world.

What then should be our object?

In the first place we must perceive how useful it would be to collect and to embody admitted principles concerning whose truth there is no longer any question; as they have the testimony of ages and nations, after deep and continued reflection: to these might be added those facts whose truth is proved by the same testimony, whether they appertain to history, to geography, to geology, to astronomy, to physiology, or to whatever class of science they might belong. Like the demonstrations of mathematics, they should be sustained by their appropriate evidence, so that as the student is made acquainted with the fact, he should also receive its proof. How immense has been the loss sustained by the neglect of this simple and natural precaution? It too frequently happens that when we are ourselves convinced, we imagine that no one will be so absurd as to deny that to be true, to which we have given our assent: and we forget, that by our sloth we have left others without the means that produced our own conviction. Were I asked, what I consider to have been the most efficient cause of dispute in the world, I would probably assign this disposition, which results from a combination of pride and sloth, causing us to feel a dissent from our views as an insult, whilst from others we require assent without furnishing the evidence that would command it. Through want of this, it sometimes happens that fact and fable, are, for a while, not distinguishable, and a man of prudence will avoid relying upon that statement of whose truth he has no certainty; the certainty must arise from a proof that is not furnished: upon what ground shall he rest? It is not then sufficient that we leave facts upon record; we should moreover leave record of their proof.

But of what description are these facts, whose knowledge it is so important to preserve? I answer: of every description. It

is a serious mistake to imagine that nothing is useful for the purposes of philosophy, unless it has some extraordinary character, is out of the common range of objects, has been procured from some foreign region, or bears some name of learned length, and thundering sound. The proper object of the philosopher, as I stated, is to ascertain truth for useful purposes: now the objects which are commonly met with, are those most extensively applicable to our benefit, and of course, upon the principle which I have assumed, an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of their properties would be extremely advantageous. The wants and avarice of mankind have excited, during many ages, to industry in this department, and perhaps in this the discoveries have been most extensive and accurate. Yet, even here, our daily experience, and the history of other societies, exhibit the vast improvements of every year. The academies of Europe, especially those of France, of Italy, of Germany, and of England, are continually adding much to the stock of science in this department. The analysis and application of the most ordinary materials and productions are still in a march of uninterrupted progress; the arts have been wonderfully improved, facilities and comforts extensively increased, and the resources of man greatly enlarged by the scarcely perceptible labours of individuals, who in the several societies, and in mechanical occupations, guided by the principles daily imparted, and the facts almost hourly communicated, add some little to the accumulation already made. We do not indeed at present meet one of our exploring associates returning with the evidence that a new continent has been discovered; seldom do we observe a thick vapour to rest upon the troubled ocean, and find upon its thinning away that a new island has arisen; but this incessant addition by a multitude of individuals, gives to us a more permanent though less showy acquisition in those rising and numerous masses of coral which afford room for secure and solid habitation. They are conquests made by untiring industry from the barren waste of the deep, they are lasting acquirements of new possession, monitions to activity, additions to wealth, and room for population.

There are indeed a variety of facts in what are called the higher departments of science, which are also occasionally developed; and perhaps in no period of some centuries at any previous time, have more facts been brought to light regarding the component parts of this our globe and their properties, than within the last fifty years. Within that period also, man has extended his researches far into the regions of the air, and discovered new worlds, by the aid of optical mechanism. How wonderfully has the dominion of the chemist been extended, and what power does he exercise through the vast regions made subject to his sway? How fallen, how imbecile is the once dreaded magician, at his feet? We are unable to enumerate the immense quantity of improvements effected in the useful arts by the application of those discoveries. How have the powers of man been increased within that period by the combinations of machinery? And as the events that would have been formerly spread over ages, appear crowded into that petty space; so, too, by our recent discoveries, distance, like time, has been subdued by the moral approximation of remote regions through means of steam and rails. He who fifty years ago should have ventured to predict these occurrences, would be considered more visionary than he who would presume to describe the mountains and valleys of Saturn's ring! Who can undertake to say what another half a century will unfold? He alone, whose eye takes in at every moment, all time and space. To us, the events of the past should be incitements to continued exertion: and though, perhaps, no one of us could devote any considerable portion of his time, or of his talent, to our common object, yet each, by keeping in view what we seek to attain, may be in some way useful.

Amongst those facts which are specially important to be well known and fully established, are those of natural history: and nothing can so powerfully contribute to this, as the possession, the preservation, and the extension of a well-regulated museum. In it the lessons which would be tediously and imperfectly taught by mere recitation and description, are instantly communicated by a glance, they are impressed upon the memory by the gratification of curiosity, they are scientifically classed by the arrangement of rooms and cases. Thus, the mere upholding of such a department in proper order, with occasional public explanation, would be an extensive benefit, not only to our society, but to the citizens, especially to the youth. I shall not dwell here upon that commerce, as I might call it, in science, which consists in an interchange of natural productions of the various regions, by the several scientific societies: for the encouragement of which, there appears to be amongst them all an increasing disposition. I am convinced that, upon proper application, every facility would be afforded by our

general government for such interchange; and I trust that whatever our political differences may be, we should find no disposition to nullify this regulation of commerce, or to destroy this species of protection. We might, at least, innocently, if not usefully, commence by preparation, the manufacture of some of our native products, and be allowed a free trade with all similar societies, for corresponding returns, not only without the grievance of a tariff upon their importation, but even with the bounty of a free freight in our public vessels. Some of our Mediterranean squadron would probably feel no inconvenience in exchanging a few harmless wild-cats or peaceable panthers, for casts of antique vases or of exquisite statues, or for some of the utensils of Pompeii or of Herculaneum.

When the body is torpid for want of exercise, the humours become sluggish or stagnate, and disease ensues; if there be excitement it is feverish, and the consequent restlessness irritates and increases the disorder. So it is with the human mind, if it have not some wholesome employment, it becomes sickly, irritated, and filled with discontent; it is easily excited: in the midst of the most gloomy scenes, horrid spectres are presented to the imagination, and the consequences are equally pernicious to society, and to the deluded individual. How frequently would it be one of the greatest earthly blessings, not only to the victims, but to their families and connexions, if the strong powers of fine, but, alas! ruined minds had been early habituated to the healthful exercise of even the humblest philosophical investigation, instead of having been indulged in that sloth which has made them burdens to themselves, tired of existence, and worrying to their friends? How many are there, who, in dread or ignorance, turn from the philosophic hall, and, determined, at all hazards, to escape the horrors of *ennui*, plunge into dissipation? How many, perhaps, labouring under the influence of irregular excitement, communicate the frenzy under the semblance of religious or patriotic zeal? When this dreadful malady exhibits such symptoms, it is, perhaps, as hopeless of a cure, as that which ensues from the bite of a rabid animal. But the evil might in a great measure, if not altogether have been prevented, by removing its cause; and where no more urgent mode demands a preference, the occupations of philosophy are, perhaps, the most efficacious and the most useful; and, from the view that I have taken, you will perceive that they are within the reach of every individual.

There is another motive that I would press upon every Carolinian. Will you, whilst the rest of the civilized world is pressing forward in the career of science, stand with your arms folded? We do possess considerable facilities for scientific improvement, we have not made of them all the use which they afforded. Perhaps our fault has been, that in this, as in other instances, we have been too sanguine, and that having commenced with ardour, we yielded to disappointment at not finding, as it were, magical effects flow from our very association. Perhaps we have been in some degree ourselves to blame, for want of regular attendance and strict adherence to system. When I look upon the few years that I have had the honour of being your associate, I perceive that we had amongst us talents of the first order, zeal for the promotion of science, and deep philosophical erudition. In whom have they been more happily blended and clearly developed, than in that excellent individual who desired to conceal, if he was conscious of possessing them? Need I name our late lamented president, Elliott? But what was the concealment? Not of the knowledge which he communicated, but of the mind from which it flowed. He would veil the radiance that adorned him, yet so as to shed the light which informed and cheered those by whom he was surrounded. Estimable man! The remembrance which he has left, like the disposition with which he was blessed, combines the vigour of one sex with the sweetness of the other! You have heard his eulogy from lips well fitted to pronounce it.* I shall not prolong its echo. Have we not seen in our late venerable Vice-President,† an excellent model of that persevering industry, that patient research, that regular attendance, that extensive knowledge and devotion to the interests of our society, which it would be well if we continued to imitate!

Nor have we been altogether useless. Witness those admirable lectures on geology and botany, which, while they attracted the talent and beauty of our city, gave to literature the sanction of fashionable support, and polished and extended that chaste and cultivated taste which pervades our first circles. Witness those literary and philosophical exercises, which, by their public occurrence, not only increased the appetite for knowledge, but also its supply: not for a select few, but for all our intelligent population; and the resuming of which, with our

* Doctor James Moultrie, Jr.
† Timothy Forde, Esq.

lately increased numbers, promises to render our society more extensively and permanently useful. This is not the place, nor this the occasion, to advert to those other contemplated exertions, which have occasionally occupied our thoughts and engrossed our conversation during the last two or three years. I repeat it, we have great facilities, were we industrious in turning them to account. And why should not Carolina indulge and cherish this holy ambition? This state has held a high rank for polite literature: surely she ought to complain of her sons, if, recreant to their patriotic and literary reputation, they degenerate from their fathers, and slothfully permit themselves to be surpassed by states which, within their own recollection, were only heavy forests, through which the Indian and his game could scarcely penetrate.

I do cherish the expectation that they will arouse to exertion, and in their own sunny land, under their own serene sky, they will generously climb the hill of science, and cultivate to its very top; crowning its summit with those useful productions which not only will delight the eye by the richness and delicacy of their colour, but will gratify the taste by the excellence of the fruit, and send through many leagues on every side, upon the soft yet bracing air, an odorous perfume fitted to regale the home of her children, and to attract the praise and admiration of the stranger.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE

DEMOSTHENIAN AND PHI KAPPA SOCIETIES OF FRANKLIN COLLEGE, ATHENS, GA.,

ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 5TH, 1840, BY THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN ENGLAND, D.D., BISHOP OF CHARLESTON, AN HONORARY MEMBER OF THE DEMOSTHENIAN SOCIETY.

Demosthenian Hall, August 6th, 1840.

On motion of the Hon. Hopkins Holsey,

Resolved, That the thanks of the Demosthenian Society be, and are hereby tendered to Bishop England, for the learned and eloquent address pronounced by him to-day in the College Chapel, and that a committee be appointed to wait on him and request a copy for publication.

—

Demosthenian Hall, August 6th, 1840.

Sir:—In pursuance of the foregoing resolution we are appointed a committee to express to you the thanks of the Society for the able address this day delivered, and the satisfaction and delight with which it was received—also to request a copy for publication.

Very respectfully, yours,
Wm. Williams, Jr.,
J. P. Culbertson, Jr.,
G. A. Mallette,
Committee.

Right Reverend Bishop England.

—

Athens, August 6th, 1840.

Gentlemen:—I have felt myself honoured by your selection of me to deliver the address to your Societies. I am more flattered by the kind manner in which you characterize it in requesting a copy for publication.

Such as it is, it belongs to the Demosthenian Society. The rough draft I have is very imperfect. I shall have a fair copy made immediately upon my arrival in Charleston, and transmit it to you without delay.

Allow me to assure you of the high respect and affectionate regard I bear for the Society, and the particular consideration in which I hold its committee.

Very respectfully,
Your brother Demosthenian,
† John, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Messrs. Williams, Culbertson and Mallette,
Committee.

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ADDRESS.

It is related that St. John the Evangelist was once observed by a hunter, amusing himself with a bird. The astonishment manifested in the countenance of the observer, who remained gazing intently, was soon noticed by the apostle, and he inquired for its cause. "I am struck with amazement," replied the hunter, "to see you, who

are so much esteemed for wisdom and sanctity, employed in so trivial an occupation! How unlike is your present position to that which you are generally supposed to hold?" The saint remarked that his observer's bow-string was loose, and inquired why he did not keep it tight. "Were I to do so," said the hunter, "my bow would lose its elasticity, and soon become useless." "The human mind," observed the evangelist, "is like your instrument: it would be destroyed by perpetual tension." Whatever position, then, it may be your lot to occupy in the employments of the world, you will need to apply the energies of your mind to the proper discharge of its duties. The grave study of the law, the deep reflections of medical science, the absorbing cares of political life, the intense application to business, the deep interest of your family concerns, your sympathy for friends, and a thousand other importunate demands will draw largely upon your time and upon your feelings, and will compel exertion:—but you will also feel the necessity of relaxation. So that, in fact, its regulation is one of the most important concerns of life; and the neglect of its arrangement is pregnant with the most dangerous consequences to youth and to manhood.

Some persons at an early age. under pretext of relaxation, contract habits which become in after life the sources of their ruin. It is one of the misfortunes of our nature, that they who have been the victims of crime are almost necessarily thereafter its abettors, and this not merely upon the well-observed principle which spreads its influence over every age and every nation, *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris;* there is not only a malicious satisfaction in knowing and exhibiting that we are not without associates in our degradation and our depravity; but they who have exhausted their own springs of indulgence, in dissipation, feel it necessary to have companions who yet possess a supply that will suffice for both. At a time, then, when experience has not brought caution, when passion is strong, when the desire of novelty is great, when under the alluring names of liberty and independence, wholesome restraints are easily laid aside, and the buoyant spirit of youth loves indulgence, cunning self-interest frequently bestows the name of necessary recreation upon those pursuits which degrade and destroy, and thus seduces the generous and the inexperienced into habits which are easily formed, but which it requires time, labour, and perseverance to overcome. This is one of the most copious sources of intoxication, of licentiousness, of idleness, and of dissipation; by these the peace, the honour, the property, and the respectability of families are destroyed, and they who might have been the ornaments of their state and the benefactors of their race, sink dishonoured to an early grave, occasioning grief and drawing tears from their survivors, not so much for their departure, but because of their havoc and their disgrace.

The relaxations of uncivilized nations are for the most part characterized by their vulgarity, their cruelty, or their licentiousness; and as men are raised upon the scale of refinement, their amusements generally lose many of these marks. The cultivation of literature is one of the ordinary and natural means of thus elevating man, and hence it has been, at an early period, well observed; *Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes emmolit mores nec sinit esse feros*:—The boisterous whoop, the rude familiarity, the dangerous jostle, the exhibition of grotesque mummery, the casting of ridicule upon our fellows, or exhibiting them in awkward predicaments in the view of others, are, to many persons of vulgar feelings, sources of infinite amusement; and they who thus delight in the annoyance of their associates are persons who would for similar treatment in respect to themselves, seek a marked revenge.

Our feelings are not unfrequently put to unpleasant trials at even reading the description of the tortures inflicted upon their prisoners, by savage tribes, and the enjoyment which the suffering affords to the cruel executioner. Nor does history confine the recital to the deeds of such rude hordes? The arena of the amphitheatre witnessed the shouts of the delighted multitude, whilst its sand drank up the expiring gladiator's blood, or yet exposed the reeking fragments of the half-devoured bodies of Christian victims which the beasts of prey tore for the entertainment of their no less savage beholders. Surely I need not draw your attention to the excitement of beasts and even birds, and the arming them for mutual destruction, to afford the opportunity of relaxation and enjoyment, united to the indulgence of their love of gambling, to men said to be respectable. What a spectacle to behold! A man whose mind is cast in the most perfect mould, and upon whose character and conduct a lovely family has rested all its hope, to whom a vicinage looks for its weight and its respectability, forgetting his proper place and madly risking the means of fortune and of fame for himself and for others upon the superior instinct for destruction, or the fortuitous exposure or activity of a poor bird, thus unnaturally excited and thus wickedly armed? Do these cruel

sports add dignity to our nature? Do they confer benefits upon society? I shall not speak of the more criminal and more destructive and degrading dissipation to which idleness conducts, to which excess stimulates, and for which the other indulgences usually prepare.—How extensive is the blight that has been produced by their united influence?

Relaxation is necessary, but it should be rational. It ought to be suited to renew our powers without destroying our morals, or impairing our standing in society. And surely no one will pretend that our faculties are improved, or that our powers of mind or body are renewed, preserved or invigorated by the indulgence in pursuits which necessarily demoralize.—Such habits not only relax the vigour of our mental faculties, but they undermine even the bodily powers. There is an inherent respect and love for virtue in the human mind, which even the most depraved course of vice cannot utterly destroy, and which no power of sophistry can delude. I have conversed in his dungeon with the outcast of society, and whilst he braved the scorn of the world and affected to despise its condemnation, he avowed that he could not extinguish the glimmerings of conscience, nor be insensible to its reproof. And whilst in defiance of mankind he lifted himself in the bad spirit of unyielding pride even to blaspheme the God of Heaven, and to deny the sanctions of virtue, his heart quailed at his own misconduct, whilst he sought to make the recklessness of despair pass for the courage that accompanies the convictions of truth. Thus it is that the agonies of self-reproach consume the force of the understanding, enervate the soul, and drive the criminal from the calm pursuit of truth and the industrious collection of knowledge, to seek for protection against his inward monitor, by recurring to the distractions of external dissipation and sometimes even that he may obstruct the power of memory by plunging into stupefaction. Hence it is that all writers upon science, and especially when they treat of its applicability to the improvement of others, lay down as a maxim, that its votary should be virtuous, if he would be successful. And indeed what is thus said of science is true of every other useful occupation. The attainment of success requires that the unbroken powers of the soul should be directed to secure it;—but this cannot be the case where they are prostrated by remorse or impaired by irregular habits. It is true, that rare instances of partial success are occasionally found as exceptions to this position. They are, however, not only exceptions, but they are, in general, fearful examples, which show us how some mighty mind, gathering the shattered forces which it still retains, may in one splendid effort achieve its object by its own destruction: just as the commander who has prodigally wasted the lives of many of his gallant soldiers by his indiscretion, finding himself driven to his last entrenchment, determines at least to save the city which he covers, and marshalling the fragments of his once powerful host, urges them by word and by example to one noble act of devotion. The assault is desperate and the result is doubtful; until, at length, the protected city comes forth to weep over the remains of those, who, victims not only to valour, but to wanton waste, perished on the very field where they annihilated a foe which they could at an earlier period have subdued with a trifling loss, and having saved their country might have survived to receive its gratitude and to share in its prosperity.

I need not enter upon any elucidation of the well-known fact that the close union of the mind and body induces a palpable injury to the mental powers as a consequence of the derangement of the bodily functions. Witness the ravings from fever, the dejection of the dyspeptic, the languor of the consumptive, the stupor of the dissipated. Nor is it requisite that I should even advert to the notorious effects of immorality or dissipation upon the human frame. To me it has always appeared a great mistake to imagine that the preservation of political equality required the destruction of distinctions in society. To secure the first, which is of primary importance in our republics, I conceive it to be sufficient that each individual shall be upon an equality with his fellow-citizens in the eye of the law; so that the rule by which his property, his peace, and his rights are preserved, shall be the same which preserves them for every other; that he shall be liable to punishment, only for those acts that are punishable in another, and be tried and convicted only by a similar process. Moreover, that every citizen shall be on a level in the eye of the constitution; that is, that each has only the same burdens to bear, the same duties to perform, and has, according to his qualification, an equal claim to posts of honour or of emolument as any other. In a word, that no one shall have the prerogative, that no class shall be privileged. This in my view forms the extent to which our equality should go. To attempt forcing it beyond these limits would be not only ridiculous and impracticable, but the effort would be destructive. Can you establish an equality of property? Suppose you were

able to effect it to-day, how long will it continue? Will all be alike industrious? will all be equally intelligent? will all be equally successful? Will all be alike parsimonious, or lavish, or equally burdened with families, visited by sickness, swept by floods, or stricken by lightning? You cannot prevent the existence of classes of rich and poor and of comfortable. Diversified as the expressions of countenance is the variety of tastes. Will you compel them to an equality in this regard? Whilst I leave others to a perfect freedom upon this score, shall I not have a just claim to my own freedom also? And shall not they whose taste is the same, be permitted to cultivate it without being intruded upon by others who would mar that cultivation? There are, I believe, but two restraints which should be reasonably imposed here upon individuals or associations, viz.:—1. That this gratification of taste should not be immoral, and 2. That it should not infringe upon the rights of others. The ground of these restraints is so plain that I shall not point it out. It is impossible then, that there should not exist in every community various classes whose taste is more or less refined, nor does the cultivation of refinement in our habits impair the equality of our civil and political rights. It would be indeed a cruel tyranny to compel an individual to seek for his enjoyment only in that which, though it suits the taste of another, yet, is altogether in opposition to his own. Still as a general principle it is expected that they who move in the more refined and better informed circles of society should conform to the usages of their associates in the very character of their relaxation, for the similarity of their education and of their early habits supposes a general similarity of taste.

Our progress through life is comparatively brief, and it is our duty, not only to ourselves, but to society, to be useful whilst we are able. The great bulk of human happiness and of human prosperity, has been created by the industry of man. Our predecessors have thus been our benefactors, and the fruits of their ingenuity and exertions have been to us a most valuable legacy. It is not long since the "red man" occupied the lands which surround us—and what was his position? He inherited the regions through which he roamed; but because he had little of that stock of improvement which the "pale face" possessed, the soil was comparatively useless in his hands. And in the accumulation of that series of ingenious discoveries which produces so much benefit for us, no inconsiderable portion is the result of well-directed relaxation, in which men of mighty minds indulged as a relief from graver study. With some the cultivation of music, with some the charms of poetry, with some the studies of nature in her more choice and elegant productions, whilst others improved mechanism and aided the useful arts even for their amusement. Nor is the hour of social indulgence and good companionship always useless. It may often be profitably spent in that way which Curran described, in his apostrophe to Lord Avonmore, as usual with the "Monks of the Screw:"—

"This soothing hope I draw from the dearest and tenderest recollections of my life—from the remembrance of those Attic nights and those refections of the gods, which we have spent with those admired, and respected, and beloved companions who have gone before us; over whose ashes the most precious tears of Ireland have been shed. Yes, my good Lord, I see you do not forget them. I see their sacred forms passing in sad review before your memory. I see your pained and softened fancy recalling those happy meetings, where the innocent enjoyment of social mirth became expanded into the nobler warmth of social virtue, and the horizon of the board became enlarged into the horizon of man—where the swelling heart conceived and communicated the generous purpose;—where my slenderer and younger taper imbibed its borrowed light from the more matured and redundant fountain of yours. Yes, my Lord, we can remember those nights without any other regret than that they can never more return, for

'We spent them not in toys, or lust, or wine,
But search of deep philosophy,
Wit, eloquence and poesy,
Arts which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine.'" COWLEY.

Relaxation is, then, necessary for man, but whilst he indulges in it to a proper extent, he should avoid the pernicious, degrading, and ruinous modes which too often present themselves to persons of every age, and to which inexperienced, ardent, and innocent youth, is unfortunately allured by the most wily blandishments. Our recreations should be suited to the place we occupy, and made to subserve the improvement of ourselves as well as the interests of the community.

It has frequently struck me that one of the secondary objects of a good collegiate education was to afford to men of improved minds and cultivated taste one of the best resources for the purposes alluded to: and that one of the greatest mistakes usually

made by our educated men was, casting aside as useless after their graduation, the books to whose study they had been kept for so many years. It is, indeed, in a great degree natural, that having theretofore regarded them as instruments of task-work, and that frequently of no light description, the mind now rejoicing in its emancipation, should view them as a liberated prisoner would the manacles from which he was relieved. This, however, is not a correct estimate. They should rather be considered as the means by whose use the mind has become greatly enriched. It was necessary in a great measure to compel the youth to industry that he might acquire mental wealth; it has been collected and is treasured up; by a little exertion he not only will easily preserve what has been put together, but will greatly add to its value; if, however, he remain listless and idle, even what he has already acquired will rapidly dwindle away.

I have known men, who, during protracted lives found in the cultivation of classical literature that relaxation which improved, whilst it relieved the mind. The last survivor of those who pledged their lives and fortunes, and nobly redeemed their sacred honour in the achievement of our glorious inheritance of liberty, was a striking instance of this. When nearly fourscore years had passed away from the period of his closing the usual course of classical education—after the perils of a revolution, after the vicissitudes of party strife, when the decay of his faculties warned him of the near approach of that hour when he should render an account of his deeds to that Judge who was to decide his fate for eternity, from his more serious occupations of prayer and self-examination, and from the important concern of managing and dividing his property, would Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, turn for refreshment to those classic authors with whom he had been familiar through life:—his soul would still feel emotion at the force of Tully's eloquence or melt at Virgil's pastoral strain.

Perhaps the very selection in early life of this, as the best mode of mental indulgence, tended much to insure to him, not only his patriarchal age, but the calm and serene frame of mind which was also well calculated to preserve health and to promote longevity. When the young man is thus occupied and enjoys the literary gratification, he is less disposed to search for that society or to rush into those indulgences, which, whilst they destroy the powers of the mind, undermine the vigour of the constitution, are the prelude to years of remorse and to a life of difficulties. This relaxation is unquestionably very rational, perfectly dignified, and would, I have no doubt, be found eminently useful by all who would adopt it.

There are many who regard classical studies merely as an exercise to become acquainted with the dead languages of Greece and Rome, so that we may be able to read the productions of their authors, and thus become acquainted with their learning. And they very naturally tell us, that being possessed of good translations, whose accuracy is acknowledged, we can with more facility and precision, and in an incomparably less portion of time learn all that they could teach.

This appears plausible, and would be true if its assumption were a fact. But such is not the case. The object is not to learn the languages merely for this purpose. In the first place, the object is to form the mind to habits of industry, to precision and accuracy of judgment, as well as to imbibe principles of just criticism by a discipline eminently fitted to this end. If the teacher, as in too many instances is unfortunately the case, especially in young communities, be not himself capable of appreciating the value of the course, or of usefully conducting a pupil through it, the fault lies in the incompetency of him who undertakes, not in the inutility of that which is undertaken. In learning properly a dead language, there is no room for idleness without detection, because every word should be accounted for, its derivation traced with accuracy, every inflection ought to be known, and its precise signification should be pointed out; the dependence of words upon each other must be understood and the rules of that dependence ascertained and applied. This is the indispensable basis of sound classical knowledge: and I ask, whether it be possible to have the youthful mind occupied during years in this process without producing habits of industry and research? When this knowledge has been perfectly acquired, no difficulty presents itself in perusing the works of the ancients, but each day new gratification is derived from the discoveries that are constantly made in the very structure of the language itself; words are separated into their most minute portions, the original expressions are found in which men first called objects by their most simple appellations, and the composition of the word shows the combinations found in some new object and this detection of the analogy between language and its objects leads to a most improving and delightful process of philosophy.

I am aware, however, that comparatively few persons are admitted into this field of

recreation, because few persons labour to furnish themselves with the key by means of which they can enter: for, by reason of either their own or their teacher's neglect, they have not acquired that accurate notion of the original language that would relieve them from trouble in its perusal, or would enable them to follow up the discoveries to which I allude: and therefore the book is closed, abandoned, and soon forgotten.

Figure to yourselves a young man whose parents compelled him through long years of tedious and often painful occupation, to reclaim a rich piece of ground and to cultivate it with care: see it now given to him as a possession, not only in the highest state of culture, but with an exuberant and inexhaustible depth of soil, with hands sufficient for its tillage accustomed to the performance of their task; what would your estimate be of the judgment and taste of this young proprietor, should he proclaim to his servants that they need not labour; should he take no concern in the management of his land, and should he suffer it to become waste through mere negligence? It will not remain unproductive. Should it not be cultivated, its very fertility will hasten its progress to renewed wildness: the noisome weed will spring up luxuriantly, the tangled underwood will thicken, and the rising trees will interweave their roots below the surface more quickly than their arms will meet above. Such is the figure of the human mind, such the consequence of neglecting, by a little care, to cultivate in your leisure moments that classical knowledge which you have acquired!

The discipline by which you have been brought to the knowledge of this ancient language fits your mind for the graver studies and the more pressing cares of your manhood, as it was itself that best calculated for your adolescence, because your curiosity was excited and gratified by the subjects that were submitted to your examination, and though you found some labour in ascending towards the temple of science, yet were you attracted by some flower that invited you forward, and were amply repaid even by the expansion of the horizon and the riches of the scenery that was spreading before you as you arose. Having once overcome the difficulties of the ascent, if you preserve your position, the labour has terminated and the enjoyment is within your control. Thus what was originally an arduous task becomes, by perseverance in its use, a pleasing recreation.

The proper study of the classics requires extensive acquaintance with ancient history. The writers whose works are placed in the pupil's hand were men of information, accurately instructed, not only in the history of their own times but of those which preceded them. They often treat specially of the important events of those remote days, or they make direct allusions to them, to understand whose force we must become exactly informed of the facts themselves: and thus the classical student is drawn insensibly to acquire a vast fund of information in this department in a mode which stores the mind by a far more pleasing process than that of sitting down professedly to pore over the dry recital of some ancient chronicler of events. Take, for instance, the Æneid of Virgil and contemplate the vast accumulation of historical details to which it refers. It is true that the student must labour sedulously at first, and must consult many a dictionary and many a map; he must become acquainted with the early settlements of the little states that covered Asia Minor, that filled the Archipelago and the continent of Greece: he must learn the origin and the progress of Latium, the Tyrian migrations to the coast of Africa, and much more that you will easily recollect. But in the midst of this research he is allured to persevere by the sweet warbling of the poet whose full meaning he desires to comprehend. It is thus that the years which are said to be lost in the mere acquisition of an useless tongue, are employed in laying up treasures that may prove so valuable in after life. And it is thus that the mind, after having acquired this knowledge, can, without exertion, recall and preserve it as it relaxes from its laborious occupations to enjoy the harmony of the Mantuan bard: just as when, with extraordinary labour, great research and no inconsiderable expenditure, a fine cabinet of science has been collected from the several regions of the globe and the various kingdoms of knowledge, the exertions and the study for its arrangement are fatiguing, but it subsequently is the source for enriching the mind with intellectual wealth, easily acquired, the occasion of refreshing, for the memory, that which would have faded away, and an agreeable and entertaining retreat in the hour of necessary relaxation.

Persuaded that a principal obstacle to making the knowledge of the classics subserve the great object of polished recreation, is to be found in the imperfection of the reading, I shall illustrate, by a passage from one of the great masters of criticism, the position I have taken respecting the necessity of deep study in our early life to make those books delightful in after days.

"You then whose judgment the right course would steer,
Know well each ancient's proper character:
His fable, subject, scope in every page;
Religion, country, genius of his age:
Without all these at once before your eyes,
Cavil you may, but never criticise."—Pope.

You will then perceive that not only mere history, such as I have alluded to, is required to be well known as a preliminary to understanding those authors, but history of another description, and respecting which there is much less accurate information, even amongst men of literary reputation, than is generally suspected. The mythology or history of their ancient religious systems is far more necessary to be known by him who would become acquainted with the writers of those early times, than is a knowledge of the Christian religion for the person who would know the scope and meaning of the philosophical or scientific writers of our own age and nation; because their religion entered more extensively into the writings of all classes amongst them than does ours into the compositions of our mere secular authors. Perhaps I shall be thought at least rash for the assertion that this field is very little examined into, but I could easily sustain my position, first, because the value of mythology is greatly underrated; next, because when a mere vague general notion of its nature is formed, it is thought to be sufficiently known, and thirdly, because many persons, through an affectation of contempt for its puerility and folly, regard its study as at least a great waste of time. I shall only say that some of the finest passages of the poets and philosophers are scarcely intelligible to those who do not trace mythological history from the first aberrations of the human mind in the ancient nations through all their varied forms of worshipping the host of heaven instead of its Creator; of paying the highest homage to genii, to angels, and to demons, whilst they denied it to the God who made them, of beholding the universal soul spread through the whole visible world and manifesting itself in the fire of Persia; in the waters of Egypt, entering into its oxen and its leeks; found in the rude stone of the Scythian equally as in the Bactrian torrent, the Druid's oak or the African sun. Nor is it for the classics alone this research is necessary; its results elucidate the pages of the Old Testament: and the reveries of Manes and the imaginings of Plato must be known in order to comprehend the inspired passages of St. Paul and St. John. But I touch upon a topic from which I have determined to abstain. It will suffice for me to say that an extensive and precise acquaintance with mythology is required for a classical scholar, and that to obtain it he must go over a multitude of facts. By means of the knowledge thus obtained he will find little difficulty in understanding customs that would be otherwise inexplicable and perhaps that would else be obscure. The histories of Saturn, of Jupiter, and of the other deities, as they are styled, are of a later date, and their character brings them nearer to the period of a more degenerate worship. To obtain this mythological knowledge requires that the student should traverse all the known regions of the ancient world, that his search should be continued through many centuries, that he should be the associate of the philosopher, the companion of the monarch, the observer of the priest; that he should go into the camp with the soldier, be seated in the hall of legislation, mingle with the shepherds as they tend their flocks or rehearse their lays; he must go down with the mariner upon the deep, observe the courses of the stars, learn their influences, not only upon the regions of Eolus, but upon the destinies of men. With the augur he must study the habits of the birds, by the soothsayer he will be taught the arrangement and the anatomy of beasts, and in company with the Pythoness he must be filled with the inspirations of Heaven. Think you that if the study of man be useful, this is a criminal waste of time?

There is in the palace of the Vatican at Rome a long corridor, well known to the visiters of that magnificent depository of arts and of literature. As you enter, upon your right hand, the wall is lined from the floor to the ceiling with fragments of marble, containing the rude and the improved inscriptions of Italy, in the days of heathenism. An immense vista opens before you, and to its extremity this monumental partition continues: the images of gods, the fragments of idols, the busts of heroes, the figures of philosophers, the statues of emperors, sarcophagi, and pedestals range along its base: and the learned, the curious, the powerful and the beautiful, the unbeliever and the pious, the gay and the grave, the libertine and the pilgrim, the British peer, the Spanish grandee, the American citizen, the Oriental sage, and the Italian peasant, in all the varied costumes of rank, of nation, of taste, and of caprice move along the hall, reading the history of other days, and admiring the works of artists who, for multiplied centuries, have been insensible to censure or to praise. There you may detect their living forms,

gliding between stern warriors frowning in marble, amidst petrified consuls and gladiators, blended with matrons, nymphs, and satyrs. One of the fathers of the church has appropriately remarked, that, any one possessing eyes may look upon the characters of an illuminated volume, and admire the richness of the tints, the beauty of the letters, the decorations of the vellum; but, had he been taught to read, how much more information would he gather from the document itself! how much more valuable would it be in his estimation! So, to the scholar, how rich is the mine of knowledge which that corridor contains! and are not his authors and his recollections like that corridor, to him who has become familiar with their contents?

On your left, as you enter, monuments of another language are presented to your view. The walls are covered, but the devices are not the same; the emblems are occasionally varied. One monogram, however, in those of the earliest epoch, seems to pervade: the fish is sculptured upon the greater number: the dove with the small sprig of olive in its bill is there; a palm-branch, tinted with red, distinguishes not a few; an ark, borne upon the waters, surmounted by an arch, is discernible amongst them; the word PAX is nearly universal. The archæologist recognises the symbolic language of early Christendom: and the busts and statues of some of her heroes, and the ornaments of the Galilean religion, mingled with many a relic of those olden days, arranged under the significant and instructive emblem of the oriflam, exhibit the contest and the suffering and the triumph of Christianity! In studies like this, the understanding is informed, the memory is strengthened, and the mind is relieved. In the midst of our struggles through this changing life, it is well to have, in those moments of care, of oppression and of dejection, some classic scenery which will be to us as a city of refuge, until we shall be able to recruit. The effect will be like that described by the favourite bard of Ireland:

"Let fate do her worst, there are relics of joy,
Bright dreams of the past, which she cannot destroy,
Which come in the night-time of sorrow and care,
And bring back the features that joy used to wear.
Long, long be my heart with such memories filled.
Like the vase in which roses have once been distilled—
You may break, you may ruin the vase if you will,
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still."

MOORE.

The knowledge of geography, it is clear, is required equally as is that of history, and it is impossible to understand the ancient authors without having an intimate acquaintance with the lands and the waters of which they treat; hence, no person has ever been regarded as worthy of the appellation of a scholar, who could not at each epoch describe the political divisions of the earth. Do we allude to dialects in Greece? it will be as necessary for us to be acquainted with the vicinity of the state in which the dialect was used, as with the locality of the state itself. We may illustrate this, by viewing the continent of Europe to-day. The traveller in Switzerland, for instance, will find in Geneva and the Jura the language to be generally French, because of their vicinity to France. Let him pass through the Valais, he finds Italian idioms and pronunciation becoming more prevalent as he goes to the southeast, and upon the Simplon he will almost fancy himself already in Italy. Proceeding, however, from Berne towards Zurich, the German is blended with the French; and when he arrives at St. Gall, or upon the borders of the lake of Constance, his French is next to useless, and before he crosses the Rhine, he is a bewildered stranger, unless he can use German expressions.

The language which is spoken becomes, in some measure, that which is written, where the body of the people can write; and, amongst ourselves, I *expect* it would not be hard to *calculate* the land whence came the man who tells us that he has *notions* for sale: and I *reckon* we should speedily tell the abode of a traveller who would ask the conductor of a railroad car to be careful of his *plunder!* Customs vary with geographical limits, and we should be amused at the ignorance of him who would clothe the Scythian in the Persian's flowing stole, or invest the Ethiopian with the toga, with equal justice as we would at the folly of him who would declare it absolutely necessary to procure a powdered wig and ermined robes from Westminster Hall, to enable a Georgian judge to open his commission. The Romans knew as little of passing their children through the fire of Baal, as the Scandinavian did of the worship of Astarte.

Gather to-day the remains which may yet be found on the sites of the Volscian cities, take those of a more remote region of Etruria, and place them by the side of the vast collections that the Græcaa Magna of ancient days has yielded, together with the excavations of Pompeii and of Herculaneum, to the splendid collections of Naples: from them you will learn the diversity of

epochs, of customs, and of arts, and you will perceive the influence of geographical distinction, as well as of distant times. I have seen the outlines of figures drawn with anatomical accuracy in *frescoes* that have, during more than three thousand years, preserved their original tints in an unimpaired brilliancy. I have seen the vases of a later period in another region, and I have seen the productions of the mighty masters who two thousand years since filled Southern Italy with works of various art, that have exceeded those of the most glorious days of Eastern Greece. The phraseology of the several writers who described those ages and their customs came vividly to my recollection, as I contemplated the "breathing brass," or as I saw the evidences of the custom; and I felt how groundless is the notion which some persons would inculcate, that classical studies are but the learning of a dead language! They demand close and unremitting attention to the geography of ancient times, tracing the origin and the migrations of colonies, their settlements, their neighbours, their border quarrels, their tactics, their success or their extinction, their government, their customs, their language and its modifications. This is a portion of what we designate as classical knowledge:

> "Patient CARE by just degrees
> Word and image learns to class;
> Those confounds and separates these
> As in strict review they pass;
> Joins as various features strike,
> Fit to fit and like to like,
> Till in meek array advance
> Concord, Method, Elegance."

He who without such information would presume to claim the high and honourable title of a classical scholar, may be well placed in the same category as the writer who should locate the falls of Niagara upon the Ocmulgee, or the one who would assure us that after escaping many perils in descending the Chattahoochie, his mind resumed its calm as he found himself quietly gliding from its turbid stream into the deep and broad waters of Delaware Bay, with the Chesapeake expanding in the distance, and Bunker's Hill and the other Alleghanies proudly rising within his view to the clouds.

There is no power of the mind which stands in greater need of judicious restraint and yet which requires more freedom than does the imagination. Horace finely shows its dangers and its imperfections in the opening of his essay on the art of poetry, and he soon afterwards exhibits the principle of restraint.

> "But not through nature's sacred rules to break,
> Monstrous to mix the cruel and the kind,
> Serpents with birds, and lambs with tigers joined."

Its duty is to embody before the mind's eye some sensible representation which shall, when expressed, better arrest the attention of the hearer and communicate information, than will any abstract description. Our nature is not merely spiritual; the chief part of our knowledge is received through our senses,—we live and we move in a world of sense, amongst objects of sense, and though we may often indulge in metaphysical abstraction, and may reason upon essences and generalizations, yet we are more vividly and powerfully and permanently affected by the objects of sense; and thus the soul forms for itself as it were sensible representations or images of even what in truth are spiritual beings not to be apprehended by our senses, or of an abstraction which has no real existence out of those subjects in which it is found as a quality. Thus though angels have no bodies we imagine them existing in bodily shape. Strength is not a being, neither is prudence, nor valour, nor piety, nor strife, nor revenge. The imagination must as it were give to them existence in some scenery which represents what it is sought to describe; the picture must not only show each figure perfect in itself, but the entire must be harmoniously grouped to give a pleasing effect, and Akenside finely displays the object—

> "Know then, whate'er of Nature's pregnant stores,
> Whate'er of mimic art's reflected forms,
> With love and admiration thus inflame
> The powers of fancy, her delighted sons
> To three illustrious orders have referr'd—
> Three sister graces, whom the painter's hand,
> The poet's tongue confesses; the sublime,
> The wonderful, the fair. I see them dawn!
> I see the radiant visions, where they rise,
> More lovely than when Lucifer displays
> His beaming forehead through the gates of morn,
> To lead the train of Phœbus, and the spring."

Nothing is more generally admitted than the impossibility of giving a precise and graphical description of what is not plainly seen and accurately comprehended. There is in many minds, and perhaps more generally discoverable in our southern regions, as great an impatience of that delay and labour necessary to arrange this exhibition as there is extensive power to call up the figures and to cast the scenes. And nothing is better calculated to remedy this very serious evil than habitual and intimate intercourse with the classical authors. Insensibly, the results of the rule they followed

become so impressed upon our minds as to cause almost an identification thereof with our habits of thought, and a taste is cultivated which will instinctively detect any aberration from the great principle which was their guide.

"Hear how learned Greece her useful rules indites,
When to repress, and when to indulge our flights,
High on Parnassus' top her sons she showed
And pointed out these arduous paths they trod.
Held from afar, aloft, the immortal prize,
And urged the rest by equal steps to rise.
Just precepts thus from great examples giv'n
She drew from them, what they derived from Heav'n." POPE.

This creative power of the mind is not only regulated by the use of their precepts and the imitation of their example, it is wonderfully enriched by the vast treasures of materials which they have accumulated. These are inexhaustible for their extent, and wonderful in their variety; though so immense yet you carry them without inconvenience, and no robber can despoil you nor speculator strip you. Your own sloth is the only plunderer who can on this side of the grave deprive you of the valuable possession. You are also taught, how from a poor and seemingly barren field you may by industrious cultivation raise an abundant harvest. Go to the sands, the groves, the pools, and the sulphureous little mounds of Cumæ. How uninteresting! how valueless do they appear! Open the pamphlet of the Canon Jorio, and read the sixth book of the Eneid, as you examine its contracted limits, and how is the scenery changed. The Hell, the Purgatory, and the Heaven of Virgil are around you, Lethe is at your feet, Phlegethon is before you, you find the bark of Charon on the Styx, the rude threatenings of Cerebus are echoed around; the gloomy Avernus is behind you, and accompanied by the Sibyl the shades of the mighty dead pass in review before you. The wand of imagination has brought the surface of the globe and the generations of multiplied ages, within the narrow compass of a short excursion, and has spread over this barren spot the panoramic view of the years that have passed away, and of the immortality that succeeds them!—Yet how far short is this of the power that imagination possesses?

"Tired of earth
And this diurnal scene, she springs aloft
Through fields of air; pursues the flying storm;
Rides on the vollied light'ning, through the heavens,
Or yoked with whirlwinds and the northern blast,
Sweeps the long tract of day. Then high she soars
The blue profound, and hovering round the sun,
Beholds him pouring the redundant stream
Of light; beholds his unrelenting sway
Bend the reluctant planets to absolve
The fated rounds of time. Thence far effused,
She darts her swiftness up the long career
Of devious comets: through its burning signs,
Exulting, measures the perennial wheel
Of Nature; and looks back on all the stars
Whose blended light, as with a milky zone,
Invests the Orient. Now amazed she views
The empyreal waste, where happy spirits hold
Beyond this concave heaven, their calm abode;
And fields of radiance whose unfading light
Has travelled the profound six thousand years,
Nor yet arrives in sight of mortal things.
Even on the barriers of the world, untired,
She meditates the eternal depth below;
Till half recoiling, down the headlong steep
She plunges; soon overwhelmed and swallowed up
In that immense of being. There her hopes
Rest at the fated goal: for from the birth
Of mortal man, the sov'reign Maker said,
That not in humble nor in brief delight,
Not in the fading echoes of renown,
Power's purple robes, nor Pleasure's flowery lap,
The soul should find enjoyment: but from these
Turning disdainful to an equal good,
Through all the ascent of things enlarge her view,
Till every bound at length should disappear,
And infinite perfection close the scene."
AKENSIDE.

And thus, my friends, well-regulated imagination promotes the enjoyments of the soul and sustains the cause of truth.

Another serious advantage derivable from continuing this familiarity with the ancient authors is, that it affords for us ample scope for the study of the human mind, exhibiting its epochs of acquisition in science, its improvement in the arts, the true field for its labours, and the mode in which we may be more likely to insure success. We may thence learn the fallacy of those theories which have, under the garb of philosophy and science, at various times, betrayed great minds into egregious folly.

Thus we perceive immediately that the art of writing and the discovery of letters bear us back to no very remote period from the origin of our Christian epoch, and sustain our religion's history. And though some nations had made progress in legislation, in arts and in arms, though agriculture was greatly improved, and commerce extending its dominion, though several mighty monuments were raised at early periods, still the first efforts at writing were exceedingly rude, and their application was very limited. We trace the progress of science from one period to another, but beginning with what was most in demand for the necessities, then the comforts, and subsequently for the luxuries of man. We find our forefathers under the influence of the

same passions and subject to the same infirmities as we are, and equally the slaves of prejudice and of pride as we are, having the same appetites and taking the like means for their gratification. If we come down to more recent epochs we perceive that though, in the contest with the barbarian, much of the more polished literature and the finer arts were for a time overwhelmed, still they were not altogether lost, and that the restoration gives a very different appearance from what took place at the invention.

Whilst we behold the ancient nations exceeding us in many instances in works of architecture, in persevering industry, in the amassing of wealth, in the productions of their soil, in military prowess, in force of eloquence and the sweets of poetry, in one respect they are confessedly infinitely below us—that is in thetr notions of God and of religion and in their maxims of morals. They sought to acquire in the schools of philosophy what we say must be derived from Heaven,—and as the contrast in the results is as obvious as is the contrast between the principles, it should seem easy to decide upon a choice as to which should be adopted. Nothing will tend better to confirm what I here allude to than a calm examination of what their best authors testify regarding their opinions and their practice.

I have said that we are equally weak as they were, as regards our pride and self-importance. I shall endeavour to illustrate and to prove the general truth of my observation. It is related of an Asiatic prince of more modern times, to whom an ambassador was sent from Holland, that he frequently was pleased at hearing from the envoy the extraordinary accounts of the customs and institutions of Europe. On one occasion, speaking of the intensity of cold, of which the monarch had very imperfect notions, the ambassador told him, that in Holland it sometimes produced such an effect on water that its surface became solid, and that men walked on it in safety and transported heavy burdens upon it as they would on land. The prince immediately ordered him to quit his dominions for having the effrontery of endeavouring to make him despicable by inducing him to believe in the truth of what was naturally impossible, because the experience of every one contradicted the notion that any increase of cold could render solid that which was always known to be liquid. It was opposed to the law of nature.

Strange as we may deem this decision of the Eastern, I believe you will find it equalled by that of Herodotus, who, remarking upon the statement that certain Egyptians had circumnavigated Africa at an early period, by sailing down the Red Sea and after a long lapse of time returning by the pillars of Hercules, places his greatest difficulty of receiving their testimony upon the ground of their asserting that when at the greatest distance they had gone towards the south, the sun was at noon upon their right hand as they sailed towards the west. This he says, everybody knows is impossible, it is against the laws of nature, because it is against the experience of every one that to a person going west the sun should at noon be to the right hand side of his position. I believe the law of nature now to be the same as it was then, and a navigator at this day sailing westwards below the Cape of Good Hope would consider it a very strange phenomenon to have the sun in any other position than on his right hand at noon; for he would be south of the tropic of Capricorn, and must necessarily have the sun to the north.

I have adduced this instance to show not only that the scholar can advantageously study the history of mind and the progress of discovery in the ancient authors, but that their perusal will show him how liable the greatest minds are to sad mistakes when by reason of their attachment to preconceived notions of their own speculations, they reject the evidence of testimony. It was thus that Hume, and others of his school, would set up their speculative notion that "our own experience is the only test of reasonable belief," and thus, like Herodotus, they would, because of its novelty, make that which was the surest evidence of the truth of a relation, the very ground of its rejection. This school of philosophers is, however, fast sinking to its proper place in public estimation, and men are more rational in distrusting their self-sufficiency, and in relinquishing their prejudices as they behold the follies to which both the one and the other have led men of undoubted ability and extensive information.

I am convinced that to such an audience as I have the honour of addressing. it is quite unnecessary to urge the vast fund of general information upon such a variety of subjects as will be found in the books to whose perusal I have been endeavouring to induce those who would improve their understanding, cultivate their taste or seek a reasonable recreation in classical pursuits. In reading them, they converse with the most polished, the most learned, the most experienced of the poets, philosophers, historians, orators, and statesmen, that the civilized world has produced during several centuries.

Amongst them are the mighty men who have by their powers of oratory swayed nations as they would men, who to effect this mighty purpose, subjected themselves to all the discipline and labour which so great a work demands. Theirs was not the rude volubility which, let off from a stump, produces a transitory effect upon the multitude. No! it was the well-weighed expression of solid truth, sent forth to establish correct principles, and to win to them the support of the mighty and of the weak, of the wealthy and of the poor, of the sage and of the simpleton. The object was to lay the foundations of their country's prosperity in their country's affections, and by convincing the understandings of their fellow-men, to win their support to measures of public utility. Their productions have outlived not only monuments of marble or of brass, but they survive the wreck of those governments under which they lived, and of others that have succeeded them. They are studied to-day as the best models for imitation. You perceive they are free from those defects which cause so many others to sink into oblivion. They have no vulgar personality, they are not pompous exhibitions of the declaimer for the purpose of winning an ephemeral applause under the pretext of public instruction. No, they are clear and forcible appeals to the understanding of their auditors, of whose respect they were certain because they proved their deference for the judgments of their assemblies, by treating them as men of understanding.

Having convinced by their reasoning, they delighted by a chaste decoration. This was investing with its more soft and beautiful covering, the solid frame that had been produced, amplified sufficiently to develope the just proportions;—there was no redundance to weaken, no excrescence to deform. Feeling strongly and warmly themselves, they breathed life and vigour into what would otherwise be a form inert though beautiful. Dignified and winning in their manner, their productions addressed themselves to the hearts of their hearers, allured them to obedience and commanded them to action.

Amongst those who surround me, are several who must, whatever be their present prospects or determinations, be men to whom Georgia will look as the supporters of her rights, as the vindicators of her fame, as the leaders of her councils, as the representatives of her principles, as her protectors in our federation; and others upon whom she will rely to interweave new flowers in the garland of her literature. May I say to them, that whilst they seek even from their own Demosthenes to learn how they may succeed like him who

"Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
Shook the arsenal, and fulmined over Greece,
To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne;"

(Par. key.)

they should know his weakness, avoid his faults and receive the solemn warning from his fate. Had his sole ambition been his country's good, his corpse would not have fallen disgracefully upon Neptune's altar.

On an afternoon in the early period of the summer, a few years since, I stood upon a balcony where the country-seat of Cicero overhung an eminence. The air was soft yet bracing; Gata was at a little distance on my left, the blue Mediterranean rippled at a distance on the southwestern border, groves of orange and of lemon trees filled a large portion of the plain which stretched below towards the shore, and their delicious perfume arose mingled with that of many other delicate odours from the gardens and the herbs.—It was like the richness of his own eloquence. But where was the orator? It was through the pathways of that plain he was pursued. It was near that blue wave he descended from his litter, thence was his head borne to the cruel Anthony. Need I remind you of Fulvia's revenge? And even in the midst of the disastrous estrangements and the cruel hatred of faction and of party contest, the very populace of Rome wept at beholding the head and the hand of their once-loved defender exhibited upon the very rostrum where they hung upon his lips.

Yes, it is a dangerous eminence! Honesty of purpose and unbending integrity, unswerving perseverance in preferring principle to popular applause, in worshipping Fabrician integrity rather than Plutus, or power or office, will, if any human means can, sustain you in safety. But the temptations are great, and there are but few who resist them; hence the victims are numerous, and the fortunate are few!

Georgia has at this day at least one sweet poet, whose heart is as kind as his lines are delightful. It may be, and let us expect that it will:—that other streams besides the Savannah should resound with the song. In reading Lord Lyttleton's address to Pope, you will perceive that he fancies, at the tomb of Virgil, that mighty bard to arise and commission him to deliver an admonition to the British poet. I have stood upon the same spot, and a lovely one it is, elevated nearly over the entrance of the great grotto of Posilippo, on the headland which divides the Gulf of Naples from the waters of Baiæ. All the inspiration of poetry is found in the very breeze that passes over it.

With a few necessary alterations, let me address, from the mighty Mantuan, that same admonition to you:

"Crowned with eternal bays my ravished eyes
Beheld the poet's awful form arise;
Stranger, he said, whose pious hand has paid
These grateful rites to my attentive shade,
When thou shalt breathe thy happy western air,
Thither this message to its poets bear.
If high exalted on the throne of wit,
Near me and Homer you aspire to sit,
Of you quite worthy, were the task to raise
A lasting column to your country's praise,
To sing the land, which yet alone can boast
That liberty which other nations lost.
Where science in the arms of peace is laid,
And plants her palm beneath the olive's shade;
Such was the theme for which my lyre I strung.
Such was the people whose exploits I sung.
Brave, yet refined, for arms and arts renown'd,
With different bays by Mars and Phœbus crown'd—
Dauntless opposers of tyrannic sway,
But pleased the state's just edicts to obey.
If this advice submissive you receive
Immortal and unblamed your name shall live.
Envy to black Cocytus shall retire,
And howl with Furies in tormenting fire,
Approving time shall consecrate your lays
And join the patriot's to the poet's praise."

At the period of the confederation, Georgia was the youngest amongst her sisters. She now beholds as many states succeeding her on the catalogue as there were originally united. Yet a large portion of her territory has been only lately placed in the hands of her citizens. Immense bodies of her finest soil are yet unbroken by the cultivator, her rivers are not cleared, nor is her mineral wealth explored. We know that rich veins are concealed beneath her surface, but their value is scarcely appreciated, nor can the mind yet estimate their extent. The spirit of her sons and the wisdom of her councils, have already made her the high-road by which not only her own products and imports will be rapidly conveyed, but by which nations and their wealth must be transported. Let it be so with her literature. Let her University be generously sustained! Let her children devote their leisure hours to polite and scientific recreation! Her riches will be developed, the cultivation of her taste will decorate her amongst her sisters—her hidden treasures will be explored: from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, will she be visited, admired and enriched by contribution. And as she rises in the scale of political and commercial importance, so shall she be elevated in scientific and literary fame.

SUBSTANCE OF A

DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE HIBERNIAN SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF SAVANNAH,

IN THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, IN THAT CITY, ON THE FESTIVAL OF ST. PATRICK, MARCH 17TH, 1824, BY THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN ENGLAND, D.D., BISHOP OF CHARLESTON, MEMBER OF THE HIBERNIAN SOCIETY OF CHARLESTON, AND HONORARY MEMBER OF THE HIBERNIAN SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF SAVANNAH.

Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ.—VIRG. *Æneid. I.*

DEDICATION.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE HIBERNIAN SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF SAVANNAH.

GENTLEMEN:—I shall not easily forget the kindness with which I have been treated, on my present visit to Georgia, especially in Savannah and in Augusta. More than three years have passed away since I first arrived in your city; from its respectable inhabitants, I then and since have received the most polite and flattering attention. But your society, containing in itself so much talent, and patriotism, and independence, and liberality, and affection, has paid to me a most flattering compliment.

When I, at your request, addressed you on the festival of our national saint, I was unable to make any preparation; the shortness of the notice, and the importance of the duties in the discharge of which I was occupied, left me no time to make an ar-

ranged discourse; I therefore took the order of our history, trusting to my feelings for whatever reflections it might be proper to make. I did not imagine you would have required the printing of my address, and when your flattering resolution called for a copy for publication, I knew not how to refuse my compliance; but as I had neither taken previous notes, nor closely adverted to the order of the topics, nor to the figures which I used, a considerable difficulty arose, which was increased by the little time which I could spare from my heavy duties, to devote to writing.

As soon as I arrived here, I began, and continued to write at intervals during my visitation of Warren and Wilkes counties. Upon looking over what I have thus thrown together, my own impression is, that the train of thought is perfectly the same, and the topics, if not exactly in the same order, are nearly in the same as in the discourse. As to the language; I wrote as I felt, and preferred giving it in the first person, in the hope that it would aid me to arrive nearer to the phraseology which I had used. You will be able better than I can, to judge how far I have succeeded.

I feel deeply interested in the extensive success of the moral principle which I have sustained. I have no doubt as to the evidence of the truth of my religion; but I am convinced that many very good men do not see that evidence as clearly as I do, because it has not been exhibited to them in the same manner as it has been to me. I would be a criminal, if I acted against the evidence of which I have conscience, but the examination of the innocence or criminality of others I must leave to the Searcher of Hearts. Good men of different religious tenets may associate, for many useful purposes, without jealousy, distrust, or diminution of friendship; in your society I have seen the proof of the possibility, in the existence of the fact.

Allow me, then, to give my approving testimony, by dedicating to you the hasty and imperfect production which is laid before the public at your desire.

I remain, with respect, your obedient and humble servant,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Augusta, Georgia, April 8, 1824.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY.

On the anniversary of the tutelary saint of Ireland, the *Hibernian Society of the City of Savannah*, assembled in the City Hotel, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and proceeded to the regular business of the day, when the following members were re-elected officers for the ensuing year:

James Hunter, President; George B. Cumming, Vice-President; Samuel Wright, Treasurer; Alex. Hunter, Secretary.

The following members were appointed the Standing Committee for the present year:

Messrs. Dr. Daniell, Guilmartin, Cleland, Roche, Dillon.

Captain Pooler, after some prefatory remarks, submitted the following:

"In testimony of the exalted opinion which the Hibernian Society of the City of Savannah entertain of the religious, moral, and national feelings of the Right Reverend Dr. England, be it

"Resolved, That honorary membership be conferred upon him, and that a committee be appointed to wait upon him with a copy of this resolution, and a diploma as an honorary member of this Society."

Which resolution was unanimously carried, when Captain Pooler, Dr. Daniell, Dr. Cumming, and Mr. Dillon were nominated a committee to carry the same into effect.

At 12 o'clock, the Society moved in procession to the Roman Catholic Church, headed by the President and two of the past presidents. In the centre, the standard was borne by Mr. Roche, supported on either side by the other stewards; the colours displaying the Irish harp, upon a deep green field, ornamented with a rich shamrock border. The whole procession was preceded by a full band of music, playing the Irish national air, and on reaching the vestibule of the church, was met and received by the vestry. Dr. England was already in his robes, and the temple of God was filled with a large concourse of citizens, the light of beauty shedding its soft effulgence over the scene. As soon as the members were seated, the Bishop commenced his discourse.

DISCOURSE.

A CLAINN NA GEAOLL,
D' imid lathaoi grianbhara ar sionsar na Finne;
Fos, ata ar la fein aguinn:
Biodh ar gcomhacta 's ar ndithiol mar iadson,
Gach dlighe 's ceart do comhlionadh ann.

SONS OF IRISHMEN,
The sun-sparkling days of our Phœnician ancestors have passed away;
The present day which we have is our own:
Let our power and diligence be directed as were theirs.
Now to fulfil all right and every law.

I DOUBTED whether, on this occasion, it

would be better to confine myself to the topics naturally suggested by the recurrence of the day we celebrate, and discharge the duty which you have imposed upon me by reciting the usual detail of the life of the apostle of our nation, or to take a more enlarged view of what generally interests us, and hastily sketch, for beneficial purposes, an imperfect outline of our history. Upon a little reflection, I have determined to attempt both, giving preference, in order of time, to those facts which first existed, and introducing, at the proper epochs, to the notice which they must necessarily command, the labours of St. Patrick, and from the entire, drawing a strong moral lesson, which they forcibly inculcate.

The island from which we are sprung, is but small upon the surface of our globe, yet its history is that of many centuries, and one which is more or less an object of interest beyond that of curious research to most other nations of the world. This day you may find her children congregated in their societies, upon the banks of the Savannah, and of the Ganges. This day they search for the shamrock under polar snows, and amidst the sands of the equator. This day millions of voices are raised round the extended circumference, their shout and their song vibrate on the rays, to meet in their own verdant, glittering centre. They exhibit themselves decorated in the courts of the old world, deliberating in the assemblies of the new; they lift the standard of Bolivar, they pour out their ejaculation at the tomb of Washington.

Quæ regio in terris, nostri non plena laboris?

The civilization of our island is not that of yesterday. It is not by oppression man becomes social, it is not by restraint and compulsion man becomes civilized. If our ancestors were polished, we can show the causes of the semi-barbarism of some of their descendants. The cause which we assign, is amply sufficient for the effect which is found. But if our ancestors were more rude than their proscribed children, we cannot explain facts of which we have glaring evidence. Why, then, should we become fashionably inconsistent? Why should we be contradictorily polite? Consistency ought to be fashion; truth ought to be politeness. God forbid it should be otherwise in America! Allow the truth of our assertions, our whole history is consistent; that of which we have perfect evidence, supports that of which the evidence has been lost or mutilated. Deny the truth of that part which is thus supported, and that of which you have the most perfect certainty becomes inexplicable. When we call upon you, then, to believe these assertions, we do not substitute a theory for a history; but we present you with a series of facts differently testified, some having the evidence of history, the others possessing that strong moral evidence to which any reasonable being must give a willing and a ready assent.

We are asked for our documents. They whose interest lay in their destruction were stronger than we were; they became possessed of one portion by force: they were more subtle than an open-hearted people, too confiding, too unsuspicious; another portion was obtained: until the records of our glory had nearly all insensibly disappeared; and when we spoke of the acts of our progenitors, we were sneered at as impostors by those who calculated upon their safety in the consciousness of their baseness. But though the parchment should be shrivelled to ashes in the flames; though the sceptre may be stricken from the monarch's hand; and the pointed crown be torn from his dishevelled head; though the assembly may be driven from the hall of deliberation, and the blazonings of heraldic precedence be mingled in confusion and trampled in the dust; though it may be criminal to preserve the name of your progenitors, and the great portion of the people should be compelled to take up surnames from trades and occupations, and in a language which was yet scarcely blending into form, and next to unintelligible; still the memory of facts will outlive the destruction of their testimony, and the reasonable traditions of a nation will supply the place of writings.

If the settlers of our island did not arrive from Spain, whence did they come? Their traditions inform us of the fact. Upon what shall we found the contradiction? The individual who addresses you, has examined upon the spot, the traditions and the places, so far as any traces remain: and notwithstanding the ravages of time and the ravages of enemies many do yet remain; those remnants of what were described as but remnants long since, admirably coincide with what might be naturally expected after the lapse of ages. The Irish peasant loves to remain near the spot which contains the ashes of his parents, and successive generations will be found renewing, where the laws did not operate to prevention, the names of their grandsires in the persons of their children; the traditionary songs which have floated down the stream of time, give the exploits of the hero, and are found to proceed parallel to the stream of his blood. And on a coast of cliffs and a land of hills

and valleys, topography is not so easily changed as on a coast of sand, and in plains liable to inundation.

The wreck of the history which has been preserved coincides with the tradition, and the song, and the appearance. Shall we be cheated of the poor gratification of the history of our ancestors, because an active system has been persevered in during successive administrations, to destroy our records? I again ask, what is to be set up in opposition to the little we adduce? If this was not their origin, whence did they come?

The remnants of our histories inform us, that our Gallician ancestors were a settlement made by an African colony, who had previously migrated from Tyre in Phœnicia, and who had, during a very long period, kept up an interchange of commerce. The histories of other nations which have been more fortunate in the preservation of their archives, leave no doubts as to the origin of Carthage; yet were but a very few records to have been destroyed, before the art of printing, upon what grounds would the historian rest for his proof, save the song of the Roman poet? The migration from Carthage to Spain was easier than from Tyre to Carthage; perhaps the fact is also better sustained by proof. From the harbours in the northwest of Spain, even in those early days of naval science, the voyage to Ireland was not difficult, especially to the exploring descendants of the greatest commercial people then in the world. The facts are related by our historians, preserved in the traditions of our people; consistent with the documents of every age of our country, possible, in their nature, by no means unlikely to have taken place; no other facts are offered as substitutes; some such facts are necessary; those have always been adduced. We are referred to some relics of our literature, to the documents which would substantiate them: we point out the fate of those documents which are known to have existed. I know not upon what ground our claim is to be rejected.

We have next the testimony as to a commerce of some continuance between those descendants of Milesius, the founder of the Irish settlement, and the Africans from whom they were sprung. We find, at different periods of time, several swords and other warlike weapons dug up in the bogs of Ireland, unlike the arms of northern Europe, unlike the Roman weapons, but of the same figure and the same metal and alloy, brazen, as those which fell from the dying warriors of Carthage at Cannæ. Golden crowns and collars were found in like manner, of similar manufacture, and of the same alloy with those of Africa and the East, and by no means corresponding with those of any neighbouring people. The written records of a people may be given in tatters to the raging winds of every point of the compass, but monuments will still remain.

Rome never gave her deities to Ireland; but whilst that proud people dictated to a subject world, Ireland preserved even her idolatry unchanged. Her deities were of eastern origin, and her rites of worship were of Asiatic institution; not those of the Bramin, but those of the Phœnician. Beal was her chief deity, and he was worshipped with fire. We need not the sacred volume for the Asiatic facts and customs; they are too plain to be questioned. And which of us could not testify to the fires of May-eve in the island of our nativity? The custom still continues, though Christianity has purified the observance by stripping it of the criminality of the object. So interwoven with the fibres of his heart are the usages of his fathers to a child of Erin, that they are to be eradicated only with a dreadful pang after it has been found absolutely necessary. Our earliest writers inform us, that the fires of Beal, whose worship was always known amongst the Milesian settlers, were lighted with great solemnity on that day which now corresponds to May-eve. We have ourselves seen the fires, and passed through them with the sportive thoughtfulness of youth, to avoid some undefinable evil which we dreaded from spirits. We know that the month of May is still called, in the language which some of us have lisped in our childhood, *Beal thinne*, or the fire of Beal. How many other facts which our historians testify, which our eyes and our ears have known, are totally inexplicable without the mythology of Phœnicia? They crowd upon my mind; but I must not detain you.

Amongst the scraps of our history which remain, is the list of the monarchs; the mode of his death, the name of his successor, the length of his reign, is generally appended to each: and the period of time which this would occupy, fills up about that space which brings us, counting back from the era of St. Patrick, to those times which witnessed the early dawn of civilization in Greece. Egypt is older than we are: yet though we acknowledge her civilization, the progress of the arts, the extension of her commerce, we have little of the history of her monarchs, save the repetition of the name of Pharaoh.

From Phœnicia Egypt received her literature; from Phœnicia and from Egypt, Greece

drew hers. Our forefathers date the epoch of their migration from the East about the time when Cadmus brought letters into Crete. Egypt had her hieroglyphics, but they were not exported. The Grecian character is principally Phœnician.

When were those records of Irish monarchs produced? The first Christian missionaries found them in the country, and the voice of the country attested their having been always known as authentic public documents; and the princes or chiefs then in existence traced their pedigree back upon the list. and the title by which they held their place and their possessions was the accuracy of the register, which was kept under the eye of the nation.

The wandering tribe, or the lawless horde, may for the moment be placed under the guidance or the domination of some chief, whose prowess or barbarity might have led to his election or to his usurpation; but his authority expires at the utmost with himself, and his successor, if a successor he have, cares little to preserve the record of him who swayed before him. But where civilization has introduced law, where society is regulated upon principles, and the governor is not to be elevated or depressed as caprice may dictate, the record will be kept, and the principle will be maintained, with at least some semblance of regularity; and its existence will be at once the evidence of time and the evidence of civilization.

The Irish had a written language, in which those records were kept; that language, however imperfectly preserved, exists still, and those characters are used today. We have been told, they are of Celtic origin; that they are the characters of the North of Europe; that they are Runic; that they were common to the Irish bard and to the Norwegian scald; that they are the same which England knew as her Saxon letter. The fact is not so. Make the comparison, and you will perceive a much stronger affinity between the Irish character and that of the early Greek. Without entering into the critical disquisition as to the gradual variations in Greece before her letter and her language assumed its stable form—I do not hesitate to assert, that with the exception of the letter corresponding to g, the similitude of our letter and the early single letters of the Cretans, is most striking. Yet I do not deny a strong resemblance between even the Saxon and the Irish; but it is easily explained by facts which are obvious.

Phœnicia was the mother of letters; thence the Greek principally derived his; thence, at the same period, our progenitors brought theirs; thence, too, northward, towards the Tanais, and the Scythian hills and plains, men took their characters. Centuries elapsed, ere the hardy hunter of northern Asia directed his course to the west. Siberia, still shrouded in her untrodden snow, accumulated the frosts of ages. Nor Russ, nor Muscovite, as yet was known. Along the Don, the Volga, and the Ister, guided also by the setting sun, after other centuries had rolled away, the Asiatic swarms traversed a pathless forest, and a mighty waste, and found themselves, some in Scandinavia, and some still farther south, where their descendants, under the name of Saxons, proudly held their sway. Their gods were not the gods of Erin; of Beal, and his associates, they had no knowledge; their fathers had substituted others in their stead. Ireland knew nothing of their Woden, of their Thor, or of their Freya. Nor was their language the same; though the names had been changed, the letters in which those names were written, preserved a great affinity, for they were brought from the same school.

The similitude of the Irish to the early Grecian letter, together with the space of time occupied by the reigns of her monarchs, and the allowance for that time which was spent in the intermediate colonies, will coincide admirably with the account of our historians, that their progenitors were companions of the early Greeks, and that our country was settled by them about the era of the dawn of science upon Greece; and that our progenitors, having been descended from a people then highly civilized, and having brought with them letters, formed a regulated and civilized establishment immediately.

Ireland could not have procured the Saxon, or the Celtic, or the Runic character, before that character was known. It was not known in Europe until after the period of Christianity. Ireland, upon her receiving this religion, had books written in her own character during ages, which books the first missionaries saw, and many of which regarding her mythology they destroyed; and when she received Roman literature, a curious circumstance, singular, too, I believe, presents itself to our view; her predilection for her own letters was such, that she wrote the Latin language in the Irish character. The individual who has the honour of addressing you, speaks from what he has seen and known.

Our country had her law, the Brehon code and the customs of Tanistre. It has been said, that they who lived under those laws must have been barbarians, because the punishment of death was not enacted

against the offender; his fine was in proportion to his offence; perhaps the laws of Draco, or of Great Britain, would have better suited the disposition of the objector; but it is a novelty at least worthy of notice, to find that a tenderness for human life is now the characteristic of a barbarous people. Greece had her Solon, and her Lycurgus, Rome had her Numa, long before the epoch of Christianity; why shall Ireland be robbed of the legal beauty with which she was decorated by her Loghaire, by her Ollamh Fodhla, and so many others, at as early a period as that of either the Greek or the Roman? Are we also to be sneered at, because upon glaring evidence we believe that, besides the regular meetings of the provinces, under the several princes, for the regulation of their local concerns, the triennial Parliament, or Congress of the whole at Tara, held under the monarch of the island, was the great legislature of the nation? Are then the records all fictions? Are their statements facts? If they be facts, are they not evidence of civilization? Do you find even a claim to similar documents, a notion of similar institutions amongst the uncivilized children of nature? Do you find learning held in estimation? do you find laws recorded? do you find a regularly constructed, and a written language amongst barbarians?

I am no advocate for chivalry; but the existence of an order of knighthood, is at least a proof of some progress in civilization. To omit many others which are equally well known, the existence from a very early period of the knights of the Red Branch in Ulster, cannot be called into question. The annals of their order, the history of their exploits, the names of their heroes, the time, the place, the other circumstances, cannot all be baseless fabrics of the fancy, especially when we find history furnishing the facts with which those details are connected. The fable of Greece is the decoration of a fact. The magical metamorphoses of the Roman poet are but the sport of a fine fancy with a true substance; but in the accounts to which I allude, facts are stated without decorations; persons are introduced who are known to have existed, and all the occurrences are such as require neither the power of the magician, nor the performance of a miracle.

Nor shall I here enter upon the disquisition to ascertain, whether at the decline of the order of the Ruddaire na craobh ruadh, it was members of that body established the Saxon association, which was the germ of the German Ritters, and one of the earliest exhibitions of chivalry upon the continent of Europe.

But there is one species of testimony peculiar to our nation. Greece raised tumults upon the first preaching of the Christiar doctrine; Rome persecuted the Apostles, Judea was necessarily inimical to the annihilation of her own power, and felt at the imputation of having slain the Son of God: these nations were civilized. Rome and Judea persecuted; Greece was little more than tumultuous. The pride and corruption of Rome, led to her criminality; the obstinacy with which Judea continued under her mistake, caused her persecution. But amongst the barbarous nations to whom the founders of our religion preached the faith, they had generally to pay their lives as the forfeit of their zeal. In their stubborn soil, the seed of the word was to be watered by the tears of the sower, and the germ was to be nurtured with his blood ere the plant could flourish. All the histories of nations that have embraced our doctrines, testify to the fact upon which I found my assertion. Ireland, however, furnishes a solitary and splendid exception. The Roman proconsuls and prætors executed the orders of a Nero, and of a Domitian, in Greece as well as in other parts of the world. India and Ethiopia, Bactria and Persia, were not behind the officers of the mighty fourth monarchy in their hatred to the name of Jesus, and to the emblem of his cross. But in Ireland the soil was already prepared; the island of shamrocks bloomed in the verdure of cultivation; the venom of irreligious persecution was not found in her fields. Neither the pride of the cruel despot, nor the frenzy of the barbarian, was the characteristic of her king, or of her people. And though our country had the twinkling of science to adorn her firmament, yet like the other nations, she sat in darkness, and in the shadow of death; but her mild mythology, as far as we can discover, caught some rays from the sun of justice, which it imperfectly and weakly reflected upon her children. The daystar beamed upon them, and with expectation their eyes were turned to the reddening east; perhaps the mists of their ocean served to refract and to mellow the glories of the rising sun, and having been long accustomed to a little light, they were better prepared to endure and to examine that brilliant orb which now mounted above their horizon in the effulgent majesty of truth.

Whatever might have been the cause, the fact is indisputable—Ireland did not slay her Apostles; and when she was placed under the dominion of the Briton,

her children were reproached with the imperfection of their calendar; they were accused of being an irreligious people, because no national martyrs were found amongst their saints. Oh, how prophetic was the answer! "That deficiency will soon be supplied, as the Pope has favoured us with such excellent teachers."

New scenes now begin to present themselves. We come to the era of St. Patrick. I cannot say with precision what was the place of his birth. He is claimed as a child of Scotland, he is also claimed by Gaul. We cannot decide where we do not find sufficient evidence. His father's name was Calphurnius: from this it is probable he was of noble Roman extraction, for the wife of Julius Cæsar was of this family. His mother's name was Conchessa; she was niece to the celebrated St. Martin, the Bishop of Tours. This would render it likely that the claim of France is not unfounded; but the parents might have settled in North Britain. Their son Maun was born towards the close of the fourth century. At an early period of youth he was taken into Ireland as a captive, and was employed upon the mountains in charge of cattle. After a few years of heavy servitude he regained his liberty; but was soon afterwards reduced to his former situation. In his wretched durance, he learned much patience, and found the mode of subjugating his passions. He was again released, and travelled into Gaul. Here he was for a considerable time a disciple of his relative, the Bishop of Tours; and he also imbibed much knowledge and piety at Auxerre, from the good and distinguished prelate of that see. After having embraced the ecclesiastical state, he travelled into Italy, and at length, in the year 432, he received episcopal consecration; was admitted into the patrician order, and appointed by Pope Celestine, who then filled the apostolic chair, to the charge of that island in which he had been formerly a captive, and for whose spiritual welfare he felt an ardent zeal, and was anxious to devote himself to a life of toil and sufferings. Henceforth, he is known only by the name of Patrick.

Previous to his arrival, Christianity had made some little progress in the island. We have the accounts of St. Ailbe, founder of the see of Emly, which is now united to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel; of St. Ivar in the west, somewhere in the province of Connaught; of St. Declan, in the country of the Decies, in the vicinity of Waterford; and of St. Kieran, who founded the see of Ossory, in that place which was afterwards called and is still known as Kilkenny.

But upon the arrival of Patrick, a new impulse was given to the missionary force, and the true religion began widely to diffuse itself. Much opposition, of course, was made by many to the labours of the apostle; but he, well knowing that his doctrines were such as could bear to have their foundations closely examined, desired at once to lay them before the assembled wisdom, and judgment, and learning of the nation. He went to the Congress at Tara, and there openly preached a crucified God. The Druids and principal abettors of the Irish mythology disputed with him; but he was chiefly thwarted by the machinations, and intrigues, and open resistance of Niall, the son of the monarch, whose influence was very extensive. So that the apostle did not, at this time, reap all the fruit upon which he had calculated. Yet were many persons brought to a deep sense of the folly of idolatry, and the necessity of serving God, who is a spirit, in spirit and in truth.

The only positive infliction of which we have an account, is of one subsequently to this—an imprisonment of the saint and his companions in irons during about fourteen days. Being released from durance, he went southwards, and converted the King of Munster and his family; then going up towards the northwest, he brought over the King of Connaught and his sons to the profession of the faith, and carried on the mission in Ulster with extraordinary success. In a short time churches rose upon the ruins of idols. Monasteries of men and women were everywhere founded, and the religion of Christ in a few years predominated through the island. We have no record of so sudden, so perfect, so general a conversion of any other nation. The apostle of Ireland saw his flock now too large for his superintendence, and new bishoprics are created. His name is now held in esteem, and in that same assembly at Tara, where on a former occasion he was disappointed, he is now covered with honours: he is admitted to his seat, he is ranked amongst their most learned men, and made one of the judges to preserve the purity of their historical records. The place formerly held by the teachers of idolatry is now given to the apostles of the Lamb. Ireland now adds the gem of Roman literature to the treasures which she had long possessed, and her clergy and her laity are emulous of each other in making progress in the new field of learning to which they had been introduced. Her ancient music resounds in the temple of the living God, and her virgins lift the melody of their voices to celebrate in grateful notes, the triumph of redemption. O, land of my

fathers! how beauteous were your hills, how lovely were your valleys, how pure were your streams in that day before the eye of heaven! The hand of the spoiler did not desolate your fields; the foot of the stranger was not upon the necks of your children; the sword of the persecutor did not stain your temples with blood; the torch of the incendiary did not consume the retreats of devotion; the ruthless bigot had not as yet armed your sons for their mutual destruction; but the conviction of the understanding formed the basis of piety, and perfect charity exhibited the form of undefiled religion. The children of Ireland were in that day known to be disciples of our Lord Jesus, because they loved one another. The days of Patrick were prolonged until from his metropolitan eminence of Armagh, he beheld the land flourish in beauty, lovely in peace, and decorated with virtue. About the year 496, he closed his eyes upon this mortal scene, in which he had been so eminently useful, and was buried at Down. "O, let my soul die the death of the just, and let my last end be like unto theirs."

Ireland was destined ere long to be useful to the rest of Europe. Sarmatia soon began to pour her thousands upon the south. Roman degeneracy had permitted Roman freedom to be lost. But the polish of the Augustan age was still upon society. Barbarism, it is true, had in some instances defaced it. It was still fashionable to be learned; and though the play of the punster had been substituted for the graces of the scholar; and the tinsel of alliteration glared where wit had flashed and fancy sparkled; still it was an age of knowledge, and the edge of the horizon glowed, and the rich, full, mellow clouds retained much lustre, and exhibited brilliant tints as they caught and refracted the rays of departing luminaries. The fifth century of the Christian era was in learning, like a fine evening within the tropics; the short interval which is given to enjoy a glorious view between a bright day of burning calm and a night of thunder.

Vandalic rage and Pannonian fury ravaged and desolated the West and the centre. Very quickly the Saracen swept the East, and Moslem infatuation tore from Africa what the Goth had spared. Shrouded in her thick mantle, murky Ignorance seemed to brood in stupid satisfaction over the wide-spread waste; and, save where the sacred monastery had collected within its massy walls the wrecks of ancient genius, her empire was generally established.

Ireland had been spared from this general deluge, and there, as in another ark, were preserved the means of re-establishing the civilized race of man. Our country had then acquired the title of *Insula Sanctorum*, from the piety of its people, and *Insula Doctorum*, from the learning of its sons. In the next age, then, we find her missionaries go forth to occupy prominent places in those regions which had been even before her in the faith. Italy placed them in her sees, Switzerland acknowledges them as her apostles, Gaul testifies their labours, the Low Countries were the great scene of their successful exertions, many German churches acknowledge Irishmen to be their founders, and in conjunction with Britain, Ireland labours to enlighten Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and Britain herself owes to Ireland much of her erudition, much of her sanctity.

The venerable Bede testifies what we find recorded in our own histories; but as it is fashionable to disbelieve all that has been written of Ireland, except by a calumniator of the people, I quote nothing upon the authority of any but strangers or enemies. Amongst them the testimony is uniform and uncontradicted, that in Ireland during those ages the schools were in the perfection of vigour, and the highest credit; that strangers from all parts of Europe flocked to them for information. So usual was this occurrence, that when a man of literary note was discovered to have been absent, it was immediately concluded, as a matter of course, that he was gone to Ireland. Nor was this strange; for we are told that not only were the lectures given gratuitously by the professors, but even books were furnished, and sometimes even food and raiment provided for the foreign youth who crowded to the asylum which our fathers opened for the genius of Europe.

Amongst others the British youth were by no means backward in availing themselves of the advantages thus placed within their reach. This is testified by their own historians. Armagh was one of the chief of those schools, and we can well credit the statement, that it contained at one time seven thousand students.

When the Britons had been subdued by the Saxons, and the Saxons assailed by the Danes, and the Danes again expelled by the Saxons, the state of learning and civilization in England was low indeed. During a long period of this time, the island of our progenitors was still undisturbed, and the continent of Europe was labouring in the revival of letters. Our countrymen had founded the University of Paris, and were found teaching in many of the principal schools of the continent.

Amongst others of the principal English

who were educated in Ireland, was Alfred, the father of English liberty. In our schools he was trained to letters; in Rome and in Ireland, he imbibed his principles of legislation, and we may therefore fairly claim our share in the spirit of the British Constitution, which, though much injured, still is a fine remnant of what once was good; a system, the general principles of which are excellent, but the administration of which is corrupt; and from which was taken that theory upon which the American mind has so successfully employed itself, as to have developed its benefits, lopped off its excrescences, and exhibited, in a degree of comparative perfection, a system whose origin we are proud to trace to spots with which our apostle was so intimately connected.

Ireland during those ages not only preserved the religion and learning of her own children, but also from her stock communicated much to what then became the civilized world.

Our country was not, however, destined to continue in that eminent station which she had so long held. Her shores had never been subject to the Roman. But another nation apparently more despicable, but really more formidable, began to issue from the Baltic. Normans occupied the coast of France. Danes drove the Saxons from their settlements in England. Their objects at first were only plunder and devastation; they next took up positions on the coast, and then aimed at possessing the dominion of the country. The head of the venomous destroyer was frequently lopped off; but the fens of Lerna never nurtured a more multiplying antagonist than the defeated and yet conquering barbarian of the north. He sat down in France, he occupied England, he assailed Ireland. Often repulsed, he yet returned, and at length had considerable possessions and extensive sway in our country. Our national monarchs, however, continued to rule. It is not my province to dwell upon their deeds of arms, nor is it in my power, without unreasonably encroaching upon your time, to allude even to those facts which shine so brightly emblazoned upon our scroll of history. I shall touch for a moment, however, upon two, which are the first that catch my eye.

Successful in more than fifty pitched battles against the destroyers of his country, the enemies of his religion, the giants of rapine, of lust, and of cruelty, see the aged king of Ireland heading his troops on the memorable plains of Clontarf. With their collected forces, urged to obstinacy by despair, and wrathful in the fury of their pride and the disappointment of their ambition, the Scandinavian chiefs prepare their lines for the encounter. Sitric closes his ranks, inspires hope, points out rewards, promises possessions, exhorts to revenge, shows the plume of the victor's glory within the grasp of his troops, lifts his banner, sounds his trumpet, and shouts defiance.

The Momonian kerns steadily advance —the Connaught galloglasses briskly charge the invaders; it is indeed a day of blood and of carnage; but the pride of the Dane has been smitten: and though patriotism and virtue must rejoice at the issue, still they will permit humanity to weep over the bloody field.

It was on Good Friday—the anniversary of the Christian atonement. The venerable Brian Borhoime thus addressed the heir of his crown: "My son, I leave victory in your hands. Secure the independence of your country, and preserve its honour. But, whilst flushed with success, do not permit unnecessary destruction: save the vanquished, and restrain the spirit of revenge. A God of mercy has been our protector. He who bled on Calvary has shed the lustre of glory on our harp. Frequently have his mercies been extended to us since the blessed Patrick first published his name in Tara: but never, my son, has he been more bountiful than on this occasion, on the anniversary of that day when, by his own blood, he took away sin from his people, he has enabled us to wash away pollution from our shores with the blood of the oppressors of our country. I go, my son, in the name of my people, to return thanks for his benefits. I go alone and unarmed, to the foot of that cross which I have erected in my tent, there to pour out my soul in gratitude, and to discharge those great duties of religion which the solemnity of the day requires, and which the calculating but mistaken enemy of our religion compelled us to defer. To you, my son, I leave my army, my blessing, and my instruction to remember mercy in the day of triumph: remember the glories of our forefathers, remember the injunctions of our God."

Whilst we venerate the union of martial prowess and Christian devotion in the monarch of Munster, shall we be accused of introducing fiction instead of history, when we weep over the immolation of the gray-headed warrior, at the foot of that same cross, by three fugitive assassins of the vanquished host? And though they fell under the swords of his family, who arrived in sufficient time for their punishment, though not for his safety, shall we be sneered at, if, after the lapse of eight centuries, our tear

of sorrow testifies our lasting affection, and our prayer for his rest be sent up to our great Redeemer, as a supplement to the chanting of the requiem upon the plains of Kilmainham and in the Abbey of Swords?

Whilst the self-devotion of a Curtius occupies the thoughts and claims the admiration of the reader of Roman history, shall the heroes of Ireland be forgotten? Much indeed which sober reflection would censure, and the dispassionate judge must condemn, will be permitted to him who warmly feels, and is forced by circumstances to decide and to act under the influence of enthusiasm. Yet how irrational and unmeaning is the act of Curtius, when compared with the conduct of *Failve Loingseach*, the commander of the Irish fleet, who opposed the Danish navy? Long, and bloody, and obstinate was the fight, and doubtful was the issue, when the tug of war appeared ready to snap the strength of either force. Failve saw, and remarked to those who surrounded him, that almost the entire valour, and energy, and perseverance of his opponents was owing to the judicious bravery of their commander, and that if he were removed, the Irish navy would have an easy triumph. In an instant the leading vessels are side by side; grasping his opponent in his arms, the Irish chieftain leaps into the ocean, and like the encounter of the finny monarchs of the deep was the combat of the champions, till, clasped in the embraces of each other and of death, they sunk for ever: and the strings of the harp gave the note of lamentation upon the breeze which flouted the green flag in the imperfect triumph of its joyless victory. But why should I dwell upon these themes? It is true that

"The sun has grown old, since Clontarf's bloody wave
Saw them sleep the sweet sleep of the patriot brave."

It is true, that nations which were not then even in embryo, now rise and rule the destinies of the world. But we do not like to be cheated out of our recollections. It is true, that tongues which then were the rough and discordant combination of dissonant jargons, have since been made smooth by use; but still we love the sound of our fathers' voices, even though that sound should be, as it is, but the imperfect, imitative echo which can be gathered from the ruins of the tomb, and which issues from mouths that have been filled with the dust of ages. These, it is true, are but delusive comforts; but how many of our comforts are delusions! And if the delusion be innocent, why shall we have our eyes opened to a painful, to a remediless reality?

Yes, the days of Ireland's glory have passed away, the epoch of her misery commences. The barbarians who had been thus expelled, had plucked away the foundations of national prosperity; they had been driven from the land, but not before they had crushed religion, destroyed morality, and torn asunder the bonds of union which held the monarchs together. After fever had raged and the crisis had taken place, life still continued, health was established, but the constitution was dreadfully reduced. The restoration of church government was commenced and considerable progress was making under St. Laurence O'Toole in Dublin, and St. Malachy in Armagh; but the profligacy against the Prince of Breffiny led to disunion. and a handful of English adventurers aiding the disaffected and recreant convict, in the jealousy of the people, and the quarrels of the princes, that edifice of national prosperity which the Danes had undermined, fell amidst the struggles of its inmates and the trifling assault of a few strangers.

O, let it be to you a lesson of caution. May the sad fate of my country create in you vigilance to detect, and firmness to restrain those ambitious and immoral individuals who would divide a people, that they may build up their own fortunes with the fragments of national union.

I do not wish, my friends, to excite in you, nor to revive in myself, those feelings of pain and indignation which the subsequent history of Ireland is but too well calculated to create. The Danes commenced the destruction of its records and the system of its disorganization. Other more successful and more persevering enemies were now their successors. It was asked by a poet subsequently to this epoch, *Cur lyra percussa, funestas edidit sonores?* And it was well answered, that the sound of the national music should be that of mournful melody, because in the day of her disaster, her liberties had been cloven down, her children were devoted to slavery, she was seated in the dust, her glory was tarnished, her face bedewed with tears, the testimonies of her greatness were torn away and destroyed, she was sprinkled with obloquy, even sucklings were brought to laugh at her wo, and to mock at her affliction. A proud neighbour who had plundered her of her jewels flung the garb of folly on her shoulders and pointed her out to the derision of the world. How could her harp be tuned to mirth and revelry? Well might her children answer as did God's chosen people

of old: "Upon the rivers of Babylon, there we sat and we wept, when we remembered Sion. Upon the willows in the midst thereof we hung up our harps; because there they who led us captive asked us for the words of our songs, and they who led us away said, Sing to us a hymn of the canticles of Sion. How shall we sing the song of the Lord in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jersualem, may my right hand be forgotten: may my tongue cleave to my jaws if I do not remember thee. If I do not place Jerusalem as the beginning of my joy." Yes, my friends, human nature is the same in every age and throughout the world. The Israelite in Babylon and the Irishman in his own land of streams, equally felt the hand of the oppressor. I shall not continue. But, how could the music of my country not be mournful melody?

I will not dwell upon the misrepresentations of hired traducers which have been substituted for our history. I will not remind you of the horrible falsehoods which have been deliberately given to the world by the enemies of our fathers. I will not tell of the legalized plunder, of the persecution of centuries, by which it was sought to change the religion of a nation, and by which the rights of conscience were destroyed by those who proclaimed themselves to the world as the only supporters of those rights. We, my friends, differ very much in our religious doctrines, yet we live in the harmony of affection, each respecting the rights of his friend, and claiming for himself what he concedes to his brother. We can weep over the crimes of those who have ruined our country, and we can learn wisdom from the exhibition of their havoc, and better appreciate the blessings of which we are here made partakers.

To one fact only will I briefly advert, and it stands unparalleled, as far as I can perceive, in the records of public perfidy. Who does not anticipate the recital of the breach of faith by William and Mary? After many struggles in our unfortunate country, when all the prospects for the hunted Catholics of Ireland were confined to whatever opening the force of their army could make, and when that army, after some of the vicissitudes of war, bravely defended the citadel of Limerick, and when the prudent Ginkle saw that the issue was not so certain as the sanguine advocates of his party had promised, he agreed upon terms of capitulation, which were confirmed by the person then called to fill the British throne, and by his queen. By this agreement the Catholic garrisons were delivered up, the army was disbanded, and William was acknowledged as their lawful king, but he in return was to leave them unmolested upon the score of religion, and to conform in the possession of their estates those who had not been previously plundered on account of their faith, under the pretext of rebellion.

A generous people, under the impression that the royal word was sacred and the national guarantee of a public treaty was inviolable, gave up their posts, laid down their arms, and prepared to worship God, and to cultivate their lands; when a British parliament pretended that the king had exceeded his powers, and persecuted and worried the defenceless and betrayed people who mistook its character; and yet this parliament modestly charged its deluded victims with holding as a principle that *no faith was to be kept with heretics!!!* Dark and more dark are the tints in which the times must be painted. Let us not too closely view the picture. O! well do I recollect the relations of my aged countrymen when seated on their knees I listened to the tales of their sufferings, and the reality of the evils which they endured from the men who claimed preeminence in civilized society exceeded the descriptions of romance; and the highly coloured tints of the poet, who writes to make his readers weep, are light and vapid when contrasted with the glowing streaks of oppression which may be traced on the humbled children of Ireland. How often have I wept at the escapes and the endurance of my grandsires! Their lot was humble, because they professed the religion of their progenitors. Never, never whilst memory holds her seat shall I forget the story of the woes of my father, which with tears he related me to prove my comparative happiness; for he narrowly escaped the fate of a felon because, without changing his religion, he dared to explore the vestibule of science; and yet the people of Ireland are accused of being ignorant!!! O, my friends, what is that policy which barbarizes and then reproaches you with barbarism? It is true, that in comparison with my progenitors of a few centuries my trials have been nothing:—But, thank God, I at length breathe the air of a freeman, and no one reproaches me with the causes of my glory —that I am sprung from a country which was civilized before others were discovered; that my religion is coeval with Christianity, coextensive with civilization.

How many of her sons did this desolate mother send out to signalize themselves upon the continent of Europe during this lengthened persecution? How much literature did she preserve in her bogs, on her mountains, and in her morasses, not-

withstanding the laws which were enacted against learning unless at the sacrifice of the creed of her people? Thus was she glorious even in the day of her dejection.

But a moment is found for the mind to rest without torture in the examination. Let us, however, keep to our object, and before we come to that moment, let us draw the conclusions, and establish our moral. *O, ter quaterque beati*, may we pronounce the sons of America—not for having fallen under their walls without having witnessed the ruin of their country—but for enjoying all the blessings of freedom without having tasted the bitterness of slavery, and without having experienced the afflictions of persecution. *O, nimium felices si sua bona norint.* They do not value the mighty benefits the want of which they have never experienced. Let them see an island rich in soil and blooming in culture, yet a prey to every species of tyranny and despotism, filled with crime and a charnel-house from the executioner; these are the lamentable consequences of sectional and sectarian broils; the force of her people is broken, their energies are paralysed, and they are the prey of a despicable oligarchy, because they permit themselves to be foolishly excited and wickedly played off against each other. O, tell it to your children and to your children's children, and let them transmit the moral to your latest descendants. My country has been ruined because her people were parcelled into parties, and the parties were like the offspring of the dragon's teeth armed for mutual destruction. The balmy air of charity surrounds and invigorates us here. O, may it never be tainted!

But this folly could not last for ever, and the human mind left to itself would soon trace the causes, and the human heart unbiassed would yearn for their removal. The progress of nature must be the same in Ireland as elsewhere, and men of understanding and of honesty saw the causes and were anxious to remove them. The Presbyterians of the North in the latter part of the last century, cherished in their bosoms the flame of patriotism and the glow of humanity. Ulster nobly showed that Ireland, uninfluenced by external causes, would still rise to its proper place, and never did a more cheering light break in upon a benighted people than that which those brave men then created. Many distinguished members of the established church also, as far as the private exertions of individuals could redeem the character of a body, did try to aid their afflicted Catholic countrymen, and thus rescue themselves from that obloquy which the conduct of the united church and state had flung upon the British nation.

A host of intellect was marshalled under the banner of national feeling. Never till then was such a galaxy of genius exhibited in so small a portion of the firmament. Never before did so many brilliant stars glow so conspicuously distinguishable amidst such a flood of light. The place of a standing army was supplied by the patriotic volunteers of Ireland. Dungannon seemed to be the fountain whence salutary and refreshing streams of pure principle were to flow through the land and to give health to the nation. The mighty mass began to move, and that which had become putrescent from stagnation was becoming purified as it was agitated; the impulse was communicated to the very citadel of corruption, and even what was called the Irish parliament was forced for once to speak the voice of the Irish nation. It was too soon, however, to detect the falsehoods which had so long been circulated as history; there was neither time nor inclination as yet to examine into the calumnies which had been sedulously propagated against the creed and the principles of the Roman Catholics; but though they were by many good but deceived men thought to be unfit for liberty and undeserving of kindness, still even common humanity shrunk back from the glimpse of their degradation and afflictions, and men who had during the greater portion of two centuries been treated with the most unparalleled barbarity, were almost goaded into barbarism. No wonder that the good men who were inclined to acts of kindness should almost believe the fictitious atrocities of former times to have been facts, when they met with suspicion and reserve where they sought for confidence that they might be beneficent; when they observed that the hand which they unbound sometimes grasped a weapon of defence. Nor can it be to us a matter of surprise that a being who has been frequently deceived to his serious injury by persons of a particular class, should be cautious of confiding in any individual of that body, how pure soever may be his motive for seeking reliance, and how beneficent soever may be his intention, and however fair may be the appearances. Neither can we be astonished that he who has been sorely distressed, and is still under mitigated persecution, should sometimes seek to retaliate even upon a man who though less cruel than his predecessor is yet unjust. Thus the very natural conduct of men who had been almost brutalized by oppression, too often leads the unreflecting to believe that they must have been

originally barbarians. And he who would justify the oppression will very naturally seize upon so plausible a pretext for its justification, and will forge testimony to prove the pretended necessity of the original crime. The mind is carried away in the vortex of some passion in the midst of those scenes. It is next to impossible but to belong to a party. But here you are fitted for calm and rational investigation. Here is to be found an inquiring mind, a patience of research, a solicitude for knowledge; and, although hitherto America has been generally deceived in its taking the history of our country from the writings of its enemies, still I cherish the hope, and I feel pleased in the anticipation, that the people of this Union will be the first to do justice to the land of my fathers; for there certainly does exist, if I be not greatly deceived, a strong sympathy between the land of my birth and the land of my adoption, and never was mind better fitted for dispassionate research after truth, than that which I meet with every day.

But to leave this digression. In 1782 Ireland almost became a nation. There, unfortunately, the interest of the people was not that of the government, and we observe the consequence. The volunteers are separated; some of the leading talent is purchased. A new scene, however, comes under our observation. The Synod of Ulster is pure; never in a body was there found more true patriotism than in the body of the Presbyterian Clergy of Ireland of that day. Possessing the confidence of their flocks, and standing aloof from the Castle of Dublin and its contaminating influence, they were feared and respected; they loved the country, they took pity upon the oppressed Catholic, they were joined by many of the best, and bravest, and most virtuous lay-members of the established church, they gave the right hand of fellowship to the Catholic, and they formed a brotherhood of Irishmen of all religious persuasions. These United Irishmen intended to have done their country service. The Hon. Robert Stuart, subsequently better known as Lord Castlereagh, was their first Chairman. This holy alliance should be broken up, or the people of Ireland must be no longer oppressed. Their objects were simple, and substantial, and just, and constitutional—to obtain a fair representation of the people in the House of Commons, and to put an end to persecution on the score of religion. The attainment of these objects would have healed the evils of the country, but would not have suited the views of the oligarchy which had long been the bane of the kingdom. The Presbyterians were told that, as being Protestants, they should receive some aid towards the support of their clergy, and the *regium donum* by which the ministers were made dependent upon the bounty of the crown instead of the benevolence of the people, broke down their fine spirit of patriotic independence, and made them an appendage of the British throne—a body that must be obsequious to the executive, or be in indigence. The Catholic aristocracy, consisting of some peers and baronets and a few of the old proprietors. who almost miraculously had preserved, through a thousand perils, some remnants of their estates, were easily brought over, the principal bishops were cajoled, and flattered, and deceived, and the elective franchise and a few other benefits were conferred upon the Catholic people, and the torch of religious dissension was lit up amongst the people that they might be divided and governed; and the same Lord Castlereagh was on the part of the government the man who principally regulated this destruction. Thus, again, by sectarian hatred were the hopes of the nation destroyed. I confine myself to this moral. This is enough. Here we have religious differences; but here we freely discuss religious topics in language respectful to the feelings of each other; here each follows the conviction of his own mind, and is accountable only at the tribunal of that God who will judge us all, and to whom only we stand or fall, and he alone can clearly decide who is obstinately or carelessly wrong, and who is innocently and invincibly ignorant of his truth, and his justice requires the condemnation of the former, but his mercy protects the latter. Whilst we sedulously inquire, and freely discuss, we must leave to him his exclusive prerogative, that of deciding upon the merit and the fate of individuals. He who positively certain of his adhesion to truth, would call down fire from heaven upon unbelieving cities or obstinate individuals, knows not by what spirit he is led. It is the pride of human passion, and not the ardour of religious zeal. Persecution makes hypocrites; to hate a person even for infidelity is a crime against charity, and to grasp the sword to punish for unbelief is to usurp the seat of the judging Son of Man. I do not know of any other to whom that commission has been given. No person who wants charity will enter heaven, and to usurp the exclusive office of the Redeemer is not the best ground on which a claim of salvation can rest. I possess evidence of truth, but I cannot without being able to inspect the mind of him who differs from me, possess evi-

dence that he knows himself to be in opposition to truth. Free discussion, and difference of doctrine, are perfectly compatible with affection and charity. But hatred, and religious discord, and persecution, have destroyed many nations and ruined many souls. Let us learn wisdom from the misfortunes of my country.

One little remnant yet is to be found of what approaches to independence. It is like the solitary column which lifts its capital in the midst of the ruins of what was once a splendid temple. You may judge of what the entire had been, by inspecting the proportions and the workmanship of this relic, and surveying the extent of the fragments by which it is surrounded. When all was perfect, the parts gave mutual support, and the edifice combined strength and beauty. Now, this unprotected piece is blown upon by every wind and must bear the brunt of every storm, and, indeed, it must have been originally well constructed to survive in its isolated grandeur. Do not blame me when I tell you, I feel proud at saying, this is the body of the Catholic clergy of Ireland.

These men have always shared the afflictions of the people in a twofold proportion. From the Archbishop of Armagh, who numbers his predecessors up to St. Patrick, to the youngest priest with whom I was associated, I speak what I know, when I assert that they were enlightened, liberal, and virtuous, and that although they felt it to be their duty to preserve the peace of the land, and to soothe the irritation of the people, they also felt deeply for the wrongs of their country. They withstood the insult of mockery, the superciliousness of privileged petulance, the rude ignorance of a saucy squirearchy, the allurements of those who proffered bribes, and the threats of those who were in power. Once, and once only, was the apostolic simplicity of a portion of the bishops almost overreached by the wiles of the destroyer of his country. Lord Castlereagh proffered to relieve the people from the burden of supporting their clergy, and requested to know whether in return the government could obtain security that none but loyal men should be promoted to bishoprics, so that through the superintendence of such men as might be safely relied upon, the loyalty of the whole clerical body might be confirmed. The four archbishops and six bishops who were trustees of the college which had then been just established, were thus led to say that they considered the proposition one which was reasonable and which ought to be acceded to. Unused to the chicanery of politicians, or to the duplicity of courtiers, they judged of the honesty of others by the standard of their own unsuspecting integrity, and the wily statesman having obtained their assent to a principle of concession, suffered the whole transaction to lie as if unobserved and forgotten, until in due time, upon the pressure of the petitions of the people for their rights, a hint was given that if this principle was carried into practice, and the king allowed a negative upon the appointment of bishops, some little new indulgence would be granted, and if a secretary of state was made the organ of communication between the bishops and the Pope, perhaps, a little more might be added. The bishops, the priests, and the people, horrified at the proposal, exclaimed with one voice against the mischief which they now saw impending. The former concession of the principle was pleaded, but the good men protested that they had been deceived. Thus was the country agitated by the question of the *veto and the arrangements*, and the people again embroiled upon a question of religion, that they might be divided and oppressed.

Well do I remember the history of this contest, for though my place was insignificant, I had my post in the field, and it was on the side of the people. The clergy joined their bishops in declaring that they would subsist upon the voluntary donations of their flocks, rather than be enriched to the manifest danger of the purity of their religion, and with the jealousy of the people. The people exclaimed, "You may regulate religious concerns as you will, that is the province of the bishops; but the instant you accept a pension from the government you forfeit our confidence, for you become the slaves of the crown, spies upon your flocks. Look to Ulster; see what the *regium donum* has done. We have but a small remnant of the liberties of our country, you are as yet uncontaminated; every body which the government has come in contact of friendship with, has been polluted; touch it and we separate from you. We are jealous of your virtue, we love what has been left of our freedom." This was their language; this is called *agitation*. As yet, thank God, this clergy and this people have withstood the storm. But this relic of the national fabric is daily assailed. May God protect and preserve it; for it yet shows in a pious and patriotic priesthood what Ireland might have been. May God long preserve the liberties of America from any union of any church with any state! In any country, with any religion it is an unnatural increase of the power of the executive against the liberties of the people.

No wonder that from a country like this

the emigrant should arrive upon your shores with his feelings sore and his passions excited and burning with recollections. He loves to remain near those spots which his fathers have inhabited during centuries, spots which are blended with the reminiscences of childhood, with the joys of his youth; those spots upon which his friends are still found. O! he loves his country and his friends, but he cannot endure to be scourged with scorpions by strangers who have been placed as his taskmasters; and he cannot banish all his recollections even amidst the endearing attachments which he makes in a land of freemen.

It will then be permitted to us this day to enjoy the melancholy gratification of contemplating the former greatness of our country, and going back in spirit and affection to the land of our fathers, to the island of shamrocks, to the emerald gem of the ocean, for

Though glory be gone, and though hope fade away,
Yet thy name, loved Erin, shall live in our songs;
Nor even in the hour when this heart is most gay,
Shall it lose the remembrance of thee and thy wrongs.

The stranger shall hear us lament on his plains,
The sigh of our harp shall be sent o'er the deep,
Till thy masters themselves as they rivet thy chains,
Shall pause at the song of their captive and weep.

After the discourse the Society proceeded from the church to the City Hotel in the same order as before.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE DAY.

Upon the arrival of the Society at its room the flag was suspended over the President's chair.

It was then, on motion of Dr. John Cumming,

Resolved, That the President be requested to present the thanks of this Society to the Right Rev. Dr. England, for his admirable address delivered before them this day; and further, to request a copy for publication whenever his convenience will permit him to reduce it to writing.

At four o'clock the Society and its guests, consisting of the several clergymen, the mayor, the general of the brigade, the French and Spanish consuls, the chairman of the vestry of the church, &c., &c., being assembled, the deputation presented the diploma and resolutions of the Society to the Bishop. Captain Pooler addressed him as follows:

"Right Reverend Sir:—We appear before you as a committee of the Hibernian Society of the City of Savannah, for the purpose of presenting you with certain documents which this day met with the unanimous approbation of that body.

"These papers, sir, contain the offering of hearts which have this day felt the power of your eloquence, at times glowing with enthusiasm at the recital of the deeds of their ancestors, and melting into sorrow at the touching picture of Hibernia's woes.

"The members of this Society, natives of Ireland and the descendants of Irishmen, cherish with fond remembrance the land of their nativity, the land of their forefathers; and cannot, on this occasion, without doing injustice to their feelings, refrain from testifying their respect for one who, though surrounded by prejudice, has been heard in the thunder of his eloquence maintaining his country's glory, such as it was ere tyranny oppressed her, and by the irresistible force of truth dispersing the mists of ignorance which enveloped the minds of those who were unacquainted with her history.

"The address which you this day delivered has shed a burst of light on the historic page of that ill-fated country, which, notwithstanding persecution at home and prejudice abroad, still maintains her claim to *genius*, *literature*, and *hospitality*.

"The Society in conferring honorary membership on you, has acted in obedience to grateful feeling; and we, in discharging the duty confided to us, feel highly gratified, assured, as we are, that we have been made the means of conveying to you an honour to which your merit entitles you.

"We hope, sir, that you will receive it as it is intended, and indulge in the further expectation that your religious instruction, moral rectitude, and national feelings, will be productive of benefit to our common country."

Dr. England replied:

"Gentlemen:—The unexpected honour which I now gratefully receive, adds too much to the enjoyments of one day. My heart feels what my tongue cannot utter. O! that our fellow-countrymen at the other side of the Atlantic could act as we do here! Ireland might again be great. Believe me, when I assure you that my gratifications are enhanced at being thus admitted into a society which contains brethren

in affection, though not united in the same creed, and when I see mingled together with the sons of Ireland for the celebration of our national festival, the fellow-countrymen of Washington, the friends of the oppressed, the lovers of the lovers of liberty. For us it is a moment of luxuriant delight, for others it would be a scene of great instruction. To this society I feel deeply indebted; to its interests I am warmly attached. To this deputation I feel obliged—comprising, in itself, talent, virtue, and wisdom, it is a true representative of that body whose resolution it conveys. To you, sir, as its organ, I return special thanks for your complimentary expression of its will."

After this the Society, with their much-respected guests, in all about eighty persons, (after a blessing was asked by the Right Rev. Dr. England,) sat down to an excellent dinner, provided by Messrs. Miller & Denny, consisting not only of the substantials, but delicacies of the season. After the cloth was removed, and a thanks-offering returned by the Rev. Mr. Carter, the toasts given below were drunk, interspersed with songs and music.

A transparency, presented to the Society by Mr. Marlow, was exhibited from the City Hotel in the evening, containing a female figure, clothed in green, and her brows entwined with a wreath of shamrock, intended as a representation of the Genius of Ireland, playing upon a harp beneath one of the arches of the ruined Abbey of Swords, where Brian Borhoime's obsequies were performed; around this arch there was painted in letters of gold,

"ERIN MA VOURNEEN! ERIN GO BRAH!!!"

1. *The day we celebrate*—May every return of it find us true to the object for which we are associated.

Tune, St. Patrick's day in the morning.

2. *Our Guests*—We hail them with "*Cead milthe failthe*," (an hundred thousand welcomes.)

Tune, Hospitality.

The Right Rev. Bishop England, in behalf of the guests, returned thanks, and proposed the health of the "respectable and respected President of the Hibernian Society," to which Col. Hunter made the following reply:

"Gentlemen:—I congratulate you and myself on the honour we this day have of entertaining a dignified son of Erin, not less distinguished for his piety than for his philanthropy. Gifted, also, with an eloquence and an erudition, which have largely contributed to enlighten both hemispheres: I therefore propose health and respect to our honoured guest, John, Bishop of Charleston."

The Bishop again addressed the Society in reply.

3. The Irish and American fair equally lovely and beloved.

Tune, An Irishman's heart for the ladies.

4. *The heart of an Irishman*—"Knock and it shall be opened unto you:" ay, even to the very *Cushlamachree*, (the veins of my heart.)

Tune, The Sprig of Shilelah.

5. *The State of Georgia*—She takes Irishmen into her bosom—and Ireland never yet bred a viper.

Tune, Georgia Boys.

6. *Warren and Montgomery*—Offerings made by Ireland upon the altar erected to Liberty in America.

Tune, Coranach.

7. *Ireland*—Since 1782, it has been like the setting sun in a winter horizon; but we hope to see it rise once more resplendent in all its pristine majesty and glory, to illuminate the eastern hemisphere.

Tune, Erin go Brah.

8. *Phœnicia*—Irishmen have one reason for their sympathy with the Greeks beyond the similitude of their situation, and it is contained in the proud knowledge of a common ancestry.

Tune, Remember the glories of Brian the Brave.

9. *Irish genius*—Like the lightning amid the tempest, it only serves to show the desolation that the destroyer is making and has made.

Tune, The Irishman.

10. The dissensions of Ireland, the fitful lights of a beacon placed on the verge of a troubled ocean: let Americans take warning by it.

Tune, Yankee Doodle.

11. *Irish literature*—Precious as the emerald among the gems; and delightful to the mind's eye as the own favourite colour of nature to the eye of sense.

Tune, Paddy Carey.

12. Emmett, Sampson, M'Donell, M'Nevin, and the other Irish patriots, whom neither British nor American king could keep from the "land of the free and the home of the brave."

Tune, Exile of Erin.

13. *Education according to the Free School System*—As Irishmen we have reason to estimate its benefits; and when founded on liberal principles we will contribute our mite to its support.

Tune, The Orphan Boy.

VOLUNTEERS.

By the President: William H. Crawford, the favourite son of Georgia; as her adopted children, we throw back upon those who would lessen his claims upon the gratitude and affections of the sons of Erin, the schism that his enemies have endeavoured to create.

By the Right Rev. Dr. England: The rights of conscience; may the example of Savannah be widely influential—here men who differ in religion may meet as friends and brethren—the acrimony of the bigot is not permitted to destroy the harmony of society.

By George B. Cumming, Vice-President: Those societies in Savannah which have a common object with us, that of relieving the distressed.

By the Rev. Dr. Browne: The Hon. John Forsyth.

By Samuel Wright, Treasurer: The memory of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, the advocate of civil and religious liberty.

By P. P. Thomasson, Esq., Vice Consul of France: The memory of St. Patrick; France claims the honour of his education.

By Don Joseph Mulvey, Vice Consul of Spain: Col. G. M. Troup, Governor of the State of Georgia.

By J. B. Gaudry, Esq., President of the Roman Catholic Vestry: The United States of America, the land of liberty; its government protects our rights and liberty, our blood shall, if necessary, protect its shores and rights.

By Richard W. Habersham, District Attorney of Georgia: The Harp of Erin, though its tones are now almost silent, may it soon strike its wild notes of victory and liberty on every hill of the island.

By Dr. W. C. Daniell: Ireland, her virtues and her misfortunes give her peculiar claims upon her sons abroad, and upon freemen everywhere.

By Matthew W. Stewart: Our absent member, the Hon. Edward W. Tattnall, his public and private life gives him the highest claims upon the confidence of his fellow-citizens; he possesses it, and long may he enjoy it.

By John Laughnan: The now political target of Ireland, Daniel O'Connell, may he prove as invulnerable to the arrows of his enemies, as did the beloved Washington in Braddock's retreat.

By T. M. O'Driscoll: My native country, the United States, may it continue to be the asylum of the brethren of my ancestors.

By Michael Prendergast: The United States of America, may she be the source from which all nations of the earth may be freed from their oppressions.

By General Harden: Ireland, let us never cease to hope for her emancipation from political and religious thraldom.

By James Morrison, Esq., Mayor of Savannah: The memory of Robert Emmett, may the time speedily arrive, when his countrymen will dare to write his "epitaph" in the land of his nativity.

By Dr. John Cumming: The presidential election; political conversion is suspicious, military exaltation dangerous.

After Dr. Cumming retired, the following toast, with a few appropriate and elegant remarks, was proposed by Richard W. Habersham, Esq.: Major John Cumming, an Irishman in heart, an American in principle, a Christian in practice, a man in everything; which was drunk with loud applause.

By William Tighe: Health, wealth, and prosperity to the people of our city.

By Matthew Hopkins: The glorious and immortal memory of the great and good George Washington; first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of the sons of freedom.

By Patrick Marlow: The citizen soldiers of the United States, and their alien brethren in arms and politics, the friends of the Emerald Isle; not the mercenary hirelings of a corrupt crown, but the magnanimous volunteers of a great and good government; may their example fire the people's bosom of all the oppressed nations of the earth, and never be extinguished till tyranny falls a sacrifice on the altar of freedom.

By Patrick M'Dermott: Major A. B. Fannin, a worthy and gallant member of our society, and one whom Irishmen feel proud in claiming as a descendant of their countrymen.

By Captain Robert W. Pooler: Momonia, land of my ancestors; sorrow long has touched her! Oh! near be the day, when sounding the bold numbers of Erin go Brah, Clontarf's heroes shall be remembered and liberty prevail.

By Moses Herbert: Alfred Cuthbert, the man who has sacrificed private interests to the public good; the disinterested politician and patriot; may his name be long known in the land of the free and the home of the brave!

By John Dillon: The liberty and laws of our adopted country, may they continue coeval with time.

By Hugh Archer: The Tariff in its present shape before Congress, may our political surgeons be enabled to dissect and exhibit it in its naked deformity to the world.

By John E. O'Connell: Civil and reli-

gious liberty, what Wallace intended, Emmett died for, and Washington established.

By W. C. Cuthbert: The oppressed sons of Erin, may they always find open arms to receive them in Savannah.

By John Guilmartin: Major John Macpherson Berrien, an ornament to his country.

By Captain Jacob Read: The cause of Greece, may the apathy that now pervades the councils of Europe, be converted into a general flame of enthusiasm in her favour.

By Thomas Fulton: The shamrock, emblematical of the Trinity, may its presence ever inspire good will to all mankind, and gratitude to God.

By Horace Kirby: Irishmen, their national warmth of feeling entitles them to the first rank among freemen.

By the Stewards of the day:

By William Roche: America, as she is, and Ireland as she ought to be—free, sovereign, and independent.

By Joseph V. Bevan: The enemies, persecutors, and slanderers of Irishmen, even as their natures are, so be it; the wasp infests the house, the hyena prowls upon the living and the dead, and the goose hisses as well as the serpent.

By Captain Henry MacDonnell: The fair of Georgia; celebrated in Europe only for their beauty, in America, they unite with it every female accomplishment.

By G. B. Cumming, Vice-President, after the President had retired: Colonel James Hunter, President of the Hibernian Society.

By Captain MacDonnell, after the Vice-President had retired: G. B. Cumming, Vice-President of the Hibernian Society; his re-election, by the unanimous voice of the Society, shows the estimation in which we hold him.

After which the Society proceeded to deposit their standard at the house of the President, where they were hospitably received, and regaled with a "cruskeen lawn."

NOTES.

In the few and short notes appended to this discourse, little more than general reference is made to known authors; did the nature of the production admit long proof, it could be easily given of the several statements contained therein.

P. 45. We are asked for our documents, &c.

This singular caution, to prevent the introduction of any falsity or misrepresentation into their national history, would have furnished posterity with the most authentic and interesting relations of this ancient and extraordinary kingdom, had not the Danes, in their frequent ravages and invasions of Ireland, during the ninth and tenth centuries, burnt all the books and monuments of antiquity that fell in their way. We have still more to lament the shameful and fatal policy of our ancestors, who, from the first invasion of Henry Plántagenet, down to the reign of James I., took all possible means of art and force to destroy whatever writings had, by chance or care, been preserved from the destructive hands of the Danes. They imagined that the perusal of such works kept alive the spirit of the natives, and kindled them to rebellion, by reminding them of the power, independency, and prowess of their ancestors.—*Plowden.*

Had this people been granted the benefit of the English laws, it would go infinitely farther towards securing their obedience than the destruction of all the books and laws ever published in this kingdom.—*Sir John Davies.*

P. 45. Though it may be criminal to preserve the name of your progenitors, &c.

"In the fortieth year of his reign (1366) King Edward held that famous Parliament at Kilkenny, wherein many notable lawes were enacted," &c.

"Again, if anie man of English race should use an Irish name, Irish language, Irish apparell, or any other guize or fashion of the Irish, if he had lands or tenements, the same should be seized until he had given security to the Chancery, to conform himself in all points to the English manner of living. And if he had no lands, his bodie was to be taken and imprisoned till he found the sureties aforesaid."—*Sir John Davies.*

This better pointed out the Irish for persecution, and drew the line of distinction between those who were to be protected and those who were to be persecuted. By a subsequent statute, the date of which I do not recollect, the Irish were compelled to give up their family names and assume those of trades, occupations, &c., previous to which, by the 4th chapter of the statutes of Trim 25 of Hen. VI. (1447) the famous *glib act*, any Irishman who kept his beard unshaved during a fortnight was liable to lose his goods. I have known, in the year 1795 or 1796, a man who sent an estimate of work to a grand jury of the city of Cork; he then signed his name John McCarthy. He subsequently wrote only John Carthy, the reason of which was, as he informed me, he lost the first contract for using the

Irish Mc, and after omitting it upon a hint from one of the grand jurors, he obtained full employment, and did most of the public work of the city for many years.

P. 45. If the settlers of our island did not come from Spain, whence did they come?

One of the most extraordinary documents which Irish history contains, is the preamble to an Irish Act of Parliament, proving the title of Elizabeth to be Queen of Ireland. It is a curiosity in legislation, in literature, in antiquarian research, and, I believe, unique. Yet it proves what it was intended to defeat, the fact of the early Irish settlement, and that the settlers came from Spain. The reader will be at a loss to know what to think of such a fable, copied from an act of Parliament. It is taken from Eliz. xi. c. 1, sess. 1. *An act for the attainder of Shane O'Neile, and the extinguishment of the name of O'Neile, and the entitling of the Queen's Majestie, her heyres and successors to the County of Tyrone, and to other counties and territories in Ulster.*

"And now, most deere sovereign ladie, least that any man which list not to seeke and learn the truth, might be ledd eyther of his own fantasticall imagination, or by the sinister suggestion of others, to think that the sterne, or lyne of the Oneyles should or ought, by prioritie of title, to hold and possess anie part of the dominion or territories of Ulster before your majestie, your heyres, and successours. we, your grace's said faithfull and obedient subjects, for avoyding of all such scruple. doubt, and erroneous conceit, doe intend here (pardon first craved of your majestie for our tedious boldness) to disclose unto your highness *your auncient and sundry strong authentique tytles*, conveyed farr beyonde the said lynage of the Oneyles and all other of the Irishrie to the dignitie, state, title, and possession of this your realm of Ireland.

"And therefore it may like your most excellent majestie to be advertized, that the auncient chronicles of this realm, written both in the Latine, English, and Irish tongues, alledged *sundry auncient tytles for the kings of England to this land of Ireland.* And first, that at the beginning, afore the comming of Irishmen into the said land, they were dwelling in a *province of Spain, the which is called Biscan, whereof Bayon was a member, and the chief citie.* And that, at the said Irishmen's comming into Ireland, one King Gurmond, sonne to the noble King Belan, king of Great Britaine, which now is called England, was lord of Bayon, as many of his successours were to the time of King Henry the Second, first conqueror of this realm: and THEREFORE THE IRISHMEN SHOULD BE THE KING OF ENGLAND HIS PEOPLE, AND IRELAND HIS LAND!!

"Another title is, that at the same time that Irishmen came out of Biscay, as exhiled persons, in sixty ships, *they met with the same King Gurmond* upon the sea, *at the ysles of Orcades*, then comming from Denmark with great victory. Their captains, called Heberus and Heremon, went to this king, and him tolde the cause of their comming out of Biscay, and him prayed, with great instance, that he would graunt unto them, *that they might inhabit some land in the west.* The king at the last, by advise of the councel, *granted them Ireland that they might inhabite*, and assigned unto them guides for the sea, to bring them thither: and THEREFORE THEY SHOULD AND AUGHT TO BE THE KING OF ENGLAND'S MEN!!"

"Know then that our forefathers came from Spain, and our chief Apostle St. Patrick, sent by your predecessor Pope Celestine, in the year of our Lord 435, did by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, most effectually teach us the truth of the holy Roman Catholic faith, and that ever since that our kings well instructed in the faith that was preached to them, have in number sixty-one, without any mixture of foreign blood, reigned in Ireland to the year 1170. And those kings were not Englishmen, nor of any nation but our own, who with pious liberality bestowed ample endowments in lands and many immunities upon the Irish Church," &c. *Remonstrance of the Irish Chieftains to* POPE JOHN XXII. *against the English.*

P. 46. Amongst the scraps of our history which remain is the list of the monarchs, &c.

This may still be seen in several of our historians—not those whom the English government has paid for writing.

"In the year of our Lord 1170, one of the princes of Ulster boasted to Pope Alexander III. of an uninterrupted succession of 197 kings of Ireland down to his time. The moderate allowance of 10 years for the reign of each of those kings, will fill up the space of 1970 years; two hundred years being a moderate allowance for those reigns which exceeded that duration. This nearly corresponds with the time (viz. about 1000 years before the birth of Christ) at which most of the Irish annalists date the arrival of the Phœnician colony from Spain under Milesius."—*Plowden.*

In the remonstrance of the Irish chieftains to Pope John XXII. there are 61 reigns during a space of 735 years, being little

more than 12 years to each reign; the same average to the whole number of 197 would take us 1194 years before the Christian era.

Taking the chronology of Petavius, which I look upon as most accurate for our guide, Moses left Egypt 237 years before the commencement of this Irish dynasty. According to the same author, and by the chronicle of Eusebius: the founder of the first Grecian dynasty was Inachus, who laid the foundation of Argos, in Peloponnesus, more than five hundred and fifty years before the date above assumed, and three hundred and twenty-six years before the departure of Moses from Egypt.

Prometheus and his brother Atlas, who were the founders of Grecian astronomy, flourished about the time of Moses. But the period in which Cadmus lived is not so well ascertained. It appears that he was brother to Phœnix, and to Cilix, and to Europa. His father Agenor had been in Egypt, and left it at least some time prior to the departure of the Israelites.

Tyre had been a large and commercial city long before the time of King Solomon, who engaged some of the people of Hiram the King of Tyre, in his works. Josephus tells us that it was built 240 years before the time of King Solomon. This would bring us 70 years before the fall of Troy. However, it is agreed that the city was much more ancient than its records, and that it had very early formed colonies upon the coast of Africa. Virgil makes Eneas find Dido building Carthage. We have reason to believe this to be a poetic license; for Pygmalion her brother, the King of Tyre, was not in existence until more than a century after the time of Solomon, for Jezebel, the wife of Achab, was grand aunt of Pygmalion, and the city of Carthage was not built until about 120 years before the foundation of Rome. But there were many Tyrian colonies of a much older date than Carthage. It would then appear that the Milesians were the descendants of one of those prior colonies, and could have been easily settled in Ireland, more than 1000 years before the Christian era, and this Irish colonization would have been still long after the period that a Tyrian settlement had been made in Africa—long after the expedition of the Argonauts—long after extensive commerce was carried on—long after letters were used. In p. 46, I have the following expressions: "The migration from Carthage to Spain was easier than from Tyre to Carthage; perhaps it is also better sustained by proof." It must be clear from what I have stated that by Carthage, in this place I do not confine myself to the settlement made by Dido, at the time of Pygmalion the murderer of Sichæus, who did not live until about 900 years B. C., and centuries after the time of Cadmus; but the word refers generally to the ancient and prior settlements, and specially to one which our historians state to have taken place under Gadelus, before the days of Hiram, who was the eleventh King of Tyre, before Pygmalion. Not being too fond of assuming facts upon mere etymology, I shall not insist, as some writers do, that his colony was farther to the west, and that it was from him Cadiz received its ancient name of Gades.

Cicero in his book de Natura Deorum, mentions six persons named Hercules. The latest of those was the son of Alcmena, from whom the pillars were named. He was cotemporary with Gedeon, about the year 1250 B. C. Spain had then unquestionably been settled, for some of his exploits were in Spain, and Asiatic colonies were previously found upon the northern coast of Africa. The spot upon which Carthage stood would appear from Rollin, and the ancient authors whom he quotes, to have had different epochs of Phœnician settlement. The first settlement was of the port which was called Cothon. According to Appian and other ancient writers to whom Petavius also alludes, as well as Rollin, Cothon was built about fifty years before the fall of Troy, or about 1240 before the Christian era. Megara, called also Karthada, or the new town, was built, if we take the authority of Eusebius and others, about 1050 before Christ. And lastly, Byrsa or the citadel, was built by Dido, about the year 870 B. C. According to Rollin, Utica was founded by Tyrians much earlier than Carthage or Cothon. *Utica et Carthago, ambæ inclytæ, ambæ à Phœnicibus conditæ: illa fato Catonis insignis, hæc suo.* Pompon. Mel. c. 67.

Regarding the settlements in Spain from those early colonies there can be no question. Diodorus and other ancient historians inform us that it was by means of the wealth drawn from the Spanish mines, the Carthaginians were enabled to contend so long against the Romans. Rollin says, the Phœnicians first made the discovery of those mines; and the Carthaginians followed their example, as the Romans followed that of the Carthaginians. Thus it will appear to any person having the slightest knowledge of history that a body of settlers in Ireland, 1000 years before Christ, could have been emigrants from a Phœnician colony which settled in Spain after having left Africa.

P. 47. Our country had her law, &c.

"We had a written code of laws according to which our nation was governed hitherto; they have deprived us of those laws, &c., and of every law except one, which it is impossible to wrest from us; and for the purpose of exterminating us they have established other iniquitous laws, by which injustice and inhumanity are combined for our destruction," &c.—*Remonstrance of the Irish Chieftains against the English to Pope John XXII.*

The grand epoch of political eminence, in the early history of the Irish, is the reign of their great and favourite monarch *Ollam-Fodlah*, who reigned, according to Keating, about nine hundred and fifty years before the Christian era. Under him was instituted the great *Fes*, at *Teamor* or *Tarah*, which was in fact a triennial convention of the states, or a parliament, &c.—*Plowden.*

Nothing can give us stronger ideas of the early civilization of Ireland, than to reflect upon the period of time at which this regular system of heraldry and other literary institutions were established in Ireland, viz.: nine hundred and fifty years before the period alluded to by Cæsar, of the rude barbarism of the Britons. In this triennial assembly, King Ollam-Fodlah gave the royal assent to a great many good laws; and amongst the rest to one, whereby it was ordained that every nobleman and great officer should by the learned herald have a coat of arms assigned to him, according to his merit and his quality, whereby he should be distinguished from others of the same rank, and be known by an antiquary or person of learning, wherever he appeared, whether at sea or land, at the prince's court, at the place of his own residence, or in the field of battle. The Bishop of Derry upon Irish History, quotes Keating, &c.—*Plowden.*

P. 49. The Pope has favoured us with such excellent teachers.

Pope Adrian IV., an Englishman, granted the land to Henry II., under whom, and perhaps at whose instigation, St. Thomas of Canterbury (Becket) was murdered, for not betraying the rights of his see.

P. 50. Ireland had been spared, &c.

I shall give very few instances, out of hundreds of facts which might be adduced, to support the positions taken in this and the three following pages.

Camden, one who is by no means partial to Ireland, observes, in *Brit. de Hibern*, that the English Saxons anciently flocked to Ireland as the mart of sacred learning. He even goes so far as to say, that the Saxons borrowed their letters from the Irish. Those Saxon characters appear to be a mean between the Irish and the Roman.

Exemplo Patrum, commotus amore legendi,
Ivit ad Hibernos, sophiâ mirabile claros.

With love of learning and examples fired,
To Ireland, fam'd for wisdom, he retired.
Vit. S. Sulgeni.

Usher, p. 544, &c., shows that Alfred, in his projects for advancing literature, was assisted by three Irishmen.

Marianus Scotus, in his Chronicle, ad an. 674, remarks that Ireland was filled with holy men. In 791, two Irishmen coming to France, were admired for their incomparable learning, and founded the two first universities in the world, Paris and Pavia. Dr. Prideaux remarks that Ireland was, in the days of Charlemagne, the prime seat of literature in all Christendom, and that this emperor corresponded with the King of Ireland, and invited the learned Professors Clement and John to found the Universities of Paris and Pavia.

P. 51. The venerable Brian Borhoime thus addressed the heir to his crown, &c.

This battle took place on Good Friday, in the year 1034, when Brian was in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Some accounts inform us that he fell, in the pursuit of the enemy, at the head of his troops: but I find the general leaning of the evidence to be in favour of the statement, as I gave it in the discourse. His eldest son Morrogh was slain leading the pursuit, but was able, after his wounds, to receive the sacraments upon the field.

P. 52. Whilst the self-devotion of a Curtius, &c.

The circumstances of this exploit are differently related by our historians. All agree that Failve was the admiral, and that he boarded the Danish prince's ship, and liberated Ceallachan, his own prince, who was then a prisoner to Sitric, and his brothers Tor and Magnus, and that he lost his life in the conflict, and that the Danish commander was drowned in the manner described. But Keating informs us that *Failve*, whom he calls *Fionn*, not *Loingseach*, was overpowered by numbers, and slain upon the deck, after the liberation of the Irish prince; and that it was Fiongall, the surviving officer that remained, now nearly alone amidst a host of foes, who, clasping the Dane into his arms, leaped into the sea. Tor and Magnus were likewise thus seized upon by

Seagda and Conall, two other Irish chiefs, and lost in like manner.

P. 52. But we do not like to be cheated out of our recollections.

That the old Irish annalists delivered very little better than fables, in their accounts antecedent to Nial, *Naoigiallach* (of the nine hostages) in the fifth century, is but the bare conjecture of Sir James Ware. Tigernach and Cormac, King and Archbishop of Munster, in the ninth century, could inform him better: even his cotemporary Usher, might have undeceived him; but Ware was far from being a good antiquarian.—*Alban Butler.*

P. 52. But still we love the sound of our fathers' voices, &c.

Nothing can be more unjust than to conclude against the perfection of the language of Ireland, in the day when it was cultivated, because of the imperfection of the remnant which, now corrupted by the introduction of a thousand English monosyllables with Irish terminations, is to be heard from the uncouth mouths of an oppressed, uncultivated, and half-barbarized population. As well might we conclude against the rich fulness of the Greek, if, after burning Homer, and tearing up Demosthenes, we were to judge from the jargon of an oppressed Hellenist, who blended some remnant of his father's expressions with the beauties of the Sclavonic and the sweetness of the Turkish dialects. A reverend and esteemed friend of mine prefers Lord Chatham and Dr. Johnson. No doubt their language is now more perfect than was that of their fellow countrymen some thousand years ago. But the sun which now sets in the west, blazed in the zenith when that planet which now culminates was only in the eastern horizon. But though my very reverend friend and I are not likely to see the termination of the dreary night, we ought to recollect that *the day has been.*

P. 52.—fell amidst the struggles of its inmates and the trifling assaults of a few strangers.

Never were the true circumstances of any historic fact less generally known, than those regarding the success of the Strongbownians. As I have room for only a few lines, I shall give nothing.

P. 53. I will not dwell upon the misrepresentations of hired traducers, &c.

I would request of any person desirous of knowing the value of most English writers of Irish history to read that valuable work, *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, written by my countryman, Mathew Carey, Esq. of Philadelphia. Let him turn to pages 396 and 397 of the edition of 1819, and see what Hume was; every person who reads Irish history should read the Vindiciæ.

So far as I can charge my memory, *my persecuted friend*, Francis Plowden, is the only honest writer upon the subject that I have perused. He has been driven into exile for writing the truth, whilst all the calumniators of my country have been enriched. No man in Great Britain dare write a true history of Ireland.

P. 53. To one fact only will I briefly advert, &c.

I shall never forget the sensations with which I was overwhelmed, when, seated upon the very stone on which the Articles of Capitulation of Limerick were signed, I reflected upon all the gross acts of perfidy which followed the making of that treaty. And I would ask any honest politician, conscience being out of the question, Is not the British government to-day equally guilty, in withholding from the Irish Catholics the benefit of that treaty, as the government of William and Mary was in the original violation of the articles? Or does long-continued injustice by a powerful and unprincipled court divest the oppressed party of rights which it originally had, always claimed, and never forfeited?

DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE ANTI-DUELLING SOCIETY OF CHARLESTON, S. C.,

IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. FINBAR, 1828, BY THE RIGHT REVEREND DOCTOR JOHN ENGLAND, BISHOP OF CHARLESTON.

PREFACE.

In publishing the following pages, some explanation concerning the length of time elapsed between the date of their delivery and the present period may seem requisite to those not aware of the cause.

Bishop England having been appointed orator to the Anti-Duelling Association, a copy of the address was requested by the

Society for publication. Circumstances beyond his control prevented a compliance with the request at that moment, and the manuscript having been shortly afterwards mislaid, the delay was necessarily prolonged. Within a short time, however, in arranging some papers previous to taking his departure for Europe, this address was discovered, and is now submitted to the public, with the assurance, that should it have the least influence in putting a stop to a practice which unfortunately prevails at present to so great an extent, or gratify his friends by its perusal, the aim of the author will have been effectually accomplished.

DISCOURSE.

It is a matter of notoriety, that during several ages a practice has prevailed, more or less generally, amongst civilized nations, of terminating some differences of individuals by single combat, in a manner previously arranged; and this fight has, at times, been considered a very becoming and honourable mode of closing those altercations. Some persons have frequently endeavoured to find in what circumstance of the duel the quality of honour consisted, but have been baffled, sometimes by the diversity of cases, all said to be honourable; at other times by the opposition to correct principles in those general, but essential characteristics, which were found in every case.

I must avow that I do not recollect a moment when I did not feel the practice to be censurable, though I do remember a time when I was under what I now believe to have been a very erroneous impression; that engaging in such a combat was, at least, an exhibition of courage; hence I never conceived it to be honourable. And having been upon terms of intimacy with several men of powerful mind, and generally correct feeling, and in vain sought to learn from them in what one or more circumstances of the practice honour consisted: I could never obtain any elucidation. Was it in killing your adversary?—No! for honour was generally satisfied without his death, and very frequently after the discharge of a pistol which inflicted a wound upon public morality alone, the parties who previously appeared to seek mutual destruction became fast and honourable friends. Was it in violating the law? Was it in exposing one's self to be slain by an insolent aggressor? Was it all these united? Is honour then the result of blended revenge, violation of law, and wanton exposure of life to the weapon of an unreasonable opponent? To this inquiry I could obtain no better answer than that reasonable and honourable men approved of the practice, and thought it necessary for preserving the decorum of society.

No person can be more disposed than I am, as well from feeling as from principle, to bow with deference before the tribunal of such men: I am generally inclined to consider their maxims to be the dictates of the general or common sense of mankind, and since I prefer the collected experience and reasoning of the bulk of society to the results of my own weak efforts, I believe it to be the suggestion of reason, and the duty of an individual, to admit that he is not as wise as is the collective body of his fellow men. I am, therefore, prepared to view most favourably, and with what I call a fair partiality, any practice which the great body of reasonable and honourable men, after mature reflection, and as the expression of their judgment, and not of their prejudices, will say is necessary, or even useful to preserve the order of society, and the decorum of civil intercourse. But I am distinctly of opinion, that the good sense and sober judgment of the vast majority of upright and educated men are altogether opposed to the practice of duelling, as not only useless for society, but as criminal and mischievous in its results. Hence, I consider the answer which I have received to be the too hasty expression of an opinion too lightly examined, and to be founded altogether upon mistakes.

As you have done me the honour of delivering your first address, you will, perhaps, excuse me for taking up the subject in a more technical manner than would be necessary for any future occasion.

To know then the matter exactly for our consideration, we had better look to the etymology of the name, the nature of the act, and the history of the practice, so that our view of the subject might be more accurate, and our conclusions more just. The Latin word *Duellum*, means, as it were, *bellum inter duo*, or *duorum bellum*, "War between two persons." The nature of war is attempted injury after due notice. Thus, to constitute a duel, there must be notice given of an intended attempt to do an injury, together with a warning to be prepared for defence; and in this it differs from assassination or assault, of which no previous notice had been given, just as regular war differs from an unforeseen predatory or piratical incursion. A duel is then a private warfare between two individuals, and is generally terminated by a battle with deadly weapons, of a determined description, at a defined

time and place. In this description we must particularly notice the circumstance of its being a private warfare; that is, undertaken by private authority,—and the word duel is now, in its application, limited to the battle only. Hence the combat between David and Goliath was not a duel, but was a portion of regular, public warfare, carried on by the public authority of two nations; and a more humane mode of terminating a contest, than would be the general encounter between two numerous and brave armies. In like manner, the substitution of the Horatii and Curiatii for the Roman and Sabine armies was a humane regulation by public authority; and therefore neither of those, nor any of several similar instances with which history furnishes us, can be looked upon as a duel. The combatants were not urged forward by private feelings, nor did they act by private authority.

In seeking for the origin of this practice, we may close the authors of Greece and Rome; neither do India, Chaldea, or Egypt assist us in our research. We are told, indeed, that it was a portion of that fine system of chivalry which decorated the middle ages of Europe, and the witchery of that romance which writers have generally substituted for the history of that undefined period, like the magic of its sorcerers, bewilders the fancy, and deludes us with visions of glory and of fame. The splendour of the tournament is conjured up for the imagination, the lists are prepared, the flattering crowd presses forward to that field over which pageantry, royalty, and valour preside; the loud notes of the trumpet announce the heralds' approach; the mounted challenger appears, and properly accompanied, courses through the inclosure, paying homage to those to whom it is due, and waits in proud defiance to confirm by his bearing that denunciation which is made in his name. His trumpet is answered; another herald appears with the reply; the marshals arrange the order of combat, and the opponents take their ground. Fear, hope, joy, sorrow, and exultation alternately and tumultuously seize upon the mind of the young enthusiast, the shout of victory, the feast of triumph, the rhapsody of the poet, the spell of the musician, and the fascination of the theatre blend with the sweet voices of our youth, and the scene is associated with all that excites the imagination, and affects the heart; honour, love, fidelity, and fame, in a word, chivalry and the duel are identified.

It would be natural to expect that they who seek only to divert the mind, would rest content with this exhibition; but they who desire knowledge must ask its origin. It would, perhaps, be natural to expect that thoughtless and uninformed youth should be led away by such an exhibition; but it becomes persons of understanding, and those having a consciousness of moral accountability, to inquire whether such a practice is reasonable and safe. Let us then trace the history and make the inquiry.

The knights of those chivalric days were principally descended from the chieftains of those hordes, which, in the early period of the Christian era, spread themselves over the face of Europe. Issuing from the icy north, they locked up in their cold fetters the minds and limbs of the survivors of their opponents. Long, desperate, and with various success, was the conflict between the panegyrist of Woden, of Thor, and of Freya, and the disciples of the cross. As the maxims of the Gospel won upon the mind of the barbarian, you might observe frequently the strange coexistence of discordant practices, and the awkward attempts of ignorance, or of imbecility to reconcile contradictions! He who would, by the torch of history, learn the facts which explain many of the mysteries of those days, must penetrate into the caverns of Scandinavia, converse with the Runic Scald, and frequently extend his journey along the banks of the Danube, the Ister, and the Boristhenes, towards the ancient forests of Sarmatia and Scythia, into which the great forefathers of this race strayed from the vicinity of America. I shall not at present lead you through so extended a path; we will not proceed farther than Denmark, and the discoveries there made will give to us the origin of our chivalrous exhibition.

We are informed by our antiquarians, that amongst the ancient Suevi and Goths, there was a custom, from time immemorial, of deciding differences in a mode called *eenwig*, of which there were two kinds; the one was conventional, the other judicial: the first corresponded exactly with our present duel, the other with what in England was known as trial by combat. The first was a fight by private authority, from private motives, but at an appointed time and place; the second was a battle at a time and place, and with weapons appointed by the judges of the horde, to be fought under the direction of marshals of the field; and though, perhaps, it might appear extraordinary, in this trial by combat, which was the last resort upon the failure of testimony and enlightened judgment, the parties looked for the special intervention of the Deity, to

manifest not only the truth of fact but the application of law, by bestowing victory as well upon him who had right upon his side, as upon him who made a true statement; for it often happened in the eenwig, that both parties admitted the same facts, but differed only as to the law, the application of which was to be settled by the issue of the combat. Which of us would, at this day, think of taking a knotty case of law, or of equity, from the mooting of our legal friends, and the wisdom of our courts, to be decided by the erudite discrimination of a hair-trigger? Yet, such is one of the principles upon which duelling is based!

In the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, we find the descendants of the first northern invaders in possession and in power, in several parts of Gaul, Spain, and Italy. Whilst the Franks, from the vicinity of the Elbe, were settling down in the northern regions of Gaul, the Goths and the Burgundians occupied the more southern provinces. About the year 500, we find the Gombette law enacted by Gonebald, King of Burgundy, in which men were for the first time in a country claiming to be civilized, commanded to refer to the duel, the termination of those disputes which could not be decided by oaths and testimony. This king was an Arian, but the law was observed and enforced by his orthodox successors, and this we may look upon as the foundation of chivalric trial by combat. Having now obtained the royal sanction in Burgundy, and the settlers in the vicinity tracing their origin, and drawing their customs from Scandinavia, being also disposed to adopt and follow the maxims and observances of their progenitors, the senseless and pernicious practice soon spread throughout the whole Gallic territory.

About the close of the ninth century, the Christian missionaries had made some impression upon Denmark, and early in the succeeding age, upon the death of Sweyn, the first Danish monarch of England, and father of Canute the Great, his eldest son Harold, who succeeded him in his continental domains, being a zealous disciple of the Christian law, abolished the ancient and barbarous practice of duels, since which time the Danish government has punished with exemplary severity, criminals who violated this prohibitory law. It is much to be regretted that the laws of Harold were not more generally adopted, and acted upon by other nations; but it is matter of consolation to find that the remedy was first applied where the malady was first exhibited; and that in the region where this pernicious practice emanated, the introduction of Christianity, and of civilization, caused its decay. Much as the mind desires to rest upon this green spot in the dreary waste, we must proceed with the history of the practice. It was not retained by the first Saxon settlers of Britain; and Canute, the Dane, shared much of the Christian sentiment of his brother Harold: thus, although France, especially, was now the asylum of this banished offspring of the north, we find its influence scarcely felt in the neighbouring regions: even the Germans began soberly to reflect upon the folly of seeking judicial decisions at the point of the lance, or by the edge of the sword, and were already convinced that it was a manifest tempting of heaven, for a puny and weak being who felt that he had right, without proof, to trust to the prowess of his arm, for its manifestation against the ruffian force, and practised agility of some blustering robber, whom strength had made bold, want had rendered desperate, and deeds of iniquity had inured to blood.

Superstition is the expecting from any act supernatural effects, for attaining which, by such means, God has given no promise; thus, several persons, at that very early period, deemed it to be absurd, and superstitious tempting of heaven, to engage in such conflicts for the vindication of right, because they saw that, upon no reasonable principle, would they hope for such a result, except by a miracle, which he, who alone could work a miracle, had not pledged himself to perform.

The Lombards, who had settled in Italy, regulated that those judicial battles should take place under proper inspection, and the combatants were allowed to use only staves and shields; thus, although the absurd principle was retained, there was an apparent blending of humanity in their superstition. Most of the duels of those ages were appeals to Heaven to speed the right. Can you discover any principle of religion, or of good sense, that could warrant such an appeal? Do you recollect the general feeling of disapprobation, and of horror, with which the appeal to combat by Abraham Thornton, was received in England, a few years since, when, to save himself from the probability of an ignominious death, he met the appeal of the brother of her who had been murdered with the legal offer of wager of battle? Suppose this unfortunate man to have been the seducer and the murderer of the too confiding victim of his double brutality, in what consisted the propriety or honour of permitting, under the sanction of law, what his frame showed to be a natural

consequence, the cruel destruction of an afflicted brother, who invoked the public justice of society, upon the destroyer of a beloved sister?—Reason, religion, and honour, unite in the reprobation of so nefarious a mockery of law.

I said that it was not used by the Anglo-Saxons, and we have seen that it was abolished in Denmark, at the time that Canute ruled over England. But, at this period, the spirit of Normandy gave its full sanction to the custom; and when William I. began to give his laws to the subjugated English, he introduced the trial by duel, giving, indeed, to the Englishman, whom a Frenchman might appal, the contumelious privilege, if he were weak, of looking for a stronger substitute.—This was its first legal establishment in that country, where the principle of the law, has continued in force down to a very late period, if not to the present day. How far in theory it might, even now, be part of the law of South Carolina, and of those other portions of our Union, which have preserved the common law of England, it is not for me to say.

Hitherto I have only considered that species of duel which is judicial, and which has been sometimes carried solemnly into legal effect. If any description of this combat could be defended upon principle, this alone could have the benefit of such defence, because it was not undertaken by private, but by public authority; it was not supposed to be entered upon from motives of revenge, but for the manifestation of truth, and the parties about to engage, made their solemn appeal to Heaven to defend the right; the judges of the land and other public officers, sometimes even the monarch himself, presided, and sometimes an ignorant, or a timid, or a negligent clergyman offered up his public prayer to Heaven to speed the right, and to manifest the truth, thus seeking the decision of that eternal Judge who did not always give the race to the swift, or the victory to the strong, and whose providence regulated the affairs of individuals equally as of communities.

I shall briefly allude to the principles upon which this judicial combat is plainly criminal in its own nature: whence it must follow, that although the individuals who under the national sanction engaged therein, might be sometimes excusable upon the ground of ignorance, the act of the government itself was void and sinful. Indeed it would now appear to be scarcely necessary for me to detain you with such an allusion, but that it might serve to elucidate other cases which we shall have to consider.

It is a recognised principle of law, that no subordinate tribunal can sanction what the superior has prohibited. No authority could make superstition innocent or lawful; and until it could be shown that God himself authorized the appeal to be made to him, for a decision in the mode alluded to, to make it in that mode is clearly criminal. The Jewish woman who had recourse to the waters of jealousy, for the manifestation of her innocence, performed a becoming act, because the Almighty had created this mode of appeal, and to have recourse to a divine institution for the purpose intended by its Author, is surely an act of religious homage, not a crime. But they who derived the custom of the duel from the barbarians of Dacia, and of Scandinavia, did not pretend to a divine sanction for their conduct; they only blended the superstition of the pagan with the profession of Christianity. They might have seen the evidence of their inconsistency in Deuteronomy, and in the Gospels, where the precept was given and reiterated, not to tempt the Lord their God. Superstition is a vice specially opposed to true religion, and strictly forbidden by the divine law, hence no human tribunal, however extended its power, or high its station, could give a sanction to this practice. The civil law expressly condemned those fights, and repeated censures of them, as well as of other like ordeals, are found in the canon law of the church: the Popes frequently used their best exertions to have the evil extinguished, as might be seen, to omit a multitude of other documents, in the letter of Nicholas I. to King Charles the Bald, of France, about the year 850, in the acts of Innocent II., about 1140, and in the same century in those of Eugenius III., Celestine III., and Alexander III., in whose pontificate the third Council of Lateran, in which about three hundred bishops sat, condemned the practice as impious. Innocent IV., in 1252, wrote upon the subject to the clergy of France, and at the commencement of the sixteenth century, Leo X. and even Julius II. enacted heavy censures against duellists. We have also similar acts of several of their successors, and a very severe decree of the Council of Trent, the XIX., on reformation of those which were passed in the XXV. session, on the 3d of December, 1563. However the various portions of the Christian body which have withdrawn from the communion of that council, and those Popes, might differ from them in doctrines of faith, I believe they unite with them in the condemnation of such combats for such a purpose, as superstitious and otherwise highly criminal, and not to be sanctioned or justified by any law or custom. I believe

we should scarcely find an individual disposed to advocate judicial combats at the present day, yet they are that species of duel which is upon principle the most susceptible of defence.

We now proceed to examine the other descriptions of combat, which, resting solely on the private authority of individuals, and not having been sanctioned by any semblance of law, are, more properly speaking, duels according to our present acceptation of the word. The Scandinavian has also this species of *eenwig*. Civilians and canonists have varied from each other in their distribution of the kinds, the former looking rather to the conditions, the latter more to the objects of the fight. Perhaps we shall be better able to proceed with regularity if we view both enumerations.

Civilians called a duel *decretory*, when it was decreed or stipulated that the contest should terminate only by the death of one of the parties; *propugnating*, when a combatant went to fight, not for the purpose of slaying his adversary, but of defending his honour; and *satisfactory*, when an injured person sought to destroy his aggressor, unless he made due compensation. Theologians placed first that *to manifest truth*, which is the judicial; next to which is that *to terminate controversy*, but this contained a new characteristic ingredient, that the parties so hate each other that death only is likely to prevent their quarrels; the third is *to exhibit prowess;* the fourth *to avoid ignominy*, nearly allied to which is that *to defend honour;* the sixth *to prevent war*. Taking the theological enumeration, we have disposed of the first, no person will attempt to justify the second, the last we may omit, because it is one which on all hands is admitted to be lawful and sometimes beneficial, and is not within the range of our definition, as it is undertaken by public authority, in a public cause.

There can be no question but the practice of private duels was greatly promoted by the wager of battle, and by the tournament; whose nature I now proceed to examine. When it was not a judicial trial for the manifestation of truth, it was of that description called for the *exhibition of prowess;* that is, a vain boasting of strength, agility, or pugnacious skill. The bad principle is the same, whether we behold it in two young knights who, with the eyes of the prowess, and beauty and pride of a nation fixed upon them, seek for reputation in the lists, or in the gladiator at the ancient games, in the prize fighter of the modern ring, or in a pair of our wagoners who contend for superiority in mutual whipping. Wretched weakness of our miserable nature! Glaring evidence of our degradation! We profess to admire benignity and its concomitant good qualities; we place charity at the head of the catalogue of virtues; whilst we indulge a secret gratification at beholding scenes of wanton cruelty, of bloodshed, and of death; and encourage to deeds of mere brutal prowess, those whom we would venerate for the practice of the opposite virtues. To what shall we trace this singular but manifest deordination? Whilst reason almost instinctively tells us that this injury of others for the gratification of our own pride, or vanity, or curiosity, is bad, we labour to create sophisms for its justification, and strive to convince ourselves that our natural convictions are mistakes. So it is that the children of Adam are led by the impetuosity of passion against the admonitions of the understanding: and then to silence the voice of conscience, they compel or they suborn the intellect, to appear as the advocate of that which in its free and unsophisticated moments it condemned. Such, my friends, is the lamentable outline which we must draw if we would sketch correctly the picture of our fallen race. As I prefer your own testimony to any abstract reasoning which I might attempt, I shall appeal to yourselves for that testimony as to the correctness of my statement. Whether would you admire more the man who, conscious of his prowess, sought its exhibition in the injury of his opponent; or him who, with a like consciousness, listened to the dictates of humanity, and told that challenger, whom he could crush if he would, that as there existed no necessity, so he believed there existed no justification for doing him harm: and hence, although his presumption would seem to call for chastisement, yet a higher authority insured his safety? Is there not here the grand distinction between the indulgence of passion and its restraint? And which is more worthy of your esteem? I will not insult you by supposing you could hesitate about the decision. The law of God, the law of right reason, the common sense of the world, the vast preponderating majority of civilized men, condemn as irreligious, unreasonable, and consequently unjustifiable, the practice of duelling for the exhibition of prowess; and hence you will often find the expression of pity or regret, sometimes even the half-suppressed sneer of ridicule, united to the acknowledgment of the existence of strength, dexterity, and animal courage of the successful combatant.

It might be proper here to observe that a wide distinction is to be taken between

duels with deadly or dangerous weapons, or combats arising from hatred or a desire of revenge, in which serious injury is intended to the opponent; and those exercises or trials of strength in which there is no danger of injury, nor any indulgence of bad passion. These latter are sometimes used for village relaxation and amusement, and in such as these it is perhaps good policy and wholesome discipline to engage men whose services might be required in the field of war for the benefit of their country: yet in those trainings and trials for speed, agility, strength, and steadiness, care should be taken to guard, as much as possible, against inordinate vanity, or the harbouring of unkind feelings. I am led to dwell the more upon this distinction because frequently the benefit of such training is assumed as ground for an attempt to justify, by analogy, the duels which I have condemned; but as I do not admit the analogy, of course I cannot be expected to allow the justification. I shall enter more largely upon this topic, also, because I have often heard it asserted that to restrain the spirit which led to duelling, was to break down the energies, and to destroy the courage of the soldier.

I am under the impression that the proper qualifications of a good soldier are not to be always found in the man who, for the indulgence of private passion, violates the laws of God, and of his country. There is one conclusion deeply impressed upon my mind, as well from some slight opportunities for observation, as from the testimony of several whose experience was very ample, and from the nature of the case itself; that conclusion is, that he who has performed well and conscientiously his religious and his civil duties, will make the best soldier amongst those equal to him in other respects. I shall endeavour to show you what, in my opinion, forms the ground of much error on this head, the accidental possession of courage by a profligate, and its accidental want in a man who is religious or orderly; but it is wrong to draw general conclusions from those accidental facts. We all know that the degrees of courage vary in different individuals. What a multitude of its gradations exist, from its exhibition in him who, with unmoved nerve and unrelaxed muscles, leads his division to the breach which vomits destruction, and bristles with bayonets, to the pale, trembling coward whose soul shudders, and whose knees tremble, at the bare anticipation of possible danger? And how various are its characteristics, from the manifestation in the calm martyr who, with wealth, titles, and worldly honours at one side, and captivity, chains, destitution, death, and ignominy upon the other, stands unmoved in his firmly modest declaration that he cannot deny the truth of what he knows to be a fact, to its glitter in him who cheers his comrades whilst he volunteers upon the forlorn hope? The neglect of marking those several kinds and degrees, and their several combinations in different individuals, has given rise to the mistake, and led some officers to assert that a respect for the principles of religion, and the regulations of civil society tended to destroy that bold and determined character so necessary for the army. This is, indeed, a serious mistake. It is well known that some of the bravest officers have held those principles and regulations in the highest respect, whilst they openly condemned the practice of duels. I speak of a fact not merely in some degree within my own knowledge, but one which has a host of testimony for its support, that some of the most religious and regularly conducted men who had recourse to the ministry, and the sacraments, were soldiers who had the esteem and affection of their officers, not only for the regularity of their conduct, but for their steady and continued heroism, and protracted trials and desperate attempts. It is also unquestionably true that men of desperate bravery who had been, as it were, educated in violations of the law, contempt of religion, and trials of their courage, were found most useful against the enemy, but like Indian allies, when not thus employed, it required all the vigilance, agility, and power of discipline and law to keep the untamed desperadoes from the indulgence of their natural ferocity upon their peaceable fellow-citizens. Had those men been nurtured under the restraints of civil and religious institutions, they would have lost none of their natural prowess, and it would have been more easily turned to good account. I make the assertion from having been satisfied that some of these nuisances of an army who had been brought under such restraints, preserved all their good qualities, and more frequently exhibited them refined and improved by what I must call their civilization.

I would then say that not only is the combat for the exhibition of prowess, irreligious and unreasonable, but so far from tending to the perfection of courage, or the fitting a man for the defence of his country, it adds nothing to the pre-existing degrees of that good quality, but by teaching contempt for the laws of God and of society, and encouraging the indulgence of a bad passion and of self-will, it disqualifies its subject for

submitting to that severe discipline and moral restraint which is the best preservative of an efficient army. When the master of poetry wrote,

> Honoratum si forte reponis Achillem
> Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer
> Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis,

he did not intend to give us the picture of a good and useful soldier, but of one who yielding to his gust of passion, would disobey his commander, desert his colours, and because of his private wrongs pray for the success of the enemy and the ruin of the army in which he served, and who is again brought to the field, not by a sense of public duty, but roused by the workings of private friendship to seek unmeasured revenge. Such exactly is the soldier whom the principles of duelling would produce. Judge you, how long an army of such men would preserve our republics.

We may be told, surely, that an ignominious life is what neither reason nor religion would compel one to lead. If, during the whole period of a man's subsequent existence, he is, for the omission of an act, to be

> A fixed figure, for the hand of scorn
> To point his slow and moving finger at,

it cannot be immoral to make one effort for relief from so cruel a state of degraded endurance. Does the end then justify the means? Are we at liberty to relieve ourselves from an unpleasant predicament without considering the propriety of that mode by which we may be extricated? Proclaim the maxim to the highwayman who seeks to relieve his poverty by plunder. To him it will be gratifying to learn that this principle is adopted by men of honour and of high standing. Whisper it to the innocent victim of another's perjury. He has languished in his dungeon, dreading conviction for an infamous crime, which he never contemplated; but now he learns that since we are not to consider the dishonesty of the means, but the desirableness of the end, the dagger of some friend can remove the lying accuser, and release him to freedom and to fame. You are startled at the proposal, and well you may; for never was a more atrocious and destructive principle insinuated, than that the end justifies the means. Neither reason nor religion would require of you to lead an ignominious life; although both enjoin that you shall not use improper means to avoid that ignominy of which you are so apprehensive. But what is this ignominy that you dread? Should you not dread the commission of crime, more than any imputation? The one is always a real and paramount evil, the other is often only imaginary and transient. He who would commit a crime in order to avoid the mockery or the condemnation of the multitude, is a weak and an unprincipled man. You cannot do evil that good may arise therefrom; such is the great principle of sound morality and of true honour. Is he who enters into this combat, in compliance with prejudices, or the partialities of the public, or to conform to a fashion whose principle he himself condemns, an honourable man? That you are not to do evil is an absolute principle both of reason and of revelation; hence we should, in considering the absolute good or evil of the means, throw the end out of our view. I shall now merely observe that the combatant who is roused by such a motive is a true coward, who, in the conflict between the fear of ridicule and the fear of crime, yields to the former.

It is said that no species of moral courage exceeds that of a man who follows the dictates of his judgment or conscience, amidst the taunts and reproaches of the world. By this sort of courage, the ancients believed their far-famed Hercules was more distinguished than by his labours or victories. Certainly our divine Redeemer taught admirable lessons upon this subject; the principles of his Gospel are the foundation of the most heroic fortitude, the purest honour, and the most unbending courage; in his discourses, we find lessons which exceed the perfection of the most sublime philosopher as much as heaven exceeds the earth; but since, by some extraordinary fatality, whilst it is avowed that the practice of duelling is clearly condemned by the Christian law, persons who profess to be observers of that law, attempt to vindicate the practice, and yet declaim against the application of the Gospel maxims in examining the subject. I have determined to be very sparing of any aid from that source; especially as, even without such aid, I trust my object is attainable. Upon what ground can he who engages in a duel, through the fear of ignominy, lay claim to courage? His act is, as we have seen, and shall still more fully see, plainly immoral, and he offends God, because he fears the censure of men; they who possess the high moral virtue of fortitude will endure the taunts and reproaches of the world, and submit willingly to torture of body and inquietude of mind, rather than act against the divine law, the law of conscience, or the just regulations of society; this is what I consider to be the true test of honour. Thus to avoid ignominy, is not a motive which would

justify the performance of an unlawful action; and no truly courageous man has ever yet fought from such a motive. Ignominy, as regards this practice, is a phantom to terrify the timid, to govern the weak, and to force cowards to assume the semblance of a virtue which they have not. Hence, it has frequently and justly been observed, that they who entered the field of single combat, to preserve their names from the post, were very inefficient comrades when armies rushed to the charge. Perhaps the following anecdote, which is given from very highly respectable authority, would not lead far towards an opposite conclusion.

At a period when duelling was not as much discountenanced as it ought to have been in the French army, a gentleman of very strict moral habits held a commission in a regiment, and having refused to accept an offered challenge, could not make either explanation or apology, without being guilty of the exposure of another, or of a falsehood, which he abhorred equally as he did the duel. His peculiar situation did not permit his immediate compliance with several suggestions of retirement, and he had to endure the mortification of remarks and coldness, even at the common table, from his fellow-officers; he was even designated in their circle as "the coward." On a particular occasion, he was observed to remain long after the period at which he had latterly been accustomed to retire, and his feelings had been frequently and deeply wounded by the major, who had indeed seldom respected them: this officer, upon withdrawing, was quickly followed by him who had been the object of his reproach; and the company which they had left was soon summoned to an unexpected scene. At a short distance from the house, they found the major inquiring, with anxious gratitude, to whom he owed his life, which had been assailed in the dark, by three ruffians, and heard him receive the calm but emphatic answer—"to the coward." One of the assailants lay a corpse, one seriously wounded, and the other was a disarmed prisoner in the coward's grasp. They had rushed upon a man unable to protect himself, and had been overcome by a man who had too much courage to be a duellist. To an almost involuntary expression of surprise, the only reply was, "Major! the God whom we profess to serve has ordered me to return good for evil; my life and my exertions are the property of my king and the French nation. I know when I ought to be prepared to lay down or to expose that life, as well as when I ought to preserve it; and I trust I shall be always ready to do my duty, and not to be drawn from its performance, by the unmeaning taunts of persons who have no opinion of their own, but are led by the caprice of others." To a request of the officer's that he should forget what had occurred, his reply was, that he had never borne any ill-will to those who had ill-treated him; and that during the period of his stay there was no probability of any diminution of friendship, as he was preparing to join another regiment, into which he had obtained an exchange, and the officers of which held, he believed, principles congenial to his own.

This might bear the semblance of what is made in romance, but let it be remembered that those books are given as an imitation of real life, and the testimony from which this has been received was unexceptionable. Probably I shall not go too far, in making the assertion, that instances of such magnanimity, fortitude, and heroism are more frequent than we are disposed to believe; human nature, thank God! is not so universally depraved as to debase us all, and there are to be found this day, probably, brave generals who could wipe the vile phlegm from their brow, and tell the brainless simpleton that caused it, as did a valiant man who led armies to victory, "Young man, you should suffer for your misconduct, if I could as easily wipe your blood from my conscience, as I can your spittle from this forehead." Did his king or his army respect his head the less for that defilement? Does not his name stand higher in your estimation than if he had been the victor in a hundred duels? But you will answer me, that his character was his protection. Yes, my friends, it was, and so will it be the protection of every man who prefers the discharge of his duty to the indulgence of his passion, and who fears God, but who has no other fear. Such a man need not engage in a combat to avoid disgrace; the cloud of erroneous opinion may indeed obscure his disc, but it will be transient, and the restoration of his radiance will be more welcome.

The duel for the protection of honour might be considered that to which I ought principally if not exclusively [to] have paid attention, since most of our modern combats are, or affect to be, of this description: but I have preferred leaving it to the last, because an opportunity has been afforded of considering in the previous examination, especially [of] the trial by combat to avoid disgrace, many principles which will bear with equal force upon this case. The grand distinction between this and the others is, that this appears to have less superstí-

tion and more of what the world calls spirit. I freely concede that the plea in its favour is more specious, and the delusion which surrounds it is stronger. I have, therefore, reserved it for the purpose of being more fully met by the application of the general principles upon which all duels are condemned. For the reprobation of each kind, special names were adduced, which in each case bore upon the peculiar demerits of the particular species, nor is the reprobation of this without strong and powerful special arguments, the outline of which only, I shall mark; and for the cause before assigned they must lose much of their strength in my prudent mode of using them, since this duel is peculiarly condemned by the Gospel, from the aid of which, on the present occasion, I have by advice, and upon consideration, almost debarred myself: but before I enter upon those special grounds, let us consider the general topic upon which every species of duelling is found to be immoral and unlawful.

Man being a creature is amenable to his Creator; and it is immoral in him to violate the law of that great Self-Existent to whom he owes the homage of all his faculties, and the most perfect obedience. I shall assume, as granted, that the Almighty has made known to man his canon against self-destruction. I assume, also, that an isolated human being, however unconnected he might be with his fellows, has not, morally speaking, from the Lord of life and death, the power of putting a period to his own existence; but must await the summons of his judge, either by the process of his general law, or by some special message. I assume another principle as equally clear, that no individual has a natural right to take away the life of his fellow-man. And here a question arises, the examination of which becomes extremely important, but into the discussion of which I shall not now enter at any length. Whence is derived the right which states possess to punish malefactors by death? Whence the right to slay in war, and whence the right of individuals to slay an unjust aggressor? I answer: from Him who alone has the power to make the grant; from the Creator. Man not being, therefore, master of his own life, could not bestow what was not under his dominion, he could not give to society, nor to its government, nor to an individual, a title which did not exist in himself. Where distinct history and plain reason concur in exhibiting facts to us, it would be palpable folly on our part to resort to speculation and conjecture, to seek for the knowledge taught to us by this better mode. It is a fact that God has left to society the power or the right of regulating its various forms of civil government accommodated to its various circumstances; but upon every regular government thus created or accepted by the people, he bestows the powers necessary for the well-being of society, and amongst others that of punishing malefactors even capitally, that of repelling enemies even by the infliction of death, and of carrying war for just cause into their territories: also, in cases of extreme necessity, where no other mode of preserving his own safety is left to an individual, God and the government bestow upon him the right of guarding his own life by taking that of an unjust aggressor, but it is bestowed only in that extreme case, and under the double responsibility of him who uses it, to the tribunal of his country, and the tribunal of his God. The evidence in support of these facts is plain and ample; but it is one of our misfortunes that we too often desert the solid ground of fact to amuse ourselves in a speculation which we miscall philosophy.

Governments thus vested with power by God and by the people, by the Creator and by the creature, have regulated the great principles of social order by the light of reason, perhaps aided by the revelation of Him from whom reason emanates; and one of their first principles is, that the unsettled differences of individuals shall be adjusted, not by the passions of the disputants or their friends, but by the tribunals of the nation. Were the power of inflicting death for offences taken from the impartial tribunals and vested in the interested individuals, what a scene of desolation would this world of ours present? How would injury excite revenge, and revenge produce retaliation? The sweet charities of life would be driven from our solace, and ruffian violence would stalk forth crushing as he proceeded in his horrid triumph. Where should we find the abode of virtue, the asylum of innocence, the safeguard of youth, or the protection of age? Is the duellist to be their bulwark? Or shall the unblushing transgressor of the first principle of social order presume to offer his offensive and unholy aid to sustain the sanctions of that law whose very sanctity he has disregarded? He has hurled down the judge, profaned the bench, insulted the legislature, usurped the high prerogative of Heaven, and stood in open conflict with the Eternal; and this unprincipled man, with honour on his lips and transgression in his acts, dares to say that in the indulgence of the malignant spirit of his revenge is to be found the salvation of good order!! No! If we were to reduce this principle to practice, every man would stand armed against

his brother, and in one century the generation of Adam would be extinguished by the fall of the last murderer upon the decaying limbs of his last victim, whilst the good angels would look down with horror and pity upon that spot over which demons exulted. The providence of Heaven to prevent this evil, has [decreed] that in the wildest horde which roves through our forests there should exist some semblance of a tribunal by which human life is saved from the malignity of human passion.

Man, then, has not power over his own life: society does not derive from individuals its power of taking away life: although no injury should result to others from the death of an isolated man; still he will be himself a criminal if he procures it: nor has he a right to concede to another what is not permitted to himself, much less is he justified in depriving another human being of life; neither can he plead that he did it with the consent of him whom he slew; such consent is a mockery; it is a grant of what could not be given; it is the assumption of what could not be taken; it is an immoral, an irreligious usurpation of the prerogative of the Deity, who is the sole arbiter of life and death. What then shall we say of those who add to this crime the horrors of multiplied injustice and the laceration of feelings; who inflict protracted and unutterable agony upon an innocent and impoverished family? Unfortunate delinquent! do you not see by how many links your victim was bound to a multitude of others? Does his vain and idle resignation of his title to life absolve you from the enormous claims which society has upon you for his services, his family for that support of which you have robbed them, without your own enrichment: his tottering parents for their consolation, perhaps for the supply of their wants, and the helpless and indigent for that bread by which he sustained them? Who will give professions to his sons, who will cherish and protect his daughters? Was it honourable to plot in secret, and to perpetrate by stealth the foul deed which has torn with so rude a shock the affections of the wife of his bosom, and children of his heart? Go stand over that body; call back that soul which you have driven from its tenement; take up that hand which your pride refused to touch, not one hour ago. You have in your pride and wrath usurped one prerogative of God. You have inflicted death. At least, in mercy, attempt the exercise of another; breathe into those distended nostrils, let your brother be once more a living soul. Merciful father, how powerless are we for good, but how mighty for evil. Wretched man! he does not answer, he cannot rise. All your efforts to make him breathe are vain: his soul is already in the presence of your common Creator: like the wretched Cain will you answer to the inquiring voice, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Why do you turn away from the contemplation of your own honourable work. Yes, go as far as you will, still the admonition will ring in your ears, it was by your hand he fell; the horrid instrument of death is still in that hand, and the stain of blood upon your soul. Fly, if you will, go to that house which you have filled with desolation. It is the shriek of his widow, they are the cries of his orphans, there are the broken sobs of his parent, and amidst the wailing of his family you distinctly hear the voice of imprecation on your own guilty head. Will your honourable feeling be content with this? Have you now had abundant and gentlemanly satisfaction? Or have you, too, received your death-wound, and what must be the agony which you endure at beholding now forlorn, destitute, and overwhelmed her to whom you swore protection, fidelity, love; who is to watch over those lovely babes from whom you turn your aching eye. O! what must be the feeling when a father cannot look with complacence upon his child! You love them;—indeed you do, and all the affection of a parent rushes in accelerating fever through your frame and sustains life a little longer; but it throbs at your sinking heart, and bewilders your tortured soul; the agonies of one world, and the horrors of another surround your bed of death, whilst the unsatisfied ghost of your opponent hovers above, shrieking the dismal summons to the bar of an insulted God. My friends, I paint no imaginary scene; but I shall not detain you in the chamber of horrors; let us depart from it to inquire into the nature of that honour, the mistakes concerning which produce such lamentable effects.

Honour is the acquisition and preservation of the dignity of our nature; that dignity consists in its perfection—that perfection is found in observing the laws of our Creator; the laws of the Creator are the dictates of reason and of religion: that is, the observance of what he teaches us by the natural light of our own minds, and by the special revelation of his will manifestly given. They both concur in teaching us, that individuals have not the dominion of their own lives, otherwise no suicide would be a criminal; they concur in teaching us that we ought to be amenable to the laws of the society of which we are members, otherwise morality and honour would be consistent with the violation of law and the dis-

turbance of the social system; they teach us that society cannot continue to exist, where the public tribunals are despised or undervalued, and the redress of injuries withdrawn from the calm regulation of public justice, for the purpose of being committed to the caprice of private passion, and the execution of individual ill-will; therefore, the man of honour abides by the law of God, reveres the statutes of his country, and is respectful and amenable to its authorities. Such my friends, is what the reflecting portion of mankind has always thought upon the subject of honour. This was the honour of the Greek — this was the honour of the Roman — this the honour of the Jew—this the honour of the Gentile—this, too, was the honour of the Christian, until the superstition and barbarity of northern devastators darkened his glory and degraded his character.

Is not the pride of the American the predominance of the law? Is not law itself the emanation of the public will, and is not submission to the public will the first principle of genuine republicanism? Are our governments so weak or so corrupt, as to be unable to protect us, so that we must be thrown upon our individual and private resources, instead of looking to the power of the social compact, and the guardianship of the social head? Shall we proclaim to the world, that we in South Carolina are brought back to that state of dereliction as that our public tribunals, the institutions of the country, the government itself cannot protect us from insult, and that we are thus reduced to the necessity of trusting to ourselves? Let not such a libel be handed over to the defaming press of Europe by an ungrateful progeny: let it not be said that none are safe from insult in republics, except they have been well trained to the use of the pistol, or the rifle, or the dexterity of gouging? Are those the emblems of honour? But why place the ruffian who plucks out your eye upon the same level with the gentleman who uses a pistol? I acknowledge my error: I ought not; because the one deprives you of life, and perhaps of heaven, whilst the other only leaves you sightless: still, though the injury is greater, the barbarity is not equal; there is more refinement in one than in the other, but there is also more criminality: there is more apparent delicacy in the mode of violating the law, but the substantial violation is more enormous; the criminal, in the one case, has fashionable fellow culprits — in the other, he has the more recent impulse of strong passion. It is not for us to strike the ratio of their culpability; their Judge and ours—he who has forbidden murder, and also declared that whosoever would call his brother "thou fool," should be guilty of hell fire, will apportion their destiny: my present inquiry regards only the honour of the transaction, and I can measure out to the duellist merely as much of that excellent quality as is consistent with the violation of his duty as a rational being, as a religious being, as a member of society, and as the citizen of a state whose laws describe the offence as a felony. Patriotism, social order, religion, and reason, then, forbid me to designate as honourable this bad practice, which criminal fashion has too frequently promoted and encouraged. Being therefore evil in its own nature, it cannot be a proper mode for the protection of honour.

My friends, in what does this protection of honour consist? In affording to its assailant the opportunity of destroying your life, certainly at the risk of his own. What would you think of the wisdom and equity of that judge who should sentence a peaceable citizen that had been assaulted, to suffer the same punishment as his convicted assailant? If you challenge the aggressor to fight, do you not inflict upon your innocent and injured self, the same punishment as upon the offender? Admirable wisdom! But why do I seek for any semblance of reason, in what its own advocates avow to be defenceless, upon the principles of reason? They only attempt its palliation upon the plea of expediency. They tell us that the dread of the pistol preserves the decorum of society. Are we so fallen, or debased as this? A vile fear is then the motive of gentlemanly conduct! Hear this, Carolinians! I will not undertake an elaborate defence; adopted into your family, I see your faults, and I know your virtues: my own conscience and your candour will acquit me of flattery, when I pronounce the charge which this excuse would insinuate to be groundless. Your politeness has not been produced by pistol-discipline; nor would you speedily degenerate from what has been the characteristic of your fathers, were you bound to avoid this bad practice, by if possible stronger ties than those which the state, sound reason, and pure religion have imposed upon you. Shall it be again repeated that the good order, the dignity of our Southern society, is to be preserved in any measure by the pistol? No. If we pay attention to occurrences, we must perceive that too often the intruder upon the polite circle is he who has made himself most formidable as a duellist, and that he whose deportment is most correct, is he who proclaims that he will not

enter into such a combat. I need not inform a Charleston auditory that natural good qualities, improved by education and by opportunity, and not the terrors of ammunition, fashion the conduct of a gentleman; and that respectable society is fully able, without violation of the laws of God or of the state, or outraging the principles of reason, to banish from its circle, and frown down to his proper place, the individual who would violate its decorum.

Again, it is said, that there are injuries for which the laws neither do nor can provide redress, and to avenge which is the only mode that has been ever known or devised. I admit that there are injuries for which no compensation can be made to the sufferer, and for which the weakness of nature and the violence of passion prompt us to seek the most desperate revenge; but, waiving every other answer, I ask, is it reasonable or religious for the injured man to expose himself to destruction? I am told that, in such a case, I should speak of neither reason nor religion: that the feelings of honour only must be attended to. When the two great lights of our nature have been cast away, and a desperate mortal surrenders himself to the guidance of a blind spirit of revenge, which he miscalls honour, it is as useless to urge argument, as it would be to discuss the principles of his derangement with a maniac; as hopeless to rely upon entirely, as it would be to soothe the famished tiger from his bleeding feast. There is, indeed, one mighty Being, who alone could, in such a moment, effect a miraculous change, and by his power subdue the rage of passion to that resignation which brings peace from Heaven, and demands the homage of respectful sympathy from earth; but, though it be not in man's power to change the heart of man, still power is frequently given to him to arrest the progress of his brother to destruction. Thus, at least, the first fury of his passion will subside; reflection, remonstrance, entreaty, and explanation will proceed, and God would perhaps crown the work by diffusing his light around, and speaking powerfully to the soul; he at whose word the winds are still, the sea is calm, and the perilled mariner is safe, might assuage the tempest of the mind, allay the madness of desperation, and save two fathers to their families, two citizens to the state, and two souls from perdition. Such, gentlemen of the Anti-Duelling Association, is one of the principal objects of our society, to volunteer our services in aid of the law of God and of our country; to restrain not by any arbitrary assumption of authority, but by the arm of the law, the unfortunate victim of a delusive passion, whilst he labours under its influence.

But this restraint, it is said, will lead to assassination; and who does not shudder at the idea of such a result?—Is not duelling, however condemnable in itself, preferable to assassination? For one, though I were to stand alone in making the assertion, I deliberately say, No. They are both evils; if we are driven to a preference, the lesser should be accepted: generally speaking, the assassin is a greater criminal than the duellist, but duelling is a greater evil to society. That which is less destructive, is less evil; that which excites more detestation will be more seldom engaged in, and more speedily suppressed; it will therefore produce less mischief. Such is assassination. The assassin is not received into society;—he who has slain his adversary in a duel too frequently is. The more delicate sex generally shrink from the former: shall I charge them with abetting the crime by encouraging, or at least not disapproving of the conduct of the latter? I shall not sit in judgment upon them; let them answer for themselves. How many persons generally perish by the hand of the assassin throughout the world, in the lapse of a century! Very probably a greater number has fallen in duels in France alone in less than twenty years, during the reign of Henry IV. Not only would the loss of life be incalculably less, but the moral sentiment of detesting murder would be better preserved. There is nothing more destructive to public virtue than to strip vice of its deformity. Since we have entered upon the distinguishing comparison, we may conclude that the saving of human life would be great, the horror of slaughter would be stronger, the punishment of culprits more certain and effectual, and the correct moral principles of society would be better preserved. It is upon those grounds that I stated my opinion that, in a public point of view, duelling is not preferable to assassination. There is besides another very material difference, that in the one case there are at least four guilty persons, both the principals and seconds, whilst the other crime is generally perpetrated by an individual. There is little danger of having the great principles of morality sapped by the crime and punishment of such a culprit as Beauchamp: but if the same bad passion which was condemned in his act of assassination had procured its vent with the same result to his miserable victim in a duel, instead of expiating the murder upon a gallows, the wretched Beauchamp would have been thoughtlessly received into several

societies as a meritorious man of undoubted valour.

Gentlemen of the Anti-Duelling Association:—It has been said that our society has done mischief, since no period has been more marked in this city for quarrels than that year which has witnessed our union; of course it is assumed that since they have occurred at this time they must have been produced by the formation of our body. I am not prepared to admit the fact; and even if admitted, the semblance of its reasoning is but a common sophism, for coexistence does not necessarily involve connexion. But suppose them to have been so caused, it is but one of those temporary inconveniences which is always looked for upon any change. You can say better than I can whether the charge itself is true; my impression is against its correctness. The year just elapsed has presented in this city a novel feature, to the examination of which, and of everything connected therewith, unusual attention was paid; and occurrences which at other times would have been unnoticed or disregarded, became not only matters of observation, but of remark and of some ephemeral importance: the very character of the transaction has done much to promote our object. But that novelty has now passed away; and surely, in our mixed state of good and evil, we ought not, because of a few inconveniences, [to] desist from making every exertion to attain the paramount good of establishing a general conviction that true honour is incompatible with the indulgence of passion, the injury of public morals not subversive of the fundamental principles of society, nor opposed to the laws of the state, to the pervading maxims of the good and the wise of every civilized nation in every age of the world, and to the eternal will of the most high God. Let us then continue our efforts to subdue by the arm of the law, which is and which ought to be every American's beloved protector, the temporary madness to which, owing to the imperfection of our nature and the violence of passion, the best amongst us might sometimes be liable; and to declare to our fellow-citizens that we look upon true honour to be the accurate fulfilment of the laws of God and of the state, and that its highest grade is to be found in him who sacrifices his passions upon the altar of his duty. Thus shall we, at least, save our consciences from reproach, and our names from inconsistency. Let us be moderate, but firm; and as we claim over our fellow-citizens no precedence in virtue, in understanding, or in power, we shall not pretend to any exemption from the common frailties of our nature, to any right of dictation, or to any colour of office, whilst we use that power which they and we possess in common, to proclaim our sentiments freely, and to co-operate in the execution of that code which but expresses the will of that state to which we owe allegiance, and the behests of that God to whom we owe perfect homage.

On former occasions, the presence of ladies at the tournament excited all the ardour of those who sought distinction in the lists; notwithstanding the edicts, the censures, and the denunciations of religion and the law, the radiance of beauty flung its halo around the field. If the troubadour sought to inspirit the youthful warrior, the smile of some damsel was the reward which he promised as the rich requital of his bold achievement. Thus too often has the influence of the more virtuous sex been turned to hurtful or to unprofitable account. May we not hope for powerful aid from the daughters of Carolina in the cause of virtue and of honour? In the day of trial, then, mothers were found faithful to their country and its rights; they encouraged their husbands, their brothers, and their sons to exhibit their prowess, not in disgraceful domestic feuds, but in deeds of valour for the defence of their homes and the vindication of their freedom; they were proud to see them marshalled under the command of Washington, who was too intrepid to accept a challenge. Did they fall in the field of true honour, those women gave tears to nature, and affection to the memory of those whose blood became the cement of that Union in which was found safety to their friends and glory to their nation. Daughters of such mothers! are our arguments founded upon true principles and glaring facts? Are you satisfied that the practice of duelling is one of the worst remnants of pagan barbarity? Do you believe it to be unnecessary for preserving the refinement of our southern society? Then be you our leaders in the sacred effort to identify law and honour, reason and the deportment of the gentleman, and to establish a wide distinction between the assertion of dignity and the indulgence of passion.

DESCENT OF ÆNEAS TO THE SHADES.

THE ADVANTAGES OF GUIDING THE IMAGINATION BY TOPOGRAPHY IN WORKS OF FICTION, ILLUSTRATED BY AN EXAMINATION OF THE SIXTH BOOK OF VIRGIL'S ÆNEID.

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In reading the works of poets or others, which are generally styled fiction, perhaps we have been too apt to regard the productions of the best writers [as] more imaginative than in truth they are. When Horace tells those who would write, either to follow nature, or to invent what would have all its parts in keeping: they who desire to observe the rule, will perhaps find it much easier and better calculated to insure success, to take the first part of the admonition than the second; and probably the great cause why a vast multitude of authors of this description have had so little success, will be found in the fact, that the greater number, in creating their scenery, have consulted their imagination in preference to their observation.

This idea has impressed itself more deeply upon my mind, since I have been led to believe, that the most beautiful and finished pictures of one of the masters of poetry were sketches from nature, embellished indeed by imagination, and improved with exquisite taste, and not merely the results of fiction.

Something more than two years have elapsed, since, on a beautiful evening in May, I drove out, accompanied by a few friends, on the road leading from Naples towards the ancient Puteoli; when we arrived near the entrance of the grotto of Posilippo, a proposition was made to alight and climb the steep zigzag road, leading to the tomb of Virgil. Arrived at the door of the garden in which this mouldering relic is situated, we quickened our pace as we doubled the windings of the narrow path that, by a long circuit, leads to this spot of classic interest. We stood silent within this decaying chamber—we looked around on its desolate walls and time-worn, vaulted roof, all stained with the green tinge of successive centuries. A marble slab of comparatively modern sculpture, perhaps placed about two or three hundred years since in one of the sides, unnecessarily proclaimed, in a crabbed imitation of Latin, that of which every peasant child was aware, that this chamber was the resting-place of the great Mantuan bard; here what was mortal of the polished Maro, had mouldered.

We viewed each other. We looked from the aperture in the side—the bay of Naples spread broadly before us. It was a serene sky—a light air moved along the waters—a thin, brown vapour above its summit distinguished Vesuvius in the distance. We looked down to the road where we had left our carriage; we involuntarily drew back from the precipice, and again advanced to see how diminished to the view were the beings entering or issuing from the excavated tunnel, as they travelled at such a distance below us, from or towards Naples. The tongue ventured to express a few words, and we soon resumed our conversation. We agreed that the spot upon which the body of the poet was deposited after death, was one well calculated during life to have excited his enthusiasm, enriched his imagination, and stored his memory with the materials for description.

A few mornings afterwards, we were seated upon the indurated lava at the summit of Vesuvius; it was about an hour after the sun had risen: even then his rays were powerful. We were fatigued and heated by the immense labour of climbing the mighty precipice of ashes; vast masses of cinder glowed under us, hundreds of fissures emitted hot sulphuric vapour scarcely perceptible to the eye, but fully sensible to the smell and feeling. Our guides drew from the brown ashes the eggs which they had brought up for their repast; a very few minutes had sufficed for their cooking—they found the finest salt on almost every fragment within their reach. And yet in this region of fire, the gentle temperature of the breeze gradually refreshed and invigorated us. Our faces were turned towards the tomb at the opposite side of the bay. The city, considerably below us, showed on our right like a rich, white margin between the land and water; in a few places this appeared thicker, and advanced a little upon the expanded plain that stretched along towards the Adriatic. The road to Herculaneum, the little town of Torre del Greco, and a

number of others, were discernible, and we looked on our left, to try and ascertain the site of Pompeii, through whose desolate streets we had walked but two days previously. The island of Capri rose as a dark mass in what was anciently called the Tyrrhenian Sea, but the eye discerned the horizon of water glittering far beyond it, and we could observe the liquid element spreading to the west and south of Procida and Ischya, to the west from the ridge of Posillippo; the reflection from the waters near Baiæ, seemed like that of liquid silver, and the eye reached towards the north even to Gaeta. One of my companions on discovering the headland repeated,

"Tu quoque litoribus nostri, Æneia nutrix
Æternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti
Et nunc servat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen
Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria signat."

"And thou, O matron of immortal fame
Here dying, to the shore hast left thy name.
Caieta still the place is called from thee,
The nurse of great Æneas' infancy.
Here rest thy bones in rich Hesperia's plains,
Thy name ('tis all a ghost can claim) remains."

"This was the spot selected by Virgil for perhaps the best and most beautiful of his descriptions," said he, "and surely he could not have chosen a better." We had previously visited the splendid Museum of Naples, in whose numerous and extensive departments so many remains of the genius of southern Italy are collected. We spoke of several that have been lately dug up, after an interment of nearly twenty centuries under the masses of sand and ashes, flung over many a league from that very crater upon whose edge we were then seated. We admired the ingenuity, the patience, the industry, the zeal and information of those scientific men whom we had seen unrolling, deciphering, copying, supplying the chasms, and preparing for publication the ancient volume of parchment, reduced nearly to a mass of carbon in the ruins which fiery lava had created. And turning to one of my friends, who was an inhabitant of Great Britain, I remarked, "These are the men whom your writers have represented as ignorant, lazy, priest-ridden Italians, enemies to science and degraded in superstition!!!" "I acknowledge," said he, "that our writers have, for party purposes, done the Italians the greatest injustice, and at your side of the Atlantic, you are not only our rivals, but as you claim pre-eminence in so many departments, you will not, I am convinced, deny that many of your writers have outstripped us even in this." I could not make all the concessions he desired. We agreed therefore, to leave the pretensions of the United Kingdom, and those of the United States to be settled by the King of Holland, or by any other arbiter that may be agreed on by better authorized plenipotentiaries, and we returned to the discussion of descriptions given by Virgil. Yet this was connected with the visits we had paid to the Museum, because it was there we had first heard of the work of the Rev. Andrew Jorio, a learned canon of Naples, who is as eminent for his literature as he is for his unpretending piety; it was there we had first learned his opinion, that the passages contained in the sixth book of the Æneid, describing the infernal regions of Tartarus and of Elysium, were all suggested to the poet from a spot near Baiæ. We had there procured the treatise, and were led to discuss its merits, whilst we projected a hasty visit to the same regions, to pass freely through which even at this day, requires the offering of a sprig from the golden branch. I regretted that an indisposition under which he laboured whilst I was in the south of Italy, prevented my having the gratification of making the acquaintance of this respectable and accomplished scholar, whom I desired much to know, not only on account of his scientific and literary attainments, but also for his ministerial usefulness. My own time was also curtailed, and I was not able to make all the excursions that I had intended in this most interesting neighbourhood. I have however, attentively perused the work of Canon Jorio, and seen something of the vicinity. Perhaps I could, therefore, with some little prospect of success, undertake to show you by his description, some of the reasons for the assertion with which I have set out; that the writers who, in works of fiction, found their descriptions upon observation in preference to mere imagination, are those most likely to succeed.

Two facts are incontestable. First, in the fifth book the poet describes the departure of the remnant of the Trojan fleet from Sicily, for the purpose of making a descent upon Italy, and especially, that it was the intention of Æneas to visit the shade of his father in Elysium according to the admonition of Anchises himself, who in line 735 informs him who shall be his guide:

"Huc casta Sybilla
Nigrantum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet."

"The chaste Sybilla shall your steps convey,
And blood of offered victims strew the way."

It is also certain that his voyage lay nearly west of north from Gaeta to the mouth of the

Tiber, and leaving the shore of Cumæ, the closing lines of the sixth book informs us that his way for Gaeta lay directly along shore, of course in nearly a northern direction. These premises lead us, independently of any other consideration, to the discovery of the spot upon which he landed in search of the Sibyl. It was the coast of Cumæ, upon the western side of the promontory which, at the north entrance to the Bay of Naples, puts down about three miles to the south, thus forming the tongue of land which divides the Bay of Puzzoli from the Mediterranean Sea. A difficulty seemed to present itself to a few critics, as some said it was not Cumæ, but Baiæ, and this would not lead us to the spot which it is contended, furnished the poet with his topography. Cumæ was a settlement of the Eubeans, and only one of the many Grecian colonies that filled the south of Italy, which, as every person at all acquainted with ancient geography knows, was called Grecia Magna. That there was an extension of this colony to Baiæ, which is quite in its vicinity, is pretty certain; hence Dion Cassius and others, called the bay of this latter also by the name of the former. In 1822, an ancient Greek sepulchre similar to those of the settlement at Cumæ, was discovered at Baiæ, which sustains the statement of Strabo respecting the extent of the colony. The headland, which we are about to examine, runs down little more than three miles at the utmost, and is scarcely two miles across. The spot where the poet makes Æneas land, is somewhat less than two miles north from the southwestern point of the promontory, over which rises the hill now called Monte di Procida, and which the canon says is that described in line 234:

"Monte sub ærio qui nunc Misenus ab illo
Dicitur."

"And deathless fame
Still to the lofty cape consigns his name:"

and which derives its name from the burial of Hector's trumpeter. The shore here is free from rocks or cliffs, and is a fine strand. Hence the description of the arrival of the strangers after the loss of Palinurus, is exceedingly appropriate:

"Sic fatur lacrymans classique immittit habenas
Et tandem Euboicis Cumæum allabitur oris!"

"He said and wept; then spread his sails before
The winds, and reached at length the Cuman shore."

Turning to the left from the supposed place of landing, the site of the ancient temple of Apollo is found, at the distance of three quarters of a mile. Here some remains of a structure are still discovered. Still the spot is called Procea di Cuma, and the peasants call the hill which rises here Monte di Cuma. The poet has certainly embellished the temple erected in a remote antiquity, with sculpture worthy of a better age. Yet it is astonishing to find from unequivocal proof, furnished by undoubted works of these early times, the progress which had been even then made in the arts in those regions. I have seen frescoes which have been nearly three thousand years executed, and which have been overwhelmed with rubbish during the greater portion of that time, as clear, as vivid, and as accurate in the outlines of the figures as many which would be admired as good productions at this day. That this temple was erected long before the arrival of Æneas in Italy, there is great reason to believe.

I shall not here inquire concerning the Sibyl, but we may perhaps, examine her supposed habitation:

"Excisum Euboicæ latus ingens rupis in antrum
Qua lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum
Unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sybillæ."

"A spacious cave within the farthest part
Was hewed and fashioned by laborious art
Through the hill's hollow sides; before the place
A hundred doors a hundred entries grace:
As many voices issue: and the sound
Of Sibyl's words as many times rebound."

The present appearance of this cavern, certainly does not correspond with the description here given, nor would the description have been at any period perfectly accurate: much must have been left to the imagination of the poet; all that the canon contends for, ought, I think, to be willingly conceded, which is that the poet led his hero by this route to the nether world. To any person who has seen the Capitol of Rome, the Tarpeian Rock, the Forum of Trajan, the Arch of Septimius Severus, or any of the excavations by which the "Via Sacra" has been disclosed, little need be said to show how the accumulation of centuries will fill up hollows and reduce the elevations of precipices.

This spot is only a few miles from the tomb of Virgil, and the poet must have frequently strayed along this shore. Nearly two thousand years have passed away since he observed the place, and then it was at least a thousand years after the excavation had been made; and he who had been accustomed to examine such works, and who generally was exact in his descriptions, could at that time form a better idea of what this excavation was; the canon thinks he

only gives us the round number one hundred for several, and conformed to the ordinary notion that the cave was the residence of some supernatural or inspired being, and thus easily made it the dwelling of the Sibyl.

The substance of an interesting archæological dissertation which he gives, is that this, like many other caverns generally thought to be natural, is in truth artificial. Such clearly was Virgil's opinion: "Excisum latus ingens in antrum." That the cave was cut into the side of the rock. To sustain this position, the canon brings us to contemplate the customs of the first Grecian settlers, which indeed were similar to those of others similarly circumstanced. Scarcely landed, the first two objects they sought were a dwelling-place and security. No spot on the Cumæan coast offered a more convenient location for the purpose than this—the only rock which is near that part of the shore. Their usual mode was to build with stone, for this the rock afforded material; its elevation was convenient for security, and this would be greatly increased by so clearing away the projections of the cliff as to make it perpendicular, at least on two or three sides. By the process of paring it off in this manner, they were also furnished with stone for building. They were a patient and persevering race, and though emigrants, they had not the insatiable, migratory spirit of many of our pioneers. Leaving one habitation, they determined to fix upon another as permanent.

Hence they made preparations for centuries of residences, as they built for a progeny through whose generations they considered themselves about to live.

After having given to the rock its faces, they proceeded from the summit to perforate to its bosom, and having descended to a sufficient depth they excavated several large chambers for the double purpose of procuring materials, and of creating a citadel and a store-house. Here, too, they penetrated to the living waters, so that no enemy should be able to cut off a supply. From the interior they wrought long passages towards the sides, and at the extremities they made loopholes through which they might receive air and some light, and be able also to reconnoitre and to annoy an enemy.

It is acknowledged by all respectable antiquarians that such was the origin of numerous excavations in rocks spread through the south of Italy, and of many elsewhere. Martorelli, upon the authority of Strabo and Ephorus, sustains that several of these were excavations in search of ore. In most of these citadels there was a temple, and generally the shrine of some prophet or prophetess was in the most retired part of the cavern.

In the time of Virgil several of these loopholes were considerably enlarged, and the earth had been gradually raised around the rock, so that the former windows now became so many entrances to the interior, which had probably been once famous as the shrine of some pythoness or perhaps of the great Sibyl herself; at this day some of those apertures exist, though the rock is nearly level with the surrounding accumulation of earth. We have the accounts of St. Justin the martyr, and of Agatius the historian, describing this cave.

In 1787, Carletti says he got nearly lost in its labyrinths; but that he saw the remains of the temple and pieces of mo aic work at a spot where several passages united. Jorio himself, in 1811, went through a considerable portion of it, accompanied by a guide; he remained two hours, and found some human remains, which so terrified his companions that they could not be induced by threats or promises to go forward.

So far, then, we have the description accurate in its principal features, but highly embellished by imagination.

At the entrance of this cavern, the hero of the poem is admonished to seek for the information that he desired, and having obtained as much as the poet thought convenient to communicate, he requests to be taught the way to the infernal regions.

The lake known as Lago di Averno is little more than half a mile east of this cavern, but at the time Virgil wrote, the country was more thickly wooded than it is at present, and it was still more so at that earlier period which the poet has selected, nor was the lake to be approached in a direct line; hence the canon supposes that the path to the spot which he indicates as "fauces Averni," must have wound along the valley which lies between the rock we have been describing, and the high and rugged ground which surrounds the lake. The Trojan leader, in pursuing this course, would have increased the distance round the northern part of the lake, to arrive at its opposite side, nearly three miles, and this journey was to be made through a forest.

"Tenent media omnia sylvæ."

"Betwixt those regions and our upper light,
Deep forests and impenetrable night
Possess the middle space."

In studying the topography, we have no concern with either the death or burial of Misenus, nor with the manner in which

Æneas obtains the golden bough which was to insure his return to the realms of day; neither need we witness the sacrifice.

Little more than a quarter of a mile to the southeast of the Lago di Averno is the Lago Lucrino, or ancient Lucrine Lake, so famous for producing some of the luxuries for Roman tables, as also for the naval purposes to which it was destined by Octavianus, and generally for its being more appropriate to recreation than to the fears of those who dwelt or sojourned at Baiæ. A deep valley passed from the Lake Avernus towards the Lucrine. And in this valley the canon supposes that the doves led the hero to pluck the golden bough.

"Inde ubi venere ad fauces graveolentis Averni,
Tollunt se celeres, liquidumque per aera lapsæ,
Sedibus optatis gemina sub arbore sedunt
Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit."

"Thus they led him on
To the slow lake: whose baneful stench to shun
They winged their flight aloft; stopping low,
Perched on the double tree that bears the golden bough;
Through the green leaves the glittering shadows glow."

The branch having been delivered to the Sibyl, and the last rites paid to the body of Misenus, we find Æneas and the propheteess already still farther south than the spot to which the doves had led him to obtain his passport. A large cavern here extends from Avernus nearly to the Lucrine Lake; at present it is seldom passable in summer, but it is opened occasionally in winter, and the entrance at the north was formerly quite overshadowed by woods. This has been appropriately selected by the poet as the entrance to the infernal regions.

"Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu,
Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
Quam super haud ullæ poterant impune volantes
Tendere iter pennis; talis sese halitus atris
Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat:
Unde locum Graii, dixerunt nomine Avernum."

"Deep was the cave and downwards as it went
From the wide mouth, a rocky, rough descent;
And here, the access, a gloomy grove descends,
And here the unnavigable lake extends,
O'er whose unhappy waters, void of light,
No bird presumes to steer his airy flight:
Such deadly stenches from the depth arise,
And steaming sulphur, that infects the skies.
From hence the Grecian bards, their legends make,
And give the name Avernus to the lake."

I presume the etymology is sufficiently known to be the privative particle *a* and the word ὄρνις a bird: originally ἄορνος, and euphonized to Avernus.

The sacrifice having been offered, the awful portents being manifest, Æneas is warned to draw his sword and to advance into the cavern, whither his guides had already rushed. This the poet calls "primæ fauces Orci," the first jaws of Orcus. The poetical description of the beings who occupied this cavern is one of the best-imagined and best-wrought productions of Virgil; but this is not the place to dilate upon its appropriate excellence.

Issuing from the southern aperture between you and the Lucrine Lake, even at this day, elms are abundant, but formerly they were larger, more numerous, and thickly entangled. The path is in a narrow ravine. On either hand were caverns, many of which were the dens of wild animals and the abode of serpents. In several places the earth has fallen in, and the caves are choked, but still some are visible on either hand; and the canon thinks it very likely, that about the period when Virgil wrote, this might have served as a menagerie for the parties who rusticated near the ancient Puteoli or at Baiæ. In either case; the poet had the groundwork upon which his imagination could well indulge itself. The cavern is at present called Bagno della Sibilla, and the *stabula ferarum in feribus* exhibit to us the dwelling-places of the hideous forms that besiege the door, and have their dens in its vicinity, and the elm with its dusky arms has to this day remained, and made manifest the principle to which I have alluded.

Before proceeding further with the Trojan chief, it will be, perhaps, not amiss to examine briefly an assertion of our learned commentator, that the Styx is not specially described by the poet, but that where the expression does occur in this sixth book, it is but a general designation, not a particular appellation of an infernal river. We have, it is true, five lakes within the compass of this peninsula, and there were five rivers of the shadowy regions. Avernus is too plainly marked to allow a doubt of its identity: the Fusaro and the Acquimarta will be easily recognised as the Acheron and the Cocytus: the context and other circumstances will lead us to the Maremorto as Lethe, and the Lucrine Lake alone would remain as the Styx. This river was said to be the daughter of Oceanus: every classic reader is aware that in the days of Homer, and even in those of Virgil, the Bay of Pozzuoli and the contiguous waters were known as the ocean, and when it was agitated by storms, the sea which rolled into this bay broke more easily over the low grounds, and rushed more forcibly through the communication with the Lucrine Lake: so that, in fact, it was in calm times comparatively dry, until the rushing of the ocean filled, en-

larged, and made it permanent. But Jorio says that Virgil had too much taste to say to the ladies and epicures of Rome, that this was the infernal Styx—hence, that through the entire of this book, the word is to be taken in its general, and not in its particular acceptation, and a review of the several passages will show us nothing incompatible with this opinion. It is mentioned seven times, besides the particular passage which seems to me to create the greatest difficulty. First the prophetess says to Æneas—

"Quod si tantus amor mentis si tanta Cupido est
Bis stygios innare lacus, bis nigra videre Tartara."

"But if so dire a love your soul invades
As twice below to see the trembling shades.
If you so hard a toil will undertake
As twice to pass the unnavigable lake."

Second, 154.

"Sic demum lucos Stygios, regna invia vivus Aspices."

"This done, securely take the destined way
To find the regions destitute of day."

Third, 252.

"Tum Stygio regi nocturnas inchoat aras."

"With holocausts he Pluto's altar fills."

Fourth, 368.

"Neque enim credo sine numine Divum
Flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem:"

"Without whose aid you durst not undertake
This frightful passage o'er the Stygian lake."

Fifth, 388.

"Navita quos jam inde ut Stygia prospexit ab unda
Per tacitum nemus ire, pedemque advertere ripae."

"Now nearer to the Stygian lake they draw,
Whom from the shore the surly boatman saw—
Observed their passage through the shady wood,
And marked their near approaches to the flood."

Sixth, 391.

"Corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina."

"Know this the realm of night, the Stygian shore,
My boat conveys no living body o'er."

Seventh, 438.

"Fata obstant, tristique palus inamabilis unda
Alligat et novies Styx interfusa coercet."

"But fate forbids; the Stygian floods oppose,
And with nine circling streams the captive soul enclose."

Of those passages, the second, third, and fourth, clearly have the expression general. The great difficulty would be to reconcile the 323d line and the general statement of the ancients respecting the oath of the gods, with the opinion of Canon Jorio, before we could say that in the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh passages, the expression was also general.

The expression of the Sibyl appears to me not only exceedingly distinct, but points to a special circumstance respecting the Styx, than which there is not in all mythology one better and more precisely understood.

321.

"Olli sic breviter fata est longæva sacerdos.
Anchisa generate Deum certissima proles
Cocyti stagna alta vides, Stygiamque paludem
Dii cujus jurare timent et fallere numen."

"'Son of Anchises, offspring of the gods,'
The Sibyl said, 'you see the Stygian floods,
The sacred streams which heaven's imperial state
Attest in oaths, and fear to violate.'"

If, however, we will suppose that Virgil, like most other poets, used freely the privileges to which he was entitled, we may then take the Lucrine Lake for the Styx, and the traveller passing the *ferarum stabula*, after emerging from the grotto of Avernus, leaving this on his left, proceeds by what is known as the Scalandrone, towards Lago del Fusaro—called by Virgil the Palus Acherusia or "Acherontis ad undas."

Æneas and the Sibyl having now passed through the dark grotto which lies between the Lago d'Averno and the vicinity of the Lucrine Lake, had issued from the cave into that region which we may now consider as the "Infernal."

From the southern aperture of this cavern there are three roads—one on the left hand leads in a northeast direction to Pozzuoli and Solfatara; with this we have no concern: another, southward of east, leads to the Lago Lucrino and the Gulf of Pozzuoli, the ocean of the ancients; whilst another, nearly south, leads to the Lake of Fusaro and Aquamorta, which are not a furlong apart, and not more than a mile from the cavern of Avernus, called still Bagno della Sibilla. This is, then, the only road which leads to a spot whence a view might be had of the two lakes, and is, therefore, well described in line 295:

"Huic via Tartarei quæ fert Acherontis ad undas
Turbidus hic cæno vastaque voragine gurges
Æstuat, atque omnem Cocyto eructat arenam."

"Hence to deep Acheron they take their way.
Whose turbid eddies, thick with ooze and clay,
Are whirled aloft and in Cocytus lost."

The relative position of the two lakes, neither of which is large, but that of the Aquamorta much the smaller, produce even to-day the same effects that are described. When by the overflowing of the sea, or any other cause, the Lago del Fusaro is over-

charged, it pours a flood of turbid water, thick with filth and sands, into the Aquamorta or Cocytus, which is one of the most pestilential little mud-holes of this vicinity.

The present road from the Lucrine Lake to that of Fusaro, leads towards the northern extremity of the latter, and gives no opportunity of seeing both the supposed Acheron and Cocytus from one point. Jorio, however, gives sufficient reasons to show that the ancient road, which existed in the time of Virgil, had a different direction, and led to a small elevation, less than a furlong distant from the southeastern border of the Acheron, whence they are both fully visible, and where Sibyl might very properly have said:

323.

"Cocyti stagna alta vides, Stygiamque paludem;"

and, indeed, the Lake of Fusaro may this day, as well as nineteen centuries ago, be properly called *palus*, as the Aquamorta is most aptly designated by the expression *stagna*.

Upon the borders of the Lake of Fusaro, the poet placed those whom he described as

"Hæc omnis, quam cernis inops, inhumataque turba est."

"The ghosts rejected are the unhappy crew,
Deprived of sepulchres and funerals due."

The crowd here is very great, and amongst them is the lost Palinurus, who most pathetically implores to be relieved, by having his obsequies performed, and receives the assurance from his former chieftain, that a day will come, when the rites shall be paid, and his name honourably transmitted to future ages.

At the present day, you will easily find a boatman, who, occupying a bark at the spot which our Canon believes to be the same which Virgil assigned to Charon, will convey the traveller across; though this ferryman must receive a larger fee than the tariff which Pluto fixed as a sufficient remuneration for the grisly boatman of former centuries. However, all this is, perhaps, just, because the modern tourist will be treated with more civility, and is certainly more weighty than a ghost.

Having crossed the lake, at a place where it is something less than a half-mile in width, you land at less than that distance from the sea, and upon soil which this day answers the description given by the poet, in line 415:

"Tandem trans fluvium incolumes vatemque virumque
informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulvâ."

"His passengers at length are wafted o'er,
Exposed in muddy weeds upon the miry shore."

Turning to the north from this spot, the lake is on the left hand, and the sea within a little more than a furlong on your right, and the high headland of Monte di Procida rises with abrupt rocks before you. But not more than one hundred yards in front of you, is the little hill of *Torre della Gaveta*, quite near the shore and the mouth of the stream which communicates between the Lago del Fusaro and the sea. Here, in a hill, is a cavern, cut by the early Greek settlers, to form this communication between the lake and the Mediterranean. It has frequently, however, its channel so choked with sand that it becomes necessary, in the end of the spring, to clear and deepen the passage. In this also, winds and waters frequently make a fitful noise, and this was the fancied abode of Cerberus:

417.

"Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
Personat adverso recubans immanis in antro."

"No sooner landed, in his den they found
The triple porter of the Stygian sound,
Grim Cerberus."

Having given to him his sop, and finding him now spread powerless in sleep:

424.

"Occupat Æneas aditum, custode sepulto,
Evaditque celer ripam irremeabilis undæ."

"The keeper charmed, the chief, without delay,
Passed on and took the irremeable way."

The stream here may, without any great stretch of imagination, be called "not to be repassed;" for it is not by this path our hero returns.

Going forward, the traveller now ascends the hill upon which the tower of Gaveta is built, and as he descends towards the southeast, he enters a valley, which the poet describes in the succeeding lines:

426.

"Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo;
Quos dulcis vitæ exsortes, et ab ubere raptos
Abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo;
Hos juxta falsa damnati crimine mortis."

"Before the gates the cries of babes new-born,
Whom fate had from their tender mothers torn,
Assault his ears; then those whom form of laws
Condemned to die when traitors judged their cause."

It would be curious and instructive here, to enter upon the examination of the doctrines of the ancient schools, especially that of Plato, concerning the future state; particularly as Virgil, throughout his book,

gives a beautiful exemplification of the opinions of that celebrated philosopher. Having ascertained what those doctrines were, the next step would be to trace their origin; to see the sources whence he derived his information; to find how much of his knowledge he drew from the sacred volumes of the chosen people of God, and from the original traditions given by the patriarchs, of the information directly received, concerning the other world, from God himself, by Adam, by Seth, by Enos, by Noe, by Abraham, and others; to view the additions and the changes which mythology had introduced, and to see what beautiful imagery the mind of the poet spread through the description; but this is not our present object. The valley here, is just such as you would consider calculated to fill the helpless babes with terror, and to minister to the pensive feelings of the innocent victim of mistaken justice.

Jorio informs us, to sustain the accuracy of his remarks, that if you inquire of the peasants who inhabit Monte di Procida, and particularly that part called Capo Vecchie, marked by the ruins of Roman buildings, where is the road *de l'inferno*, they will bring you by the winding road, to the descent on the side of this outlet of Fusaro, by the winding paths going down from crag to crag—they will lead you to the entrance of this valley, and thence through it, by the very way which I am about to describe.

He places, after describing the tribunal of Minos, the unfortunate suicides in the next location on the southern side of the *Aqua Morta*, or Cocytus. We have then the description:

440.

"Nec procul huic partem fusi monstrantur in omnem
Lugentes campi: sic illos nomine dicunt.
Hic, quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit,
Secreti celant colles, et myrtea circum
Sylva tegit: curæ non ipsa in morte relinquunt."

"Not far from thence the mournful fields appear,
So called from lovers that inhabit there;
The souls whom that unhappy flame invades,
In secret solitude and myrtle shades
Make endless moans, and pining with desire
Lament, too late, the unextinguished fire."

After describing a number of the unhappy victims who dwell in this dismal region, Æneas is brought to meet the wretched Dido, who treats him with fixed dislike, and deserved scorn. These plains stretch forward better than a furlong, a little south of east from the *Aqua Morta*, and the Canon brings to our view the mythological statement that the waters of the Cocytus were increased by the tears of unfortunate lovers, which adds to the evidence of the poet's precision, and to the probability of the Canon's opinion.

In the last stage of this region, he places the warriors, and takes occasion to describe several of those famed for prowess in the Trojan war, and to introduce the beautiful but concise history of Deiphobus, with its instructive moral.

We now come to a spot which the poet thus describes:

540.

"Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambos,
Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit;
Hac iter Elysium nobis; at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas et ad impia Tartara mittit."

"'Tis here in different parts the way divides,
The right to Pluto's golden palace guides,
The left to that unhappy region tends,
Which to the depth of Tartarus descends.
The seat of night's profound and punished fiends."

This spot is little more than half a mile from the *Aqua Morta*, and at present the road divides: on your left, advancing in the way which leads from the supposed cave of Cerberus. When you come to this division, you see a region which is fitted to suggest the idea given of Tartarus by the poet; and keeping the line to your right, you would arrive at those regions that he calls Elysium. To the left is a region bounded on the west by the Acherusian Lake and the muddy and pestilential Cocytus, while the sterile region leading to the den of beasts stretches on before you. Several critics have ridiculed the notion that there could have been in this vile and deserted spot anything to suggest to Virgil the existence of the city of the damned, such as he describes it in this sixth book. But suppose there was nothing which bore an actual resemblance to the place described, still it is properly urged that at least this much latitude should be fairly allowed to the bard, that he might place an imaginary city on the spot. Yet we will not content ourselves with this answer. It can be easily shown that in this region are to be found many of the materials from which such a city could be constructed, and that there was in former days a city upon the very site. Let us, however, look at the description:

548.

"Respicit Æneas subito: et sub rupe sinistrâ
Mœnia lata videt, triplici circumdata muro;
Quæ rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,
Tartareus Phlegethon torquetque sonantia saxa."

"The hero, looking to the left, espied
A lofty tower, and strong on every side,
With treble walls, which Phlegethon surrounds,

Whose fiery flood the burning empire bounds,
And pressed betwixt the rocks, the bellowing noise resounds."

In the first place, this whole region is in a great measure volcanic; and not only here, but at the other side of the Bay of Pozzuoli, the evidences of it are abundant. In this very spot are the craters of two scarcely extinct, though small volcanoes. No very great stretch of imagination is required to view in their flood of burning lava the fiery stream of Phlegethon, either roaring as it rushes between rocks, or as it bears them along tumbling in its torrent, creating an appalling noise. The peasants will this day point out what they call *Fumarole*, very distinct tokens of subterraneous fires to the west of the *Scalandrone*, on the very site of the city of the damned, as described by the poet. Homer informs us that the Phlegethon is discharged into the Acheron and the Cocytus. Virgil was a close student of Homer, and his Phlegethon would naturally flow from the site into the Lago del Fusaro and the Aqua Morta. These volcanoes were probably much more active in the time of Virgil than we find them to-day. Thus, the fiery stream was a natural suggestion.

The walls of the city of Misenus presented themselves here also to the observation of the poet. Even to-day you will find scarcely a space of three hundred yards without the ruins of some ancient Roman structure, some of them of considerable extent, many of them covered with strata of volcanic matter. You will find several caves, and Greek and Roman sepulchres, so that there was sufficient occasion to lead the imagination to a subterraneous fiery prison, the entrance to which was in a citadel surrounded by a flaming river. This was the Tartarean region, or the Hell of the poet, which was exhibited to his hero, but into which he did not enter. The fortress was impregnable, and from it issued the cries of the tortured. His guide informed him of the mode of judgment and the dire infliction of vengeance; and the hero saw the gates open, so as to enable him to describe the terrific disclosures that were thus made, and to convey the detail to those who had not been privileged as he was.

577.

"Tum Tartarus ipse
Bis patet in præceps tantum, tenditque sub umbras,
Quantus ad æthereum cœli suspectus olympum.
Hic genus antiquum terræ, Titania pubes,
Fulmine dejecti, fundo volvuntur in imo."

"The gaping gulf low to the centre lies,
And twice as deep as earth is distant from the skies.
The rival of the Gods, the Titan race,
Here singed with lightning roll within the unfathomed space."

Whoever has been at the *Grotto del Cane*, or in the hot sulphur caverns between Naples and Pozzuoli, is perfectly aware of the effect of the exhalations from this soil. Add to this the volcanic matter, the ruins of ancient tombs, the occasional shakings of the earth, and some notions may be formed of the mythological relations of the restless and tortured Titans, endeavouring to rise, and disturbing the soil under which they are buried, so as to create those fissures which emit the stench of their brimstone graves to our upper world.

The concluding lines of the poet, after the enumeration of several of the wretched culprits, are beautiful and highly instructive:

617.

"Sedet æternumque sedebit
Infelix Theseus: Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes
Admovet, et magna testatur voce per umbras;
Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere Divos.
Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
Imposuit; fixit leges pretio atque refixit.
Hic thalamum invasit natæ, vetitosque hymenæos,
Ausi omnes immane nefas, ausoque potiti
Non mihi si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum,
Ferrea vox, omnes scelerum comprendere formas,
Omnia pœnarum percurrere nomina possim."

"Unhappy Theseus, doomed for ever there,
Is fixed by fate on his eternal chair,
And wretched Phlegias warns the world with cries,
(Could warning make the world more just or wise.)
Learn righteousness, and dread the avenging deities.
To tyrants others have their country sold,
Imposing foreign laws for foreign gold.
Some have old laws repealed, new statutes made,
Not as the people pleased, but as they paid.
With incest some their daughters' beds profaned;
All dared the worst of ill, and what they dared, attained.
Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues,
And throats of brass, inspired with iron lungs,
I could not half those horrid crimes repeat,
Nor half the punishments those crimes have met."

This was the Tartarus, or Hell, into which, as I remarked, the hero did not enter, but with a view and description of which he was favoured. The spot from which it was examined was just beyond that described as the division of the roads, "Hic locus est partes ubi se via findit in ambas," and is now called *Croce via di Capella*. At a short distance beyond it, on the road, is the *Mercato di Sabato*, where formerly stood a circus, which probably suggested to the poet the following description, given by the priestess:

630.

"Cyclopum educta caminis
Mœnia conspicio atque adverso fornice portas."

"The walls of Pluto's palace are in view;
The gate and iron arch above it stands,
On anvils laboured by the Cyclops' hands."

We have again, in a single expression of the poet, an admirable coincidence with the site:

633.

"Dixerat et pariter gressi per opaca viarum,
Corripiunt spatium medium, foribusque propinquant."

"She said, and through the gloomy shades they passed,
And chose the middle path."

Just here, even at this day, the road branches into three parts: that to the right leads to the western extremity of *Mare Morto*, where it approaches the Monte di Procida. Mythological writers inform us that the Lethe touches on the confines of the infernal regions, a portion of which was in the ravines of this mountain; and thus we may suppose this lake, which is formed by an influx from one of the deep indentings of the Bay of Pozzuoli, is the fabled Lethe itself. On the left, the road leads towards *Scalandrone*, and back to Averno. The Spatium Medium will lead to the northeastern shore of the *Mare Morto*, or Lethe, and here are the Elysian fields; for again mythology informs us that the Lethe stretched along the borders of those happy regions. This middle path, then, was followed by the Trojan chieftain, who having performed the proper lustrations, and duly offered his golden bough, by placing it over the portal, was admitted.

The difference of the soil and the variety of productions form here a contrast with the gloomy, the sterile, the volcanic, and the rugged regions through which our way had lain before, and very naturally suggested to the Mantuan bard those happy lines:

637.

"His demum exactis, perfecto munere Divæ,
Devenere locos lætos, et amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas.
Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
Purpureo: solemque suum, sua sidera norunt."

"These holy rites performed, they took their way
Where long-extended plains of pleasure lay.
The verdant fields with those of heaven may vie,
With ether vested and a purple sky;
The blissful seats of happy souls below,
Stars of their own, and their own sun they know."

The melody of the raptured poet now grows richer with the increasing grandeur of the scene, and perhaps few descriptions can be found to equal that which is given in his succeeding lines. To observe upon this, is not, however, our object. After due inquiry, he discovers the loved object of his search; their interview is in the midst of those gentle elevations, and the varying undulations which enrich this spot. The Platonic system, modified with peculiar diversities of the poet's own adoption, is beautifully unfolded—the mingling of the universal mind with matter in its various modifications, the death of man, and his judgment. They who escape Tartarus, are generally doomed to a variety of purgations, according to the stains with which they are disfigured:

735.

"Quin et supremo cum lumine vita relinquit
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes; penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris,
Ergo exercentur pœnis veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt."

"E'en when those bodies are by death resign'd,
Some old, inherent spots are left behind,—
A sullying tincture of corporeal stains
Deep in the substance of the soul remains.
Thus are her splendours dimmed and crusted o'er
With those dark vices that she knew before.
For this the souls a various penance pay,
To purge the taints of former crimes away."

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Of Elysium, he proceeds then to say, after some special descriptions of the previous process of purgation:

743.

"Exinde per amplum
Mittimur Elysium, et pauci læta arva tenemus."

"And few so cleansed to these abodes repair,
And breathe in ample fields the soft Elysian air."

However, this happiness is not to continue, for the transmigration of souls forms a part of the system:

748.

"Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Letheum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno;
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant,
Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti."

"Both these thin airy throngs thy eyes behold,
When o'er their heads a thousand years have rolled,
In mighty crowds to yon Lethean flood,
Swarm at the potent summons of the God,
There deep the draught of dark oblivion drain,
Then they desire new bodies to obtain,
And visit heaven's ethereal realms again."

Thus, numbers who never entered Elysium, but were detained in their state of purgation, were, according to this philoso-

phical system, sent back with the happy souls to animate new bodies. With this view of the poet's notion of Elysium, I shall hasten to compare the few remaining passages with the topography. At the moment when Anchises was discovered by his son, the poet describes his situation:

679.

"At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti
Inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras,
Lustrabat studio recolens: omnemque suorum
Forte recensebat numerum, charosque [*vel* claros] nepotes,
Fataque, fortunasque virum, moresque, manusque."

"But old Anchises in a flowery vale
Reviewed his mustered race, and took the tale:
Those happy spirits which, ordained by fate,
For future being and new bodies wait;
With studious thought observed th' illustrious throng,
In nature's order as they passed along.
Their names, their fate, their conduct and their care,
In peaceful senate and successful war."

After having gone forward from the Mercato di Sabato, and stood on one of those pretty swellings of the ground, the hollows are exposed to view, and we find Anchises thus occupied in one of those delightful spots, at some distance forward. The Mare Morto is also visible, with its open strand on the right; and it was to its banks that they who now pressed forward to re-enter mortal existence were approaching, whilst amongst them the great father of the Roman race was surveying his future progeny. Æneas went quickly forward to him, to a spot answering the description, near the northeastern extremity of this lake; and after the first efforts to embrace his parent, Virgil informs us:

703.

"Interea videt Æneas in valle reducta
Seclusum nemus, virgulta sonantia sylvis
Lethæumque, domos placidas qui prænatat amnen,
Hunc circum innumeræ gentes populique volabant."

"Now in a secret vale the Trojan sees
A separate grove, through which a gentle breeze
Plays with a passing breath, and whispers through the trees;
And just before the confines of the wood,
The gliding Lethe leads her silent flood,
About the boughs an airy nation flew."

And when the visiter expressed his desire to know who they were, the father answers:

713.

"Animæ, quibus altera fato
Corpora debentur, Lethæi ad fluminis undam,
Securos latices et longa oblivia potant."

"The souls that throng the flood
Are those to whom, by fate, are other bodies owed.
In Lethe's lake they long oblivion taste;
Of future life secure, forgetful of the past."

Mentioning a desire, which he had long entertained, to give to his son the knowledge of his future descendants, he proceeds to give him that explanation to which I have before drawn your attention, of the process of man's existence and of the Platonic system.

It is here to be remarked, that at this day, the scenery at this northeastern part of the lake is described with tolerable accuracy by the passage which has been quoted before the last, if we credit many who have seen and testify it. After the doctrinal communication, if I may so call it, Anchises is desirous to bring under his son's observation the succession of heroes which he had been contemplating, and for this purpose the poet very naturally caused him to bring Æneas to a more elevated spot.

732.

"Dixerat Anchises: natumque unaque Sibyllam,
Conventus trahit in medios turbamque sonantem
Et tumulum capit, unde omnes longo ordine possit
Adversos legere, et venientum discere vultus."

"Thus having said, the father spirit leads
The priestess and his son through swarms of shades,
And takes a rising ground from thence to see
The long procession of his progeny."

This is a spot called Puzzillo, and here the poet takes opportunity of giving, through Anchises, that splendid enumeration of those sages and heroes whom he desired to celebrate, until the catalogue closes with that sublime and pathetic exclamation which procured wealth and fame for the writer.

882.

"Heu! miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas.
Tu Marcellus eris."

"Oh couldst thou shun the dreadful stroke of fate;
Rome should in thee behold, with ravished eyes,
Her pride, her darling, her Marcellus rise."

A little above Puzzillo are the ruins of ancient vast structures, and this day, in the midst of them, is the parish church of St. Anne, the vestibule of which is marked by the Canon as the spot where stood in former days, the gate which was selected by our poet as that of horn. This is on your right, and a short distance on your left is Bacoli, not far from the tomb of Agrippina; here was the gate of ivory.

893.

"Sunt geminæ Somni portæ, quarum altera fertur
Cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris:

Altera, candenti perfecta nitens elephanto:
Sed falsa ad cœlum mittunt insomnia manes."

"Two gates the silent courts of sleep adorn
That of pale ivory, this of lucid horn,
Through this pale visions take their airy way.
Through that false phantoms mount the realms of day."

The Sibyl and her companion having been dismissed by Anchises through the ivory gate,

899.

"Ille viam secat ad naves, sociosque revisit."

"Straight to the ships Æneas took his way."

In the very expression, "secat viam," the Canon finds evidence of correctness of his illustrations, because there is a short path from Bacoli to the spot where the Trojans landed, which cuts straight across the peninsula, and at angles with the other roads over which we have gone.

900.

"Tum se ad Caietæ recto fert litore portum."

"Then steering by the strand he ploughs the sea,
And to Caieta's port directs his way,"—

which could not have been the case from Baiæ, which is at the opposite side of the promontory from Cumæ, and within the bay of Pozzuoli; the voyage from which would require the rounding of that cape, and certainly could not be said to go *recto litore;* whereas, from the coast at Cumæ it is a plain direct course, straight along the shore to Gaeta.

I have thus endeavoured to give you the principal illustrations exhibited by the learned Italian Canon, to show that in this, which is amongst the finest books of descriptive poetry and splendid fiction, the great author was more guided than is generally imagined by a close and patient study of actual scenery. How far I have succeeded in conveying his reasoning, I cannot say; how far I have sustained my position, it is for you to judge.

GENERAL APPENDIX

TO THE WORKS OF DR. ENGLAND.

[The greater portion of the documents which are published under the title of "General Appendix," were not written by Dr. England, but merely collected from papers of the day, under his direction. For various reasons, however, it has been thought advisable to publish them all, as well those which he merely collected, as those which were the offspring of his own pen.]

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES OF NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND GEORGIA:

WHICH ARE COMPRISED IN THE DIOCESS OF CHARLESTON, AND PROVINCE OF BALTIMORE, U. S. A.

AS FULLY AGREED TO, AND ACCEPTED, AFTER REPEATED DISCUSSION, BY THE CLERGY AND THE SEVERAL CONGREGATIONS, AND REGULARLY CONFIRMED BY THE BISHOP, AND SUBSEQUENTLY AMENDED ACCORDING TO THE FORM PRESCRIBED.

PREFACE.

THE system of government which exists in the Roman Catholic Church is divided into two parts; the one of divine institution; the other, the result of human regulation; this second part must, necessarily, be so far dependent upon the first as that no one of its provisions shall in any way counteract any principle or provision of the former. Hence it has always, in the Roman Catholic Church, been an invariable and essential rule, that in making those secondary regulations, the principal, if not the exclusive power of legislation should be vested in those persons who were, by the ordinance of our Saviour, made the judges and witnesses and preservers of his institutions. A distinction of parts was again made in that portion of the system which was to be the result of human regulation; it comprises ecclesiastical discipline, and the regulation of those temporalities, or that property, which is necessary for the support of religion; the first portion, that is, ecclesiastical discipline, was necessarily to be under the exclusive regulation of those whom the Holy Ghost had placed bishops to govern the Church of God; it was never known in the Catholic Church that any other body or individual was admitted to have any power therein. Respecting the second part of this head, three questions presented themselves, viz.: How are those means to be procured? In whom are they to be vested? In what manner are they to be expended? A few principles were clear, viz.: That the Church had no divine power of taxation. That there was a general obligation on those who partook of the benefit of religion to contribute to its support, and that they who served the altar had a right to live by the altar. Therefore it was plain, that this general right and general obligation should be made operative by some special regulations. These regulations should necessarily be as variable as the circumstances in which the several separate churches might be found at different times: hence they could never be permanent, invariable, or uniform throughout the world; but it was plain that unless there existed a power of restraint as to the mode of regulation, they might in some instances be made in direct opposition to, or incompatible with the divine institution itself. Thus the readiest and most effectual mode of raising money might be direct simony, or some other mode equally criminal. Church property might be vested in persons who, though professing a regard

for religion, were its worst enemies. In its expenditure, it might be applied to ends subversive of religion, and in actual contradiction to that object for which it was contributed. The spiritual governors of the church might on one side feel it their conscientious duty to prescribe to a clergyman a special line of conduct commanded by the divine law; and the person who controlled the expenditure of the fund, including the means for the support of the priest, might withhold from him those means because of his obedience to the lawful command of his proper superior; and give them to create opposition to the laws of the Church.

We need not have recourse to ancient history, or to foreign nations, to show that those evils have frequently occurred. The scandalous accounts of several churches of the United States, too flagrantly exhibit the exemplification. The experience of the early ages also proved it. We find that originally all this power was vested in the apostles; they distributed portions of it amongst others, deputing deacons principally to the charge and management of the property. When the churches became more numerous, the bishop constituted an arch-deacon to receive the reports and accounts of the deacons of the several churches; from him the bishop received the general report, and through him he gave the general directions; and thus the management of the temporalities of the church was under his control, for the reasons above specified.

In process of time, in some places, the most prudent and zealous of the laity were either appointed by the people or by the bishop *to aid* the priests and deacons in the management of the property. In the confusion of feudal times, powerful barons and others took the property into their care as patrons, and several new abuses were the consequence. But those abuses were frequently withstood, and in other instances a portion of the right of the church was yielded to preserve the rest. One great principle, however, was kept sacred and inviolable throughout, viz.: That the management of ecclesiastical affairs was solely in the prelates, and that they had *at least a negative* upon the management of church property.

It is useless to inquire minutely, how attempts to establish a different principle have originated in some of our congregations. A general remark will suffice; they had as their guide, not a knowledge of the laws of their own church, but the example of churches which protested against its doctrines, and its discipline too frequently served as their model: and a bad custom originating in accident, was soon quoted as an established usage. The constitution of this diocess was formed, for the purpose of preventing in future the recurrence of evils of this description within its limits.

The portions of our church government are very like to those of the government of this Union. The entire consists of diocesses, the bishop of each of which holds his place, not as the deputy of the Pope, but as a successor to the Apostles; as the governor of each state holds his place not as the deputy of the President, but as vested therewith by the same power which vests the President with his own authority. And as all the states are bound together in one federation, of which the President is the head, so are the diocesses collected into one church, of which the Pope is the head. Each state has power to make its own laws, provided they do not contravene the general Constitution of the United States; so in each diocess there exists the power of legislation, provided the statutes made therein be not incompatible with the faith or general discipline of the Catholic Church. The legislature of the Union is collected from all the states, and the decisions of the majority bind the individuals and the states which they represent; the general legislative body of the church is a council composed of the representatives of each diocess, and the decision of the majority binds the members and their diocesses. It is the duty of the President to have the laws of the Union executed in every state, as it is the duty of the Pope to have the general laws of the church executed in every diocess. The bishop is also bound to have them carried into execution within his own diocess, and he has power, and it is his duty to make such special regulations and laws as circumstances may render necessary for their more effectual observance, and for the spiritual benefit of his own district. As our states are subdivided, so are our diocesses: and as the laws of Congress and those of the state are binding in each subdivision, so are the general laws of the church and the laws of the diocess in each parish or district of the same; but in each subdivision, special regulations are made, each corporate city, town, or district, has its own by-laws, which would be invalid if incompatible with the laws of Congress or those of the states, otherwise they are of force; so in each parish or district by-laws which are incompatible with the general law of the church or the law of the diocess, are invalid.

With this general view, the frame of the following Constitution will be the more easily understood. The object of its forma-

tion was to lay down those general principles of law, and to show their special bearing in the most usual cases; and then upon the mode of raising, vesting, and managing church property, to fix the special manner in which the great principles that are recognised by the church should be carried into practice. This was done by consultation, discussion, and arrangement between the bishop, the clergy, and the laity, in several meetings in the several districts; and the outline of the entire, together with some of the most important of its special provisions, was laid before the Holy See, after it had been adopted, on the 25th of September, 1822. No objection having been received from that quarter, and its provisions having been more maturely examined, and tested by some experience, it is now published for the use of the members.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The principal amendments in this second edition of the Constitution of the Roman Catholic Church consist of such alterations as were found necessary to provide for having but one annual convention for the entire diocess, instead of having one in each state; and also having but one board of general trustees, instead of one for each state.

One or two others had been adopted, for the purpose of providing for some omissions of trivial moment in the original document; and the Definition of Faith, Tit. 1, Sec. 3, was more accurately given than in the first edition.

The amendments had been submitted to the Bishop, to the Conventions of South Carolina and of Georgia, in 1838; subsequently to the vestries; then to the Conventions of the same states, in 1839; to the several congregations of North Carolina in that year, and having received, in every instance, their unanimous approbation, were confirmed by the bishop.

Charleston, Dec. 31, 1839.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH,

OF THE DIOCESS OF CHARLESTON.

TITLE I.

DOCTRINE.

1. Our principle is, that man is bound to believe all those things, and only those things which God hath revealed. Hence we have no right to select some of those doctrines which we will believe, and others which we may reject; for the divine authority and credit is equal as to each; therefore we admit no distinction between the doctrines of revelation, so as to call some fundamental, which should be received in preference to others to be called not fundamental, as if they may be rejected; for we believe no person is at liberty to reject the testimony of God in great things or in small things.

2. We are not to reject doctrines revealed by God, because they exhibit to us matters beyond the force of our reason to discover. For the unlimited knowledge of God comprehends many things beyond the discovery of our limited reason,—and he may, if he thinks proper, reveal to us that such things do exist, though he should not manifest to us the manner of that existence, nor the reason why those things so be.

3. Faith is the belief, upon the authority of God, of all those matters which he hath revealed to us, even though they should be above or beyond the comprehension of our reason.

4. Although we be not obliged by faith to submit our understanding to our fellow-creature, as to God; yet we may have evidence, and of course certainty, that God hath made that creature his infallible witness to us. In receiving the testimony of that witness, we therefore pay our homage, not to our fellow-creature who testifies, but to the Creator, who, by that witness, reveals to us his doctrines, or gives to us his precepts.

5. We have evidence that God hath spoken frequently, in divers ways in times of old, by his prophets to the fathers, and last of all by his beloved Son, who hath on earth established his church as the pillar and the ground of truth; and who hath commanded all persons to hear and to obey that church as the infallible witness of his doctrine and precepts; which church he hath built upon a rock, making to her a promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.

6. We have evidence that, notwithstanding many persons have in several ages gone out from this church, and formed for themselves new associations, yet that Church of Christ hath subsisted in every age, and still continues to be a visible body of believers, united under one visible head, in the profession of the same faith, using the same sacraments, teaching doctrines of moral and religious observance which are confessedly holy, and which, being reduced

to practice, have exhibited, at all times, men and women of eminent sanctity in the bosom of that society spread through the whole civilized world, and tracing its origin through the unbroken succession of its pastors, to the Apostles who were commissioned by the Son of God to teach all nations; and with whom and with whose successors he promised to be, all days, to the consummation of the world.

7. From this church we receive the testimony of the doctrines and precepts which God hath revealed; to which doctrines no man may add, from which doctrines no man may take away; and which precepts by the divine authority are binding upon those to whom they are given.

8. We therefore believe with a firm faith, and profess all and every one of those things which are contained in that creed which the holy Catholic (Roman) Church maketh use of, to wit: we believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, and born of the Father before all ages. God of God; light of light; true God of true God; begotten, not made; consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made. Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary; and was made man. Was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate; he suffered and was buried; and the third day he arose again according to the Scriptures. He ascended into heaven; sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and is to come again with glory to judge the living and the dead; of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and lifegiver; who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, who, together with the Father and the Son, is adored and glorified, who spoke by the Prophets. And we believe one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. We confess one baptism for the remission of sins; and we expect the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. *Amen.*

We most steadfastly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the church.

We also admit the holy Scriptures according to that sense which our holy mother, the church, hath held and doth hold, to which it belongs *to judge* of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; neither will we ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.

We also profess that there are truly and properly *Seven Sacraments* of the new law instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all for every one: to wit, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Order, and Matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these, Baptism, Confirmation, and Order cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. We also receive and admit the received and approved ceremonies of the Catholic Church in the solemn administration of all the aforesaid Sacraments.

We receive and embrace all and every one of those things which have been defined and declared in the holy Council of Trent concerning original sin, and justification.

We profess, likewise, that there is offered to God in the Mass a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. And that in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood,—which conversion the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation. We also confess that, under either kind alone, Christ is received whole and entire, a true Sacrament.

We constantly hold that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

Likewise, that the saints reigning togegether with Christ are to be honoured and invoked; and that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be respected.

We most firmly assert that the images of Christ, of the Mother of God, ever Virgin, and also of other saints, may be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration is to be given to them.

We also affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

We also acknowledge the holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church for the mother and mistress of all other churches; and we promise true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, prince of the Apostles and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

We likewise undoubtedly receive and profess all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent. And we condemn,

reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned, rejected and anathematized by the church.

This true catholic faith, without which none can be saved,*. we do at this present, freely profess and sincerely hold, and we promise most constantly to retain and confess the same entire and unviolate, with God's holy assistance, to the end of our lives.

TITLE II.

GOVERNMENT.

SECTION I.

The Church of Christ on earth, of which we here treat, is the visible body of true believers under its proper government. (See Tit. I. cl. 6.)

1. The government of the church is not of human invention, nor established by the agreement of men; but it is the positive institution of God; and is subject only to the administration of those persons whom he hath commissioned to regulate and carry it on.

2. It is not in the power of men by any convention or law, or act of authority, or of force, to change the nature of that government which our Lord Jesus Christ hath established for his church.

3. We do not believe that our Lord Jesus Christ gave to the civil or temporal governments of states, empires, kingdoms, or nations, any authority in or over spiritual or ecclesiastical concerns.

4. We do not believe that our Lord Jesus Christ gave to the rulers of his church, as such, any authority in or over the civil or temporal concerns of states, empires, kingdoms, or nations.

5. We do not believe that our Lord Jesus Christ hath appointed any special or particular mode of civil or temporal government for mankind, so that men should be bound by the divine law to adopt or to prefer one mode of civil or temporal government to any other.

6. We believe that as Church government and temporal government are not necessarily united the one to the other, nor dependent the one upon the other; the one unchangeable mode of Church government may therefore continue for ever to subsist, as it hath, during all ages of Christianity, subsisted, in the several nations which have had different modes of temporal government; and that the several members of that one Church may still continue in their respective nations, as they have hitherto been, faithful and meritorious citizens of republics, and loyal subjects of limited or of absolute monarchs. Nor does, therefore, the difference of temporal government in their several nations require or make lawful any change in Church government, so as to assimilate the same to the temporal governments of those several nations.

7. We do not believe that our Lord Jesus Christ gave to the faithful at large the government of the Church, nor any power to regulate spiritual or ecclesiastical concerns; neither do we believe that he gave to the laity nor to any part of the laity such government nor such power, nor any portion of such government or of such power.

8. We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ hath appointed his Apostles the governors of his Church; to be witnesses of his doctrine in Jerusalem and all Judea, and Samaria, and to the very ends of the earth; his ministers the dispensers of the mysteries of God, the Sacraments instituted by our blessed Redeemer; and bishops placed by the Holy Ghost to govern the Church of God, by establishing and preserving wholesome discipline therein.

9. We believe that for the purpose of preserving his Church in unity and in that peace which the world could not give, and of making it one as he and his heavenly Father are one, the Saviour Jesus Christ did establish one chief ruler amongst his Apostles, with a primacy of honour and of jurisdiction: to which supreme ruler every member of the Church ought to pay the reverence and the obedience justly due to a person placed by the divine authority in so eminent a station.

10. We believe that this supremacy in and over the universal church was promised by our blessed Redeemer to Simon the son of Jonas, when the Saviour changed the

* The following declaration of the bishops of the Irish Church gives the exact meaning of this too often misrepresented tenet of exclusive salvation. † JOHN, Bp. of Ch.

"Catholics hold, that, in order to attain salvation, it is necessary to belong to the true church, and that heresy, or a wilful and obstinate opposition to revealed truth, as taught in the Church of Christ, excludes from the kingdom of God. They are not, however, obliged to believe, that all those are willfully and obstinately attached to error, who, having been seduced into it by others, or who, having imbibed it from their parents, seek the truth with a cautious solicitude, disposed to embrace it when sufficiently proposed to them; but leaving such persons to the righteous judgment of a merciful God, they feel themselves bound to discharge towards them, as well as towards all mankind, the duties of charity and of social life."

name of that Apostle to Peter, and that it was conferred upon him principally when our blessed Lord told him that he had prayed for him that his faith should not fail, and exhorted him when he should be converted, to confirm his brethren; and again, when after his resurrection the Saviour having required from him a declaration of greater love, gave to him more extensive authority, to feed his lambs and to feed his sheep: we behold in his subsequent acts, evidence of his exercise of this power, and the same doctrine is testified to us by the Church.

11. We are taught, and do believe that this office of supreme ruler was ordained by our Lord Jesus Christ to remain in the Church during its existence: and we find undoubted evidence that St. Peter, the chief Apostle, did finally establish his seat of authority in the city of Rome, near to which he and the Apostle St. Paul were put to death, and that the power with which he was invested by our blessed Redeemer was thus caused to descend to the Bishops of that Holy See.

12. We also find that the Christian Churches from the beginning did receive and hold this doctrine of the supremacy of one see, and did recognise and acknowledge the fact, that it was vested in the Bishops of Rome, who have at all times by divine appointment exercised the power thereof, and to which power those churches that did continue in the primitive communion have at all times willingly submitted.

13. We therefore acknowledge the primacy of honour and of spiritual jurisdiction throughout the whole world to be, of divine right, in the Pope or Bishop of Rome, duly and properly appointed; and we pay to him the reverence and the obedience justly due to his eminent station, and we feel it necessary to adhere to his communion and to be subject to his spiritual and ecclesiastical authority.

14. We are not required by our faith to believe that the Pope is infallible;* nor do we believe that he is impeccable, for it is not a consequence of his being vested with great authority that he should be exempt from the frailties of human nature; but we do not believe that his authority would be diminished, nor the institutions of our blessed Saviour destroyed, even if the Pope were to be guilty of criminal actions.

15. We do not believe that by virtue of this spiritual or ecclesiastical authority, the Pope hath any power or right to interfere with the allegiance that we owe to our state; nor to interfere in or with the concerns of the civil policy or the temporal government thereof, or of the United States of America.

16. We believe and acknowledge the majority of the bishops of the church, who are the successors of the apostles, in union with their head aforesaid, to be an ecclesiastical tribunal appointed by our Lord Jesus Christ to decide by his authority, with infallible certainty of truth, in all controversies of doctrine, and to testify truly to us those things which have been revealed by God to man. We also recognise and acknowledge in that same tribunal full power and authority, by the same divine institution, to regulate and to ordain the general ecclesiastical discipline of the whole Church of Christ.

17. We believe and acknowledge that in the several diocesses, bishops are placed by the Holy Ghost to govern the Church of God. And we acknowledge the bishop regularly appointed, according to the usages of the church, and in due time consecrated according to the form of the same, and holding communion with the Pope, to be the ordinary lawful governor and ecclesiastical legislator of the church of this diocess; to whom we are bound to pay reverence and obedience in all spiritual and ecclesiastical concerns, according to the divine institution and the canons and usages of the church.

18. During the absence of the bishop, we acknowledge the power of governing the church of this diocess in conjunction with him, to be in the vicar whom he may appoint. And even when the bishop may be present, we acknowledge the vicar appointed by him to be vested with such spiritual and ecclesiastical authority as the bishop may specify, and that such vicar is to be respected and obeyed accordingly.

19. During the vacancy of the see, we acknowledge the power of governing the church of this diocess to be in the vicar who may be regularly appointed by the proper ecclesiastical authority; and that such vicar is to be respected and obeyed accordingly.

20. We acknowledge the priests of the church to be, in subordination to the bishop, the preachers of the doctrine of Christ, the ministers of the sacraments, and, when duly appointed, the local rulers of ecclesias-

* [The infallibility of the Pope is not of *faith;* i. e. it has not been defined and declared an article of faith; but *it is* generally taught by theologians, and believed by the secular and regular clergy, and by the Christian people, that the *successor of him* for the preservation of whose faith Christ prayed, never errs when he speaks ex cathedrâ, in declaring the Christian doctrines or the principles of Christian morality.—I. A. R.]

tical districts, and that they ought to be respected and obeyed accordingly.

21. As in the church there are other orders of clergymen, who may occasionally receive from the bishop authority to perform those duties of which they are capable; we acknowledge the existence of the orders of deacon and sub-deacon and minor clerks. And according to divine and apostolical institutions, canons, and ancient usages, we will yield due obedience to the authority with which they may be invested, and we will respect themselves, their orders and their offices.

22. As our religion was not invented by men, but revealed by God, and as the government of the church was not framed by human convention, nor by human authority, but by the institution and by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ; we acknowledge its source to be divine; we therefore disavow and disclaim any right or power, under any pretext, in the laity to subject the ministry of the church to their control, or to interfere in the regulation of its sacred duties, this being the exclusive province of those persons whom the Holy Ghost hath placed bishops to govern the Church of God.

SECTION II.

Districts, and Lay Officers.

1. We acknowledge that the right and power of dividing the diocess into ecclesiastical districts, whether parochial or other, as also the right and power of uniting two or more districts into one, of dividing those formed, and of remodelling the same, and of creating new districts, belongs to the bishop.

2. In each district so formed, there shall be, for the management of the temporalities, a vestry, consisting of the clergyman or clergymen of that district, and of a number of laymen to be chosen by the members of that district. In all cases there shall be only one vestry for one district; when therefore a district shall be new modelled, the vestry shall as soon as possible be modelled upon the principle of such change.

3. When the bishop shall create a new district, or shall unite, divide, or new model former districts, he will notify the same to the presidents of the vestries, or, where there may be no vestries, to the congregations concerned, in order that the boundaries may be ascertained and the district regularly organized. The bishop will also communicate the same to the next convention of the church of this diocess, in order that the communication may be registered upon their books, and that the proper members from the districts may be admitted to their proper places therein.

SECTION III.

Jurisdiction.

1. We acknowledge that the right and power of appointing clergymen for the performance of spiritual and ecclesiastical duties, to and in the several districts of the diocess, belongs to the proper bishop. No person shall be considered or treated as a regularly appointed clergyman of the church unless he be appointed by the proper bishop or his vicar.

2. We acknowledge the right and power of examining and judging of the qualifications and conduct of clergymen, and of suspending for a time, or of withdrawing altogether the powers of clergymen who may have been regularly appointed, belongs to the proper bishop; and no person shall be considered or treated as a regularly appointed clergyman of the church after his powers shall have been suspended or withdrawn by the proper bishop or vicar, until such powers shall have been regularly and canonically restored either by the bishop or vicar, or other proper higher ecclesiastical tribunal.

3. The letter of the proper bishop or of the vicar, signed with his hand and sealed with his seal, or with the seal of the diocess, directed to the vestry or congregation of any district, or to the diocess at large, or patent to all whom it may concern; or the public declaration of the bishop or vicar, made at the usual time of celebrating the public mass, and at the usual place within the district concerned, on a Sunday or holiday of obligation, or on a published day of general or special visitation, or at the annual convention of the church of this diocess, wheresoever it may be holden, shall be deemed sufficient evidence that a clergyman is duly authorized to fulfil and to discharge the functions of the office, to which such letter or declaration shall specify his appointment; or such other special duties as may in such letter or declaration be recited or enumerated for his discharge, and during the time specified therein.

4. The letter or declaration of the bishop or vicar, similar to those described in the third clause of this section, shall be sufficient evidence that a clergyman is suspended or disqualified and incapacitated for the discharge of those duties from the discharge of which such letter or declaration may de-

clare him suspended; or for which it may declare him disqualified. And shall also be sufficient evidence of his being removed from any spiritual authority or ecclesiastical office or station, from which it may declare him removed.

5. Should any congregation or portion thereof request the bishop or vicar to remove a clergyman from any place or office to which he had been regularly appointed; he shall, notwithstanding such petition, be still considered as holding and enjoying the office or place; and shall be respected and obeyed accordingly, until he shall be removed therefrom by the proper ecclesiastical authority; if, upon examination of the case, it shall see cause for such removal.

6. If any clergyman, who may be suspended or incapacitated by the bishop or vicar, shall appeal to any higher ecclesiastical tribunal for redress, he shall, notwithstanding such appeal, be considered and treated as suspended or incapacitated, until the proper ecclesiastical tribunal, to which the appeal may have been carried, shall have set aside or reversed the original suspension or incapacity: and until there shall be sufficient evidence from such tribunal of such setting aside or reversion; or, if there be no such evidence, until the said clergyman shall be restored by the bishop or vicar. The evidence in this case shall be the same as in the third clause of this section.

TITLE III.

PROPERTY.

The maintenance of our church requires that we should have clergymen to perform the ministerial duties, and churches in which they could officiate: for the support of which clergymen, and for the erection and preservation of which churches, temporal means are required. Prudence and charity also demand that in the church there should be, when practicable, funds for other purposes connected with religion.

The clergymen of our church are, by reason of their sacred office, precluded from following after the pursuit of worldly gain in traffic; their youth is spent in study and reflection; their time, from entering upon the ministry, is devoted to the spiritual welfare of the flock; which requires much reading, deep thought, frequent meditation, and earnest prayer; this care is generally accompanied with much mental anxiety, and subjects them to repeated contradictions, harassing, and opposition from weak brethren and from gainsayers. Moreover, they are obliged to undergo much bodily fatigue; are at all moments bound to give immediate and painful attention to their sick brethren, and are frequently exposed to the danger of contagion; for which reasons they are deemed worthy of competent and respectable support, according to the means of those whom they serve; not to be given grudgingly and sparingly as a bare relief of their present necessities: but to be contributed with cheerfulness and generosity, to supply their present demands, to enable them also to relieve the wretched and needy whose expectations from the clergy lead them to frequent appeals to their commiseration, and also to assist them in making some provision for the time of sickness, and the helplessness of old age. The experience of eighteen centuries hath taught us that from the circumstances of our clergy not having families for which they would be bound to provide, the greatest part of their superfluous income, when they did receive more than was necessary, was expended in building and endowing churches, hospitals, schools, colleges, and other useful establishments, to the manifest advantage of the church, of learning, of the poor, of civilization, and of society at large; whereby it is apparent that the liberal support of an active clergy of our church is not only doing justice to themselves, but is, moreover, laying the probable groundwork of much public benefit.

SECTION I.

Separation of Funds and Duty of Contribution.

1. Whereas great inconvenience and much dissatisfaction have been often found to arise from placing all the property of the church in one fund, from which the expenses of every description were defrayed; it is hereby regulated that in future there shall be separate and independent funds, under the management of distinct bodies or individuals, for the several specific objects.

2. It is the duty of every member of the church to contribute, according to his means, towards the support of the bishop, and of the clergy who serve the district in which he resides; towards the erection and preservation of the church and other necessary buildings of that district, and towards the general objects of the church of the diocese.

SECTION II.

Mode of raising, securing, and managing Funds.

1. The majority of the lay-members, together with the clergymen of each district, shall from time to time determine upon some mode which, being approved by the bishop, shall be adopted for raising money to meet the exigencies of that district.

2. The churches, cemeteries, lands, houses, funds, or other property belonging to any particular district, shall be made the property of the vestry of that district, in trust for the same.

3. The vestry shall not have power to impose or to levy any tax or price upon persons attending religious duties at the church, nor to assess or fix a price for interments in the cemetery, without the consent of the bishop in writing, under his hand and seal, first had and obtained. Nor shall they have power to increase the rate of payment beyond what may be specified in the said instrument. And such sums of money as may be thus raised shall be applied by the vestry to the purposes, and in the proportions which may be specified in the said instrument, and to no other purposes, and in no other proportion.

4. The vestry shall not have power to sell, nor to alienate, nor to let for any term, any part of the real estate or property without the consent of the bishop or vicar, first had and obtained in writing under his hand and seal.

5. No church shall be built, or taken down, or removed, or materially altered; nor shall any regularly consecrated cemetery be laid out, or enclosed, or altered, without the consent of the bishop or vicar, first had and obtained in writing under his hand and seal.

6. No part of any church shall be made the private property of any individual or family, either for a limited time, or an unlimited period. Except 1. Should some individual or family, with the consent of the bishop, build an oratory or private chapel; but this shall not be considered a public church, nor shall it have a vestry, nor be represented at the convention of the church of the diocess. And, also, except 2. Should some individual, or family, upon their own ground and with their own private proper means, and with the consent of the bishop, build a church, and convey the same in trust, for the public benefit, for ever, to the vestry of the district; in such a case, the individual, or family, so conveying, may retain as private property such inclosed part of said church, not exceeding one-tenth of the area of the whole, as may be approved of by the bishop. But such private property so retained shall never be let for rent, nor sold, unless it should be sold to the vestry for the sole purpose of destroying the inclosure, and making it common property, to be used by the clergy or congregation in like manner as the rest of the church.

7. The money applicable to the purchase of ground or houses, to the erecting or repairing of churches, the procuring of vestments and other necessaries and ornaments, the enclosing or the repairing of enclosures of cemeteries, and generally, all money for any church purposes of a particular district, shall be expended only by authority of an act of the vestry of that district.

SECTION III.

How Funds for support of Clergy are to be disposed of.

1. The money contributed for the support of the bishop shall be paid to himself or to his agent.

2. The money contributed for the support of the clergyman who serves any district, shall be paid to him or his agent.

3. No committee, or vestry, or trustee, or trustees, shall in any way withhold from the bishop, or other clergyman, the money contributed for his support, nor any part thereof, under any pretext or excuse; nor shall there be any special conditions affixed to the payment thereof.

4. No congregation shall contribute any of the sums usually appropriated to the support of the clergy, to any other than a regularly appointed clergyman, according to the description and meaning of this constitution.

5. Should any real estate, or permanent fund, or other property be created, or in any way obtained for the support of the bishop or of the clergyman of any district or office, the said bishop or regularly appointed clergyman, or his agent, and no other person, shall be entitled to receive the interest or proceeds of the same.

6. The proceeds of such real estate or permanent fund, and all other contributions which may accrue thereto, during the vacancy of the place, the incumbent of which would be entitled to the proceeds, if the place were full, shall, during such vacancy, be added to the said capital or estate; unless it shall be otherwise regulated in the creation of the fund.

SECTION IV.

Creation and regulation of property for general purposes.

1. Every member of this church shall pay towards the general fund of the church of this diocess, the sum of fifty cents quarterly, that is, on the first days of February, of May, of August, and of November in every year; and they whom God hath blessed with means are exhorted to give more abundantly.

2. The purposes to which the general fund is applicable, at the discretion of the convention of the church of this diocess, are:—

1. The erection or improvement of the cathedral, as being the great church of the whole diocess.

2. The aid of students in theology, especially by the erection and support of a seminary, as being absolutely necessary to insure to the diocess a supply and succession of good clergymen.

3. Giving aid to missionaries to preach the Gospel and to administer the sacraments in remote, poor and neglected parts of the diocess.

And after the accomplishment of those objects,

4. Giving aid to small or poor congregations or parishes, in the erection of churches, or other works of religion; but this should rather be by loan than by donation.

5. Giving aid to such religious communities, associations, or establishments, as are calculated to promote the interests of religion, by public edification and instruction.

6. Giving aid to such schools as should be established, not merely to teach the human sciences, but also the knowledge of the true faith, and the way to eternal life.

7. The solace and aid of well-conducted destitute widows, or aged and infirm members of the church.

8. The protection, education, and aid of orphans or destitute children of the church

9. Any other purpose that the principles exhibited in the above enumeration may justly embrace.

As those objects and purposes are all-important in religion, as they are well calculated for the prosperity of the church, as they are productive of great individual benefit, as they form the abstract of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, and as every precaution is used to guard against the misapplication of the fund, and to make it as extensively useful as possible; it is strongly recommended to those whom the Lord hath blessed with means, to contribute largely thereto, by donations or bequests to "the General Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church of the Diocess of Charleston."

3. The property for the general purposes of the church, whether real or of other kind, shall be vested in a board to be called "The General Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church of the Diocess of Charleston." This board shall consist of the bishop, as president (*ex officio*), the vicar, as vice-president (*ex officio*). five other clergymen, to be chosen by the clergy at the annual convention, and twelve laymen, to be chosen by the house of lay delegates at the annual convention. Of this board, two clergymen and three laymen shall form a quorum for business. But no meeting shall be held by this board except at stated periods, or upon special adjournment, or upon notice of one week, at least, given by the president or vice-president by public advertisement, or by special summons.

4. The treasurer of the general fund shall be appointed every year at the convention, by the joint vote of both houses voting together; and approved by the bishop.

5. Should the convention require it, the treasurer, before entering upon his office, shall execute together with sufficient securities, a bond to the general trustees to such amount as they may require; for the proper discharge of the duties of his office and the safety of their funds.

6. The vestries shall appoint local collectors for the general fund within their districts, who shall enter into bonds and give securities, in like manner as the treasurer of the general fund, to the general trustees, if the vestry of the district shall so see proper.

7. The district collectors of the general fund shall once in every quarter of a year, that is, on or before the 15th days of February, of May, of August, and of November in every year, transmit to the treasurer of the general fund, all sums payable to him, which may be in their hands.

8. The treasurer of the general fund shall, upon receipt of any sum of money from a collector, immediately send to him a receipt for the same, which receipt the said collector shall, as soon as may be, produce to the vestry of the district, together with a list of the contributors and the sums which they shall have respectively paid: and the vestry shall cause the same to be published to the congregation.

9. The general treasurer shall hold all money received by him at the disposal of the board of general trustees, which board

shall have power to examine his accounts, as often as they may think fit, and to cause him to lodge any balances which he may hold, in any bank or place of safe-keeping they may think fit.

10. The board of general trustees shall not have power to expend any part of the general fund, except in conformity to an order or act of the general convention of the church, unless where some unusual and unforeseen occurrence would clearly render the expenditure of a small sum prudent and beneficial to the church; and to authorize such an expenditure the assent of the president or vice-president, together with that of two other clerical and four lay-trustees, shall be necessary.

TITLE IV.

MEMBERSHIP.

The whole of this Title IV., regards the association or corporation of the church of the diocess, as it is composed of men who have, for the benefit of religion, formed themselves into a society. The church, as a spiritual body, consists of men, women, and children: the two latter portions of which, though in full spiritual communion, are incapable of being united in this association. Nothing therefore in this Title shall be construed to interfere with the undoubted right of the bishop, by divine institution, to examine into and to decide upon, in his spiritual capacity, and for the purposes of religion, the faith, religious deportment, and moral conduct of all the members of the church in his diocess, of what degree soever, when he shall see necessary.

SECTION I.

Qualifications, &c.

1. No person shall be considered a member of the Roman Catholic Church of the diocess of Charleston, nor of any Roman Catholic Church within the same, except he have the following qualifications, viz.:

1. That he be a man of at least twenty-one years of age.
2. That he be baptized.
3. That he be free from church censures.
4. That he have subscribed his assent to this constitution. And
5. That he be a resident within the diocess, or a clergyman having spiritual jurisdiction therein.

2. Each person who shall prove his membership, shall have a right to a certificate of the same, which he will receive, if he be a clergyman, upon application to the bishop or vicar; if he be a layman, upon application to the proper clergyman of the district in which he resides, who is authorized and required hereby to grant the same, and for which he may require the sum of twelve and a half cents, but no more.

3. The certificate of membership given in any one district of the diocess shall be admitted as evidence of membership in every other district of the same; unless the person to whom it has been granted shall have forfeited his rights and privileges in some manner specified in this constitution.

4. The clergyman of each district shall keep a register of the members thereof, which register he shall correct and amend, from time to time, as occasion may require.

5. The secretary of the vestry and the collector for the general fund shall keep correct copies of the clergyman's register of members, which they shall also compare and correct and amend, as occasion may require.

6. No person but a member of this church shall be allowed to speak in debate, nor to vote at any meeting upon the concerns of the same, nor to vote at elections for persons to fill places or offices therein, nor be eligible to any office or place of trust or authority therein.

SECTION II.

How Membership may be lost, or regained.

1. A member of this church shall lose his rights and privileges in the same, only by his own voluntary resignation, or in either of the following modes, viz.:

1. By his defection from the doctrine of the church, or by his wilful and deliberate opposition to its discipline.
2. By knowingly encouraging or attending, in the discharge of any religious duty, any unauthorized clergyman of the church.
3. By knowingly and deliberately obstructing or annoying any authorized clergyman, in the discharge of his public religious duties.
4. By being canonically censured by name, by the bishop or vicar, for some sufficient special cause.
5. By refusing, during twelve months, to pay the regular and accustomed contributions which are established by this constitution, or which may be constitutionally established by the church of the district in which he resides, unless he shall, for special reasons, have obtained an exemption therefrom from the clergyman or the vestry.

2. In the cases of the foregoing clause, the facts must be notorious or be proved; and the sentence must be pronounced by the bishop or vicar, when he shall, after examination, be satisfied of the notoriety of the fact, or the sufficiency of the testimony.

3. The bishop has the right and power to restore to the rights and privileges of membership, when he shall see sufficient cause, any person who had forfeited and lost the same; and such person so restored by him, shall have and enjoy all the rights and privileges of membership, as fully and perfectly as if he had never forfeited or lost the same.

4. In case 4, of clause first, there lies of course an appeal to higher ecclesiastical authority. In all the cases of that clause the truth of the fact will be examined by the vestry, in which, of course, the clergyman will preside.

TITLE V.

DISTRICT CHURCHES.

SECTION I.

How created and regulated.

1. The power of creating a separate church, by the formation of a parochial or other district, belongs to the bishop.

2. When the bishop shall create a separate church, he will give due public notice for a meeting of the members thereof, to be held at some convenient time and place, for the necessary purposes consequent upon such creation, at which meeting he or his deputy will preside.

3. At this meeting the members will, by a majority of votes, determine what are to be the special qualifications, if any, in addition to membership for voters in that district, and for vestrymen therein; also how many lay members shall serve in the vestry. They shall then proceed to elect by ballot so many discreet, well-conducted men, having a regard for religion, and if possible, persons who are in the habit of receiving the sacrament of the holy Eucharist; and those laymen, together with the clergyman or clergymen of that district, shall be the vestry of the same, and shall continue in office during one year, and after the expiration of the same until the second Sunday in January next succeeding, or until their successors shall be chosen.

4. Those special qualifications for voters and for vestrymen in any district, and also the number of laymen to serve in the vestry thereof, may be altered by the majority of voters, at a general meeting of the members of that district, specially convened for that purpose after at least ten days' public notice; but such alteration shall not be of force until it shall have been approved of by the bishop or vicar.

5. The members qualified to vote in each district shall, on the first Sunday in January, in each year, at twelve o'clock, assemble in the church, or usual place of meeting, and there by ballot elect the proper number of qualified laymen—who, together with the clergy, shall be the vestry thereof, from the second Sunday in January to the second Sunday in January of the next year, or until their successors shall be elected and admitted into office. But should the election, by any cause, not have been held on the first Sunday in January, it shall be held as soon as possible thereafter, upon public notice of at least one week, which the clergyman shall give.

6. The laymen elected to serve upon the vestry shall, before entering into office, subscribe in presence of the clergyman, if he be in the district, and of the congregation, the proper declaration and promise.

7. No person elected to serve upon the vestry can, during the year of his office, be removed therefrom, except by 1. His voluntary resignation. 2. His refusal or neglect during one month to qualify; or 3. His loss of membership.

8. Should there be a vacancy in the vestry by reason of death, removal from the district, or either of the causes in the foregoing clause, the same shall as soon as possible be filled up by an election to be held for that special purpose after a public notice of at least one week from the clergyman.

9. When the clergyman is present, the elections shall be conducted under his regulations; in his absence, they will be conducted by the secretary and the wardens then in office.

Each separate church thus formed shall have power to make by-laws for its own special regulation in the following manner, provided they be not inconsistent with this constitution: 1. Such by-law must be an act of vestry. 2. It must be confirmed by a majority of the members of that church who may be present at a public meeting to be held for that special purpose, after at least one week's sufficient notice; and 3. It must be approved of by the bishop or vicar. And no by-law of any separate church shall be altered or repealed, except in the same manner as a new by-law might be made.

SECTION II.

Mode of proceeding, power and duty of the vestry.

1. In the meetings of the vestry, the principal clergyman who may be present is to be president; and in order to proceed to business, the presence of one clergyman and of three laymen shall be necessary. But if there be no clergyman resident in the district, the laymen may proceed to business, and procure the subsequent confirmation of their acts by the proper clergyman.

2. For the validity of an act of vestry there will be required the assent of a majority of the lay-members who may be present, and of the proper clergyman,—or in case of the refusal of the clergyman, the assent of the bishop or of the vicar.

3. But in making contracts or agreements for the performance of any work or duty which shall have been directed by an act of vestry, and in all elections and appointments to be made by the vestry, no clergyman shall have a negative power, but shall only possess his right of precedence and his right of vote.

4. At all meetings of the vestry, the president, or, in his absence from the district, the layman who may take the chair, shall, in case of an equality of votes, have a second or casting vote, so as to enable the meeting to decide. But it is strongly recommended that all things be done in peace, harmony, and good will; and in any cases of importance, or where the feelings of opposed parties appear to be deeply interested, it would be better that an adjournment should take place, to afford time for calmness and reflection, than that a hasty decision should be made, and jealousy and ill-will be excited.

5. When the vestry assembles without the clergyman, the chair shall be taken by one of the wardens, according to the precedence of the name upon the entry of their appointment; and if the wardens be absent, by that vestryman whose name stands first upon the list of their appointment.

6. It shall be the duty of the vestry to exert themselves to procure for the bishop and the clergymen of their own district decent and comfortable support; to have the church and other buildings kept in good order and repair, and to provide all the necessaries therefor, according to the means which they shall be able to procure; to provide and to keep in order a burial ground for the interment of members in the communion of the church according to the canons of the same; and to see that the church property intrusted to their care be well preserved and improved, and faithfully administered.

7. The vestry have the right of electing the organist, the clerk, the sexton, and the other lay-officers or servants of the church; also they have the appointment of their own secretary and treasurer, and of the church wardens of their district, and of the collector of the general fund within the same. The church wardens shall be chosen from amongst the lay-members of the vestry. The treasurer, the secretary, and the collector for the general fund may be chosen by the vestry either from amongst their own body, or from the other members of the church.

8. The bishop or the clergyman of the district has a right and power, whenever he may see a cause to suspend the organist, the clerk, the sexton, or any other lay-officer or servant of the church. But the church warden, the secretary, or treasurer of the vestry, or the collector for the general fund, are only removable by an act of vestry. Any officer or servant so removed or suspended is ineligible to the same or to any other office or place of the church for one year, unless with the written consent of the bishop or of the clergyman of the district.

9. The vestry shall every year lay a fair and correct statement of their accounts and of the situation of the church before the congregation, and another such statement before the bishop previous to the first Sunday in January. And they shall also furnish and exhibit their accounts at any other time to the bishop, and to the congregation when called upon by either of them to do so.

10. Should the vestry of the district be displeased with the conduct or the proceedings of the clergyman of the same, they shall have power, upon sufficient notice from the secretary, who must issue such notice upon the requisition in writing of two vestrymen, signed by them, to assemble without the clergyman, for the sole purpose of conferring together upon their cause of complaint and of embodying the same in writing; to be immediately transmitted to the bishop or vicar for his judgment thereupon: but which complaint they shall not publish in any other way without the leave, in writing, of the bishop or vicar first had and obtained therefor. But no person shall upon such occasion take the chair, nor shall any business be done, unless there be and continue present, a majority of the lay-members of the vestry.

11. Should the vestry of any district lodge a regular complaint in the manner prescribed against the clergyman of the same, the bishop or vicar will, as soon as

possible, diligently inquire into the same; and as soon as may be, give his judgment and decision to the best of his ability for the benefit of religion and according to the canons and usages of the church: and the vestry will support and accede to such decision, unless they shall see cause for making their appeal to a superior ecclesiastical tribunal; in which case they shall abide by the said decision, until it shall have been set aside by such competent superior ecclesiastical tribunal; and in case such tribunal shall not set aside such decision, it shall be considered final and conclusive.

SECTION III.

Duties and Powers of Officers.

1. The duty of the secretary shall be to summon and to attend at all meetings of the vestry; to keep a fair record of their acts and appointments and resolutions, and when necessary to publish or to furnish extracts of the same; to sign their orders upon the treasurer when duly passed; to inform the bishop or vicar, when by him duly required, of their proceedings; to make out such report of their proceedings as may be required by the convention of the church of the diocess, or by the delegates of the district; and to notify to the vestry or to the church of the district such directions or information as may be conveyed to him for that purpose by the general trustees, or by the convention of the church, or by the bishop or vicar, or by the See of Rome.

2. The duty of the treasurer shall be, to keep fair and plain accounts of the income, and expenditure, and of the property of the church of that district; to collect the money payable to its use or due thereto; when necessary, to sue for the same; to have charge of the money and other valuable property of the church; except the sacred vessels and vestments, of which the clergyman shall have charge, and for which he shall be accountable to the proper ecclesiastical persons; to pay, as far as the funds in his hands will allow, all orders of the vestry signed by the secretary and approved by the proper clergyman; to render an exact and fair statement of all his accounts on the first day of January in each year to the bishop, and another to the vestry at the same time, and also to the bishop and to the vestry when so required by either of them.

3. The duty of the church wardens shall be, to superintend the execution of any work ordered or contracted for by the vestry; to preserve in decency and repair the buildings and other property of the church; to aid the clergyman in preserving order and decency in the church, to remove therefrom all disturbers or nuisances.

TITLE VI.

THE CONVENTION.

SECTION I.

Composition, and mode of assembling.

1. There shall be held yearly in some convenient part of the diocess, to be designated by the bishop or vicar, and at the time by him appointed, a convention of this church, which shall consist of the following portions, which shall hold their sessions separately, viz.:

1. The bishop, or in his absence the vicar.

2. The clergy having spiritual jurisdiction in the diocess and not claiming any exemption from the bishop's ordinary jurisdiction, nor any special privileges except such as may arise from the special act of the bishop, or from statutes of the diocess.

3. The lay-delegates from the districts of the diocess.

2. The bishop, or, in his absence, the vicar, will give at least two months' public notice of the time and place of holding the convention, as well by one or more public advertisements in the newspapers, as also by special letter to each clergyman who is entitled to a seat; the clergymen shall also publish the same to their respective flocks.

3. Upon the creation of a new district the bishop will specify how many lay delegates shall be elected therefrom to the next convention, which number shall be elected and admitted accordingly.

4. The delegates of the laity to the convention from each district shall be men having the qualifications which, in that district, are required for members of the vestry, and they shall be chosen by the voters of that district, upon due notice to be given by the vestry of the time and place for holding the election, within six weeks preceding the day for holding the convention; the election to be conducted in the same manner as that for electing the vestry.

5. The districts of the diocess shall be ranked from time to time by the house of lay delegates according to the Catholic population, as of the first, second, and third rank; districts of the first rank shall, during their being so classed, send four delegates to the convention; districts of the second rank, two delegates; and districts of the

third rank, one delegate; and each district will contribute its proportion to defray the expense of the Convention.

The bishop or vicar will judge of the qualifications of the clergy; the house of lay delegates will judge of the qualifications of its own members.

SECTION II.

Order of proceeding.

1. The clergyman highest in dignity, and if there be no precedence in dignity, the clergyman senior in ordination shall be president of the house of the clergy.

2. The house of the laity will choose its own president.

3. Each house shall appoint its own officers and servants, and regulate the internal order of its own proceedings.

4. When a majority of both houses shall have met, and the presidents have been ascertained, they will inform the bishop of the same, and he will appoint the time when the convention will be opened.

5. The convention will be opened with a solemn mass, at which it is recommended that the members of each house do go to communion. At this mass there will be a sermon, and if the bishop shall think proper to add a charge or exhortation. Before the blessing, the presidents of both houses shall, standing in presence of the bishop, hear and sign the proper declaration and promise, after which each president will read or cause to be read for the members of his house the same declaration and promise, which each member shall subscribe.

6. After mass each house shall meet apart for business, and the bishop will cause to be laid before them the treasurer's account, the report of the general trustees, and any other documents and communications which may be necessary.

7. Neither house shall adjourn, except from one period to another of the same day, or from day to day, before the third day of business, unless with the consent of the bishop. And after the dissolution of the convention, neither house shall meet, except it be specially convened for some particular purpose by the bishop or vicar.

SECTION III.

Powers.

1. The convention has no power or authority to interfere respecting any of the following subjects, viz.:

1. The doctrine of the church.
2. The discipline of the church.
3. The administration of sacraments.
4. The ceremonies of the church.
5. Spiritual jurisdiction.
6. Ecclesiastical appointments.
7. Ordinations.
8. The superintendence of the clergy.

2. The convention is not to be considered as a portion of the ecclesiastical government of the church; but the two houses are to be considered rather as a body of sage, prudent, and religious counsellors to aid the proper ecclesiastical governor of the church in the discharge of his duty, by their advice and exertions in obtaining and applying the necessary pecuniary means to those purposes which will be most beneficial, and in superintending the several persons who have charge thereof; to see that the money be honestly and beneficially expended; wherefore the convention has the following powers, viz.:

1. To dispose of the general fund of the church in the way that it may deem most advantageous.

2. To examine into, and to control the expenditures made by its own order or by that of a former convention.

3. To examine into, regulate and control, with the exception of their spiritual concerns, all establishments of its own creation; or which being otherwise created may be regularly subjected to its control.

4. To appoint the lay-officers and servants of such establishments.

5. The house of the clergy has power to examine into the ecclesiastical concerns of such establishments, and to make its private report thereon to the bishop or vicar, together with its opinion and advice, but such report of advice shall not be published in any other way, without the consent of the bishop or vicar first had and obtained in writing under his hand and seal.

3. In those cases where the convention has no authority to act, should either house feel itself called upon by any peculiar circumstances to submit advice, or to present a request to the bishop, he will bestow upon the same the best consideration at the earliest opportunity; and as far as his conscientious obligations will permit, and the welfare of the church will allow, and the honour and glory of Almighty God, in his judgment require, he will endeavour to follow such advice or to agree to such request.

4. No act shall be considered a valid act of the convention except it shall have been passed by a majority of the clergy and by a

majority of the house of the laity, and been assented to by the bishop or vicar.

5. In all elections to trust, or places or offices, the decision will be made by a majority of the clergy and laity voting conjointly, and their choice assented to by the bishop, except when in any instance a different mode of election shall have been specially provided for.

SECTION IV.

Powers of General Trustees during recess.

1. During the recess of the convention the board of general trustees shall have power to suspend any officers or servants whom the convention has the power of appointing, and to fill their places until the last day of the next convention.

2. During the recess of the convention, the board of general trustees shall have the power to make any appointments and to fill any vacancies in such cases as the convention would have power were it in session. But such appointment will not be valid except until the last day of the next convention.

TITLE VII.

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION.

SECTION I.

What parts may not be altered.

1. THERE are parts of this Constitution which are of the doctrine of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church—of course they are part of the revelation of God; they are unchangeable, for we have no power to add to the revelation of God, nor to take from it. Those parts may be known by the decision of the bishop, or in case of an appeal from his decision, by the testimony and decision of the See of Rome; which decision shall be final and conclusive.

2. There are parts of this Constitution which are matter of divine institution, they are unchangeable; for no human power has authority to change the institutions of God. Those parts which are of divine institution may be known in the same manner as those parts which are of doctrine.

3. There are parts of this Constitution which are of the general discipline of the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church: those parts, so far as regards our power are unchangeable; because the Church of the diocess of Charleston, being only a very small portion of the Universal Church, is bound by the general laws of the same, and hath not authority to alter the enactments of the supreme legislature of that body, of which it is so small a particle: neither hath it power to withdraw itself from the observance of the general discipline of the Universal Church, without thereby separating from its communion, and thus incurring the guilt of schism. Those parts which are of such general discipline may be known in the same manner as those which are of doctrine, or those parts which are of divine institution.

SECTION II.

What part the Bishop may change.

1. There are parts of this Constitution which are part of the special ecclesiastical discipline of the diocess of Charleston, and which are enacted by the bishop, who by divine institution is the proper and competent ecclesiastical legislator thereof: those parts are distinguished from the former as they relate only to this diocess, and from the parts recited in Sect. III., and may be known by the bishop's testimony and decision, which in that case is final and conclusive.

2. Those parts of this Constitution which are of the special ecclesiastical discipline of the diocess of Charleston, may by the bishop of the diocess, be altered and amended as he may see cause; especially after he shall have advised with the diocesan synod thereupon, according to the canons and usages of the church; but such consultation, though useful, is not essential.

3. But the said special discipline of the diocess of Charleston, and its alterations and amendments, must be not in opposition to, but in conformity with the doctrine and general discipline of the church, and the divine institutions; upon all which matters, in case of doubt, or of appeal, the supreme See of Rome is to judge and determine; and such judgment and determination shall be final and conclusive.

SECTION III.

What parts many be amended by the Convention, and how.

1. The parts of this Constitution, which regard the collection and regulation of property, the appointment of trustees, and lay-officers, and servants; the qualifications for lay-delegates, and vestrymen, and voters, and generally all the parts thereof which are not of, or belonging to the divine institution, or the doctrine or general discipline of the

church, or the special diocess of Charleston, may be altered and amended in the following manner only, viz.:

1. A copy of the proposed alteration, addition, or amendment shall be laid before the bishop with a request to know whether the same is compatible with the doctrine and the general discipline of the church, and with the special discipline of this diocess, and with the divine institutions.

2. Should the bishop answer that he judges such alteration, &c., to be so compatible, the said propositions, in the same words in which they shall have been returned by the bishop, shall be submitted to the two houses of the convention, and if a majority of each house should concur in their support, they shall be submitted to the bishop for his approbation.

3. Should the bishop approve the alterations so concurred in, he will send copies thereof to the several vestries of the diocess, who will, as soon as may be, signify their assent or dissent to the bishop.

4. Should two-thirds in number of the vestries approve of the propositions so sent to them, and the bishop continue of the same judgment as before, he will at the next convention signify the same to both houses, and the said proposed alterations, or additions, or amendments shall then be finally submitted to the decision of those houses, and should a majority in each house be in favour of the same, they shall then be part of this Constitution.

2. But should a majority of both houses differ from the bishop respecting the nature of the said proposed alterations, as to their compatibility with the doctrine and general discipline of the church, or the divine institution, they may of course appeal from his judgment to the See of Rome, but pending the appeal they must conform to his judgment.

3. And should the judgment of the bishop be set aside upon such appeal, he shall not thereby lose his power of assent or dissent which he possesses as one branch of the convention.

DECLARATION.

TO BE MADE BY PERSONS ENTERING INTO OFFICE.

I DO solemnly promise and declare that I will, in all things, to the best of my knowledge and ability, observe and maintain the doctrine and discipline of the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, and especially the discipline and statutes of the diocess of Charleston, and the Constitution, laws, rules, and correct usages of the same.

Also, that I will, to the best of my knowledge and ability, discharge the duties of [here name the office] for the benefit of religion, the welfare of the church, and the promotion of virtue; that I will diligently consult how those great objects may be furthered, and that in all my expressions of official opinion and votes, I will endeavour to further the same.

And, also, that I will honestly and conscientiously concur for the promotion of religion, in all appointments to places and offices under the Constitution of the Church, and in all the collection and expenditure of money, and in the examination of accounts, and generally, that I will discharge the duties of the said office, truly, honestly, and diligently to the best of my ability and knowledge, for the welfare and credit of the church and the honour and glory of Almighty God.

STATUTE OF THE DIOCESS OF CHARLESTON.

CONCERNING GRATUITIES.

WHEREAS, it is a most ancient and laudable custom of universal prevalence, that at the time of performing any special spiritual duty, those persons in whose favour, or at whose desire it was performed, as well as their friends, should bestow some favour or gratuity upon the person who administered or officiated.

And, whereas, in the Christian Church the occasions have been, chiefly, those of administering the sacraments of baptism and of matrimony.

And, whereas, the giving or the receiving any thing temporal in exchange for, or as an equivalent for anything spiritual, is the crime of simony.

And, whereas, it is necessary to draw an accurate line of separation, between the aforesaid laudable, universal, and ancient custom, and the crime of simony.

We do hereby declare, that every clergyman of this diocess being in charge, is bound to administer the Sacraments, without any view to remuneration, to all those persons properly disposed, and qualified therefore, being within the district of which he is in charge, and applying for the same; whether they have contributed towards his support in the manner provided for in the constitution of the diocess, or not; and whether he expects from them any gratuity, or not.

And we admonish the said clergymen, that as ministers of the Sacraments of our Lord Jesus Christ, they do exhibit themselves equally ready and willing to attend for their administration to the poor, and to those who have neglected the duty of contributing to their support; as to wealthy, and to those who have performed their duty in contributing towards the support of their pastors and of the church.

And we do hereby declare to be suspended by the very fact, each and every clergyman, who shall bargain for any special, or any, remuneration for the administration of a Sacrament, or who shall withhold or delay the administration of any Sacrament, merely because he has not received, or does not expect to receive any gratuity because thereof, or merely because the person applying therefore, has not previously discharged his duty of contribution to the support of the church or of its pastors.

But nothing in this statute shall be construed to prevent his receiving such gratuity as may be freely offered, and after administration, nor to discourage the faithful from such pious contributions: nor to excuse from the obligation of aiding towards the support of their pastor, according to their ability, the faithful of the diocess, or any individual member of the Church. And we do also hereby declare, that no individual can neglect the performance of the duty of contributing, according to his or her means, to the support of the Church and its Pastors, without being guilty of great injustice, not only to them, but also to the other members of the Church, who must be either obliged to supply for this neglect, or be exposed to privation of the services of a clergyman.

†JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

NOTICE.

CONCERNING THE SUPPORT OF THE BISHOP.

As the Bishop is the chief Pastor of the entire diocess, and is occupied in its general administration, the duty of providing for him and his assistants a competent support, rests upon all the members of his diocess.

He should have a priest as his secretary, and he should be provided with a vicar, and funds for their support should also be placed in his hands.

The following mode has been established in the diocess of Charleston for this purpose:

1. On the third Sunday in Lent, the clergyman of each district appoints a committee to receive, in that district, the subscription of the members who are willing to fulfil their obligation on this head.

2. That committee is to make immediate personal application to the members for this purpose, and as soon as possible, to return to the clergyman the list of the subscribers, specifying the sum paid by each, and to pay to the clergyman, at the same time, the sum thus received.

3. The clergyman appoints a Sunday on which a collection shall be made for the same object in the church

4. The clergyman transmits to the bishop, or his secretary, previous to Easter Monday, the lists and the amount of the sums thus subscribed and collected.

5. The bishop or his secretary, upon receipt of these lists and the money, sends a receipt to the clergyman, and which receipt he gives to the committee that made the collection.

NOTIFICATION.

TO THE DIOCESS OF CHARLESTON.

WHEREAS the holy and œcumenical Council of Trent, did, in its xxii. Session, chap. xi. *on Reformation*, following the example of several most ancient councils and renewing and confirming their statutes and decrees: enact to the following effect, viz.:

"That should any clergyman or layman, of what degree soever, seize upon any of the property or income of the church, or of the poor, or destined for works of piety, or charity; or by any contrivance or threats, prevent its being fully and faithfully applied to the purposes for which it was originally intended; such person should be and should continue under excommunication, until he shall have made full restitution to the injured parties; and should moreover lose his ecclesiastical privileges. And should any clergyman be aiding or consenting thereto, besides the above punishment, he should be disqualified for any promotion, and suspended according to the discretion of his ordinary from the discharge of the duties of the order or office in which he may be."

Now we declare and publish, that the above statute is of full force and authority in the diocess of Charleston, and do require strict attention to be paid to its provisions by the clergy and laity, and especially by the several trustees and other officers.

†JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE

CASE OF REV. WILLIAM HOGAN, AND THE SCHISM IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

SECTION I.

We are forced to advert to this disgusting topic, and in order to dwell upon it as little as possible, we shall confine ourselves to a mere recital of facts.

A young clergyman, the Rev. William Hogan, who had some time, about three years since, left the diocess of Limerick, and sailed from the harbour of Cork, in Ireland, with Captain Dupleix, of the ship Maria, arrived in New York, and was for some time regularly engaged, in the discharge of clerical duties at Albany. He left this place, against the wish of the Bishop of New York, and received temporary jurisdiction from the then vicar-administrator of the diocess of Philadelphia, in St. Mary's Church in that city.

In the latter part of the year 1820, the Bishop of Philadelphia arrived and took possession of his diocess. Shortly afterwards he withdrew from Mr. Hogan his faculties; this gentleman appealed to the Archbishop of Baltimore, and the appeal was rejected as groundless. Mr. Hogan published a number of pamphlets, containing the basest charges, in the most offensive language, against every Catholic clergyman then living in Philadelphia, and against many who had lain quietly in their graves, and whose memory was respected, as their lives were considered to have been good, and their exertions useful. The trustees of St. Mary's Church were influenced by Catholic principles, and would not admit irregular clergymen to officiate; but there was a party in Philadelphia, calling itself a portion of the Catholic Church, many members of which, had given and collected money for building the church of St. Mary's, but who never discharged a single duty of those principally obligatory on Catholics; they and the other members of their party were not only negligent in the performance of positive duty, but either from ignorance of the principles of the religion which they professed, or from an utter dislike to them, were hostile to Catholic discipline.

They saw, in this young clergyman, a fit instrument in their hands, to put down, as they imagined, church authority. They contrived that at the election of trustees in that year, the persons chosen should be of their party. They called upon Mr. Hogan to officiate, and that they would support him, notwithstanding the bishop having previously refused complying with their request, to reinstate this young man. Mr. Hogan sent notice to the bishop, that unless before a certain day, his powers were restored, he would officiate without their restoration. The bishop answered, that if he did presume to do so, he should be under the necessity of cutting him off from the communion of the church. The day arrived, the young man officiated; the bishop, as he was bound by the canons of the church to do, issued the excommunication. The trustees not only supported the excommunicated priest, but ill-treated and drove from the church the bishop and the clergy who continued in the Catholic communion. Yet, still they called themselves Catholics! They next endeavoured to extend the mischief through the other churches of the Union. A number of individuals, who, for aught we know, might be rich men and good citizens, but who certainly are very ill-informed Catholics, or what we should not choose to write, published a small pamphlet, which they sent to the principal laygentlemen of the Catholic churches of the Union, in which they exhibit the strongest blending of folly, and fallacy, and falsehood, that ever fell under our observation; in this, they solicited an union of the laity against the bishops, and complain of superstitions and innovations introduced by them into this country. A number of other pamphlets, issued from the same party, purporting to be an exposition of canon law, which were calculated to excite the regret and the contempt of the youngest tyro in the study of theology, but which were equally calculated to mislead the judgment and to excite the passions of those who created themselves into the infallible tribunals, to judge the doctrine, the discipline, and the conduct of the successors of the Apostles, during nearly eighteen centuries. In looking over those disgusting collections of broken con-

cords and bad divinity, of garbled law and misquoted Scripture, of foppish arrogance and petulant vituperation, of false statements and imbecile sophistry, we have often felt abashed and humbled. And yet we have been informed that their authors imagined they must have been inspired when they were capable of producing such masterpieces, and the party looked upon their cause to be impregnably secured by the paper ramparts. Poor human nature!

After a variety of trials, in different ways, for the purpose of ascertaining whether persons not Roman Catholics could deprive Roman Catholics of a church purchased and built for the Roman Catholic worship, no decision was had in the courts of law. The year elapsed, and a new election of trustees was to take place in the Easter week. The possession of the church was to be determined, not by the doctrine of the person who was to officiate, but by the trustees, and the trustees were to be appointed by the persons who rented pews—no matter what was their religion, no matter whether they had none or any. This was foreseen by the party, and accordingly, to insure their continuance in power, they early in the course of the year erected a great number of additional pews, and sought out occupants favourable to their views—many of whom, we are informed, are persons who never professed, nor cared for any system of religion, but who hated the discipline of the Catholic Church, which they denominated tyranny, and laughed at its observances, which they denominated superstition; and as the excommunicated priest had shaken off much of his superstition, and opposed tyranny, they thought he ought to be supported.

On the day of the election a desperate conflict took place between the Catholics and the adherents to the excommunicated clergyman, and much blood was spilled. Each party claimed a majority of legal votes, and as the party was in possession of the church, they continued to hold it; but it seems, that in order to avoid the expense, the trouble, and the irritation of a lawsuit, it was agreed upon to leave to a referee, the decision of which side had the majority. We copy the following decision from a Philadelphia paper:

"ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

"Whereas, under the agreement of the counsel, acting in behalf of the two parties in the congregation of St. Mary's Church, in the city of Philadelphia—Horace Binney and Clement C. Biddle, Esquires, were selected by the said parties, to nominate '*a disinterested stranger*,' to receive the signatures of all the pew-holders; the majority of such signatures, to determine who shall be the trustees for the ensuing year—'and the said Horace Binney and Clement C. Biddle, having nominated Thomas Cadwalader, to perform the office assigned to the disinterested stranger. Now I, the said Thomas Cadwalader, having, in the presence of the committee, appointed by the respective parties, received and admitted the signatures of such members of the said congregation, presented to my examination, as were, in my opinion, entitled to vote for trustees, by the act of incorporation, do hereby certify, that, in favour of the following gentlemen as trustees, viz: John Leamy, John Ashley, John Dempsey, John Doyle, Patrick Connell, Joseph Dugan, Augustine Fagan, and Joseph Straham; the number of signatures admitted, are four hundred and ninety-seven—and in favour of the following gentlemen as trustees, viz.: Joseph Snyder, John Carrell, Jr., Cornelius Tiers, Dennis M'Credy, Nicholas Stafford, William Myers, Nicholas Esling, and James Eneu, Sen., the number of signatures admitted, are four hundred and thirty-seven—the signatures for the pews recently erected, have been received, on the footing expressed in the annexed decision. Witness my hand, at Philadelphia, this 22d June, 1822.

"T. CADWALADER.

"(COPY.)

"By the agreement between Messrs. Ingersoll and Kittera, I am to receive the signatures of '*all the pew-holders*.' If any intention to except the new pews had been expressed, in the correspondence between these gentlemen, I should have felt myself at liberty to examine into the circumstances attending their erection. I now conceive the terms of the agreement as foreclosing all such inquiry on my part; and decide that the signatures of the new pews are to be received, under the like scrutiny with the others.

"(Signed.) T. CADWALADER.

"NOTE. — The new pews, which are 26 in number, have been erected since the congregation now worshipping at St. Joseph's, left St. Mary's Church, and give 130 votes."

That Mr. Cadwalader has discharged his duty correctly, we are well inclined to believe. His decision will probably regulate the possession of the church; by that it is in the employers of Mr. Hogan, and may perhaps be for ever thus alienated from the Catholic worship. But, as we remarked in

a former number, our opinion is that the result will not be the restoration of peace. In order to obtain that desirable effect, the Roman Catholics of Philadelphia must give up all claim to St. Mary's Church. Whether they will do so or not, lies with them not with us to determine.

We also stated our opinion, indeed our conviction, that this decision could have no influence upon the other part of the case, viz., the spiritual. Mr. Cadwalader's decision may vest the church in Mr. Hogan's employers, but it cannot restore that reverend gentleman [to] the Catholic communion from which he has been separated, nor bestow upon him the jurisdiction which has been regularly withdrawn from him; so that for the present, St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia is in the possession of an excommunicated priest, without jurisdiction, incapable of discharging any clerical duty lawfully; and all those acts which he performs, and for the performance of which jurisdiction is required, that is, almost every act of his ministry, are invalid, and he and his adherents as completely severed from the communion of every Catholic church in the world, as if they never had belonged to the Roman Catholic Church.

This statement is to us very painful and afflicting, but our duty of giving correct information rendered it unavoidable. We cannot close our eyes against truth, nor withhold it from our readers.

SECTION II.

EXCOMMUNICATION.

We have frequently had the opportunity of witnessing the modes of attack upon the Catholic religion, by those writers who assail it; and we have almost uniformly observed that they never assail either that religion, or its practices, in a fair, candid, or honourable manner. They first caricature what they mean to decry, and then expose to ridicule and execration, the distorted object which they exhibit.

Never was there a more striking instance of this misconduct, than that which we are now obliged to notice. We would have suffered the base and calumnious fabrication to rest in its merited obscurity, but for the importunity with which we are daily worried to learn, if the form of excommunication, which will be found below, was that which the Bishop of Philadelphia used, in cutting off the schismatical young man, who is employed in St. Mary's Church, from Catholic communion. We asked, "And does any one believe that it was?" We were answered—"Yes." And we were informed that it has been most assiduously copied through the papers of the Union; and we have been requested to correct this erroneous impression. Alas! how can we do so? Our paper is in the hands of few but Catholics, and they are not the persons upon whom the erroneous impression has been made. We can only publicly state the truth, and call upon those editors of papers who have innocently copied the calumnious article, as they would not be guilty of *bearing false witness against their neighbour*, to copy this correction. Truth, honour, and religion, demand from them the contradiction. The imposition commenced, it appears, in Philadelphia, in a paper which we have never seen, and which we have heard spoken of in no very flattering terms. This paper, published on the 13th of February last, commences by stating that the editor has, at length, obtained a correct copy of the excommunication of William, pastor of St. Mary's Church, which is the name this young man has chosen as his designation.

On reading this execrable production, we absolutely felt a chill of horror, and involuntarily asked a friend who was near us, whether there was anything so pestiferous in the air of Philadelphia as to destroy every particle of moral feeling. We would scarcely have thought that any person whom public opinion had entrusted with the direction of a press, could be so debased, as to be guilty of so glaring a fraud, so shameful, and so easily detected; but our astonishment ceased when we recollected *the pamphlets*. Yes, the vampire who penned them, crawling forth from the graves of the respected dead, with his head smeared with gore, his entrails filled with corruption, and the air around him fetid and contagious. We no longer were sceptics. The object of the party was to bring disgrace upon the Catholic religion. For this purpose, the infidel, the profligate, and the vindictive, were leagued in a holy alliance—for this purpose, the *Vinegar-hill boys* were enlisted—for this purpose, the Balance, even the Balance was subsidized; and one of Sterne's effusions, the compilation of his ingenuity and his—can we call it less than malignity? was copied from Tristam Shandy, and sent out to the public of America, as the official document of one of the dignitaries of the Catholic Church; and the men who consent to, and delight in, and circulate this grossest of libels upon the Catholic Church, presume to call themselves Catholics.

We have inquired what form the bishop used, and have been told that he did not use any regular denunciation of those

marked; but merely had the fact stated publicly, that the young man who had usurped the place of the pastors of the church, was excommunicated; this was enough for its validity. We shall now, for the information of the public, give from the Roman pontifical, a translation of the form of *major excommunication*, which is that under which this clergyman lies; which will show our readers how different the fact is from the fiction, which we give below:—

TRANSLATION—GENUINE.

"Whereas, I, *the name of the person who excommunicates*, have lawfully admonished, *the name of the person excommunicated*, the first, second, third, and fourth time, to be turned from his malicious way, and to desist from—*the crime is here inserted;* and whereas, he contemptuously refused, *or neglected*, to fulfil and obey this command; and whereas, obedience will appear to be of no avail to the humble, if their contempt produce no evil to the contumacious. Therefore, by the authority of the Almighty God, Father. Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all saints, compelled by his contumacy, I excommunicate him, *in writing, if it be written*, and I denounce him as one to be avoided, so long as he shall not have fulfilled that which is commanded, that his spirit might be saved in the day of judgment."

This is an exact, close translation of the prescribed form. Now let any unbiassed person compare the authorized form with Sterne's fiction, and say what credit is to be given to the persons who give to the public the one for the other.

EXCOMMUNICATION—FORGERY.

From the Philadelphia Independent Balance, Feb. 13, 1822.

We have at length obtained a correct copy of the excommunication of "WILLIAM," pastor of Saint Mary's Church, of this city; it is as follows:—

By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the undefiled Virgin Mary, mother and patroness of our Saviour, and of all ecclesiastical virtues, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, powers, cherubims, and seraphims. And of all the holy patriarchs, prophets, and of all the apostles and evangelists of the holy innocents who, in the sight of the holy Lamb, are found worthy to sing the new song of the holy martyrs and holy confessors, and of all the holy virgins, and of all the saints together, with the holy elect of God—may he, William Hogan, be damned.

We excommunicate and anathematize him, and from the thresholds of the holy church of God Almighty we sequester him, that he may be tormented, disposed, and be delivered over with Dathan and Abiram, and with those who say unto the Lord, "depart from us, we desire none of thy ways;" and as fire is quenched with water, so let the light of him be put out for evermore, unless it shall repent him and make satisfaction, Amen!

May the Father who created man, curse him! May the Son who suffered for us, curse him! May the Holy Ghost who was given to us in baptism, curse him! May the holy cross which Christ, for our salvation, triumphing over his enemies ascended, curse him!

May the holy and eternal Virgin Mary, mother of God, curse him! May St. Michael, the advocate of holy souls, curse him! May all the angels, archangels, principalities, and powers, and all the heavenly armies, curse him!

May the praiseworthy multitude of patriarchs and prophets, curse him!

May St. John the Precursor, and St. John the Baptist, and St. Peter, and St. Paul, and St. Andrew, and all other of Christ's Apostles together, curse him! and may the rest of his disciples, and the four evangelists who, by their preaching, converted the universal world, and may the holy and wonderful company of martyrs and confessors who, by their holy works, are found pleasing to God Almighty, curse him! May the holy choir of the holy virgins who, for the honour of Christ, have despised the things of the world, damn him! May all the saints from the beginning of the world to everlasting ages, who are found to be beloved of God, damn him!

May he be damned wherever he be, whether in the house or the stable, the garden, or the field, or the highway, or in the path, or in the wood, or in the water, or in the church, may he be cursed in living and in dying!

May he be cursed in eating and drinking, in being hungry, in being thirsty, in fasting, in sleeping, in slumbering, in sitting, in lying, in working, in resting, in ——, in ——, and in bloodletting.

May he be cursed in all the faculties of his body.

May he be cursed inwardly and outwardly, may he be cursed in his brains, and in his vertex—in his temples, in his forehead, in his eyes, in his eyebrows, in his cheeks, in his jaw-bones, in his nostrils, in his teeth and grinders, in his lips, in his throat, in his shoulders, in his arms, in his fingers.

May he be damned in his mouth, in his breasts, in his heart and purtenance, down to the very stomach.

May he be cursed in his reins, and in his groins, in his thighs, in his genitals, and in his hips, and in his knees, his legs, and feet, and toe-nails!

May he be cursed in all his joints, and articulations of the members, from the top of his head to the sole of his foot, may there be no soundness in him.

May the son of the living God, with all the glory of his majesty, curse him! And may heaven, with all the powers which move therein, rise up against him, and curse and damn him—unless he repent and make satisfaction! *Amen, so be it—be it so,* Amen!

If the employers of the excommunicated priest choose to frame a new mode of religion for themselves, no person can quarrel with them for doing so. If they dislike the discipline of the Catholic Church, no person will blame them for saying so, and making a new code of discipline for themselves; if they disbelieve the doctrines of the Catholic Church—in this they are not singular—they have many companions. But, we claim a right to oppose them in two ways—we oppose their claims to being members of our society—they do not believe as we do—they do not submit to the laws by which we are governed—they are not Roman Catholics. We oppose their misrepresenting our tenets and practices—we will not receive our doctrines from them, nor our discipline from Laurence Sterne. They do not like imported bishops, though they are importations themselves. If we be rightly informed, they do not like bishops in any way. If so, they ought to feel happy, for there is not a bishop in the world who holds communion with them. We bid them "farewell!"—their progenitors and ours were fellow-travellers—they and we journeyed together for some time, but they thought the old road too much beaten. It is true, it is old—nearly eighteen centuries in use. Novelty is amusing, but it is dangerous. As we no longer walk together, we may, at least, be allowed to make one remark. *The old road has been proved to be sure—the new one may be worse, and may lead them astray, they have to cut it out for themselves.*

SECTION III.

We have lately seen a pamphlet published by "A Catholic Layman," in answer to some strictures of the Rev. William Harrold upon former productions of the same writer. With the personal contest between the gentlemen we have nothing to do; but with the reasoning upon canon law as applied to the case of St. Mary's Church, it is our duty, from our having undertaken this publication, to investigate. We do so with pain; and we trust that the discharge of our duty will not be displeasing to the reputed author of "the review of three pamphlets," for whom we entertain feelings of kindness and respect. But we must say, he does not know canon law. Nor can he be blamed on that account; his avocations led him to very different pursuits; he had not opportunities of knowing the canons either in theory or practice; and we assure him from experience, the study is not light, nor very limited. Neither are the laws contained in the only book which, from the perusal of his several productions, we believe he has consulted upon the subject, *Corpus Juris Canonici.* This work does not contain a single canon or decision made during nearly the last five centuries. And we put it to his own good sense to determine what figure a man of the first talents would make in any American court of justice, who came to plead a cause and argue its merits upon the law as it stood in the time of King Edward III. Our object is not to enter into a contest with him upon law. We really would not know how to conduct it. Neither would a manifest victory in such a contest, should we obtain it, be attended with any good result. The gentlemen who have created the schism care very little for the canon law, either as it stood 500 years ago, or as it stands to-day. This we know, for we have the best proof of the fact. What then can be our object? To perform our duty, by putting upon record the statement. That in his examinations of the case as it came under the canon law, the "Catholic layman" mistook the legal facts, that is, he did not appear to know distinctions which the law creates, and which every person in the least degree conversant with its administration instantly recognises; and for want of knowing which, all his subsequent reasoning is inapplicable.

The first distinction which he appears to pass over, is that between deprivation of faculties and censure. Were a thousand volumes to be written to prove them the same thing, they will still be different, because the law makes them so; this appears to have been the foundation of nearly all his subsequent mistakes.

His second confusion is of the distinction between a clergyman with a title, and a clergyman without one.

His third mistake is, that all the laws which he finds in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*

are still in force; and that no others which repeal or modify them have been since then enacted.

The consequence is, he assumes that the young man in St. Mary's Church is a titled clergyman, who had been originally placed under censures irregularly, and tries his case merely by the law as it stood about 500 years ago.

The facts are: the Rev. Wm. Hogan never was, at least in the diocess of Philadelphia, a titled clergyman, and originally had no censures inflicted, but had been validly deprived of his faculties; and was subsequently regularly warned, that if he attempted to exercise those faculties, censures would be inflicted. Notwithstanding the notice he did act, and then, and then only, the censures were regularly and validly inflicted. Then he continued to act, and by the canon law he involved himself more deeply in new censures by his own act. This was the case in last September, and long before. The "Catholic Layman" himself may perhaps recollect, that in the last part of October there was ample ground for extending and increasing the load of those censures, and may perhaps recollect some facts which must convince him, that even if the first censures were invalid, which they were not, there was then ample ground laid for the assertion which we now make, viz.: That if that young man were even a titled priest of the diocess of Philadelphia irregularly censured, he is now, in the eye of the canon law, an intruder under censures. But those facts which "the Catholic Layman has known" were, and still are, kept back to avoid uselessly clogging a plain question.

In the end of the year 1820, and in the early part of 1821, the young man in question had lost his faculties, but was under no censure; at least so the canon law takes the fact, but the gentlemen who have made the schism say otherwise; both they and their opponents admit the very same facts and circumstances, substantially—the difference is as to the legal designation of the facts. Upon this we prefer following the canon law to following their authority. The canon law states, that though by those acts the young man was deprived of jurisdiction, he was not placed under censures. The "Catholic Layman" condemns the Bishop for placing him under censures. The canon law says he did not place him under censure. The "Catholic Layman" condemns the Bishop for refusing him a copy of the sentence of censures and the cause, and says the canon law orders him to give it, &c. We ask, how could he give a copy of a sentence which was not passed? How state the reasons for his having done what he did not do? The canon is in force where the acts are found; here the acts are not found, for the deprivation of faculties is not a censure. The copy was directed to be given, in order that there might be evidence upon which to ground an appeal. There is an appeal from censures; there is no appeal from deprivation; and this was the Archbishop's reason for refusing the appeal, because he found, upon inquiry, that it was a deprivation, not a censure.

But when the bishop did intend to proceed to censures, he did give the notice, and gave it in writing. The following is the copy which the bishop has had the kindness to send us; and which was regularly made known to those to whom, by the canons, it ought to be communicated:

HENRY, by the grace of God, and the approbation of the Holy Apostolical See, Bishop of Philadelphia.

To our dear brethren and children in Christ, committed to our pastoral care and superintendence, wishing them health and every blessing.

Whereas it is currently reported, and the publication of it in a late pamphlet gives credit to the report, that the Rev. William Hogan, who is deprived of all faculties to perform priestly functions within our diocess, by our express and positive charge of prohibition, delivered to him officially in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Kenny, the Rev. Mr. Hurly, and the Rev. Mr. Rolof, pastors in this our said diocess of Philadelphia, on Tuesday, the 12th of December last,—intends, notwithstanding the canonical disabilities he lies under, to perform the functions of the said ministry of the priesthood, in open disregard of church authority, which we are very loth to believe; but having just grounds to apprehend that such might eventually happen to be the case, and to prevent any of our dear flock from participating in his guilt, if he should be so far lost to every sense of duty and clerical feeling, as to commit this heinous transgression, and thus render himself *irregular, ipso facto;* we shall then, as it is our bounden duty to do, not hesitate for a moment to perform the most painful task that can possibly come within the bishop's province to fulfil, that is, to separate the said William Hogan from the Catholic Church, and from all the benefits and privileges which the members of the church are partakers of, by passing on him the sentence of excommunication, by the forms and ceremonies prescribed in the Roman

ritual, which shall take place immediately after the said Rev. William Hogan shall attempt to perform any sacerdotal office or function of the ministry. Wherefore, notice is hereby given to him and to all parties concerned, that they may be duly warned against the impending danger, and that we may have nothing to reproach ourselves with, but that it may be considered his own work, as having given the cause; beseeching him, at the same time, to pray to the Giver of all good gifts, to inspire him with the fear of God, and with sentiments of compassion for his poor soul, to prevent this heavy judgment, and to avoid the company of such men as are encouraging him to this rash act, who are his greatest enemies, under the mask of appearing to be his friends.

And these his friends and advisers are also warned to meditate on what they are doing, and pray to God to turn their hearts, for they can give him nothing which can be a compensation for the loss he must necessarily sustain, by following their counsels, and losing his God.

And let them also reflect, that all those who communicate with him *in divinis*, that is, in spirituals, by listening to his preaching, or by receiving sacraments from him, shall be separated from the church, in like manner, by the sentence of excommunication, of which all the parties concerned are to take heed. And may the blessing of God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, remain always with them.

Given under our hand, this 11th day of February, 1821.

† HENRY, *Bishop of Philadelphia.*

SECTION IV.

BEFORE our last paper was published, we were favoured with the reading of two letters addressed to the Bishop of Charleston, by persons in Philadelphia, threatening him, that "if anything appeared in the columns of the Miscellany, against their beloved pastor, the Rev. William Hogan," they would attack the Bishop of Charleston, and prove him to be a hypocrite; and that they had a variety of charges against the Bishop of Philadelphia, which they were then publishing; and that three hundred of them were pledged to each other, that if "their beloved pastor died or removed from them, they would instantly leave the Catholic Church, &c.—that they neither wanted means nor inclination, and that money was no object to them, &c.—and that an attack against the Bishop of Charleston, was already in the press, in which he would be proved to be a hypocrite, a liar, &c.—and that it should be widely circulated *gratis*, amongst the principal and most respectable inhabitants of Charleston." One of the writers avows, that he was the person who published the forgery instead of the excommunication, and wrote the remarks which accompanied it. Of course, he is known to be well qualified for continuing that mode of warfare in which he has made so creditable a *debut*. We have not heard as yet that any of those publications have appeared, but we suppose they may be daily expected, as notwithstanding those terrific menaces, we are still furnished with materials, and told to continue "not to attack the beloved pastor," but to unravel the transactions of Philadelphia, and to separate truth from falsehood, and authentic documents from forgeries.

The conspiracy of the three hundred, reminds us of a curious remark made by a prisoner in Ireland. He was a noisy fellow, who was perpetually in some broil, and regularly had to take his trial at the quarter sessions. During some other trial, this fellow, whose voice was always discordant, was irritated by persons in the hall of the court, and unable to restrain himself, was giving the benefit of his lungs to the assailants. The court having been disturbed, the presiding barrister, who did not know whence the sounds were emitted, ordered the sheriff to commit the vociferator to the dock. The fellow hearing the order, burst into a horse laugh, in which he was joined by those present, upon his roaring out, "I defy him, for I am there already." We defy the three hundred to leave the Catholic Church.

But to be serious. In our last we stated, that the young man now employed by the possessors of St. Mary's Church was deprived of faculties, not suspended by the bishop. This occurred on the 12th of December, 1820. The bishop, understanding that, notwithstanding such deprivation, he intended to officiate, did, on the 17th of February, give him and all others concerned regular notice, that if that clergyman did officiate he would be under the necessity of proceeding to censures. So far all his acts were in perfect conformity with the canons; and he was bound by them, if the clergyman did proceed to officiate, immediately to proceed to censures. The gentlemen who obtained possession of St. Mary's Church as trustees for the Roman Catholics did subsequently not only permit but actually procure and encourage this incapacitated clergyman to officiate in that church

contrary to the prohibition, and in direct opposition to the canons; if then the nature of their trust was to preserve the church for the Roman Catholic worship, it ought evidently be according to the canons of the Roman Catholic Church—here their act was opposed to those canons. By several of those canons, the clergyman and the trustees. and their aiders and abettors and adherents instantly fell under censures, a denunciation of which was unnecessary, and the bishop was moreover, by his notice and by the canons, to pronounce a special censure, which he did on the 27th of May, 1821. How then in the name of common sense can it be alleged, that the bishop's censure was without notice; whereas the notice thereof was given on the 11th of February, and the censure was not published until the 27th of May, after a lapse of 106 days?

Another statement was, that this censure was inflicted without cause. The document itself, which we subjoin, recites three causes, either of which is sufficient. The first "for creating a schism—by which the Roman Catholic clergy and laity were deprived of the use of their cathedral." The instant he officiated and drew others to attend him, in the eye of the canon law "he created schism." By officiating in "the cathedral," "he deprived the Roman Catholic clergy and laity thereof," because the canons forbid them to use it in common with him. St. Mary's Church was the cathedral, because the former bishop made it so, and even though he did not, the present bishop could, and states that he did.

The second "for usurping, exercising, and arrogating to himself the right of exercising priestly functions, &c., in violation of the mandate," &c. "That he violated the mandate" is not, and cannot be denied; that his exercising the functions in violation thereof, was an "usurpation and arrogation of a right" which was not his, the canons distinctly aver.

The third "for leading astray many of the flock committed to the care of the Bishop of Philadelphia, and causing them to be involved in censures." If inducing them to adhere to him was "leading them astray and involving them in censures," there can be no doubt of the fact. The canon law asserts that adhering to him is going astray, and enacts various censures against such adherents.

The document will speak for itself; it does not need our comment. We insert it here. We were in error when we stated that no special form was used. We then thought as we wrote, but the fact was otherwise. The bishop has sent us the following as the form which he used.

HENRY, by the Grace of God, and the approbation of the Holy Apostolical See, Bishop of Philadelphia, to his beloved flock, &c., in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

Whereas, the Rev. William Hogan, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and regardless of his duty as a Christian, and as a Catholic priest, has not hesitated to rend and tear asunder the seamless garment of Christ, by causing confusion in the church, and endeavouring to establish a schism, which has already succeeded so far as to divide the congregation of St. Mary's, and which has deprived the clergy, and the Roman Catholics of the city of Philadelphia, of the use of their cathedral.

And whereas the said William Hogan has usurped, and exercised, and arrogated to himself the right of exercising priestly functions, not only without approbation, but in direct violation of our pastoral mandate, forbidding him in express terms to perform any function of the sacred ministry of the priesthood, under the pain of incurring the severest censures of the church.

And whereas, by his infraction and utter disregard of our prohibition and monitions, many of the flock committed to our spiritual care and superintendence have been led astray, and many are still in danger of being seduced into the like errors, by his and their example, and arguments, and false reasoning, and still further to assist by their presence at the sacrilegious functions of his ministry; which would involve them in the like censure, and thus bring a curse on themselves and families.

Therefore, considering the charge we have of their souls as chief pastor, and that we are obliged to give a strict account of them at the last day, when we must all appear together, before the tribunal of an all-seeing Judge; and solicitous accordingly lest he, or they, or we ourselves, should perish and be lost for ever by our neglecting to take notice of such conduct and prevarication. We duly admonished him in charity, to be on his guard against the delusive snares, especially of his greatest enemies, pretending to be his best friends; to beware of the dangers that surrounded him; and to have recourse to prayer for grace from heaven to enable him to resist and withstand their temptations; but instead of taking advice, and returning to a sense of duty, he became more hardened and obstinate from day to day, and at length totally incorrigible,

even so far as to cast off all regard for superior authority, and to be no longer subject to the rules and discipline of the church, and still continues to persevere in this disposition.

Wherefore, with a view to the fulfilment of our duty according to the laws of God and the church, we have been under the disagreeable necessity of performing a most painful task this day, in cutting off this incurable member, by the sword of excommunication, from the body of the Catholic church. Our blessed Saviour says, if your hand or foot scandalize you, cut it off and cast it from you; and St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, desired the evil one to be cut off, and put away from among them.

Hence, in conformity to the precepts and practice of our blessed Lord and his Apostle, and in virtue of our commission and the authority of binding and loosing conferred on us as a successor of the Apostles, we cut off, by the spiritual sword of excommunication, the said William Hogan, as a putrid member, lest any of our flock should be led into schism and error by attending the sacrilegious functions of his ministry, and thus treasure up to themselves wrath against the day of wrath; and hence we sequester and excommunicate him from the holy Catholic Church, or from having any share in the spiritual treasures and benefits that are to be had in it through the communion of saints, the holy sacrifice of the Mass, or the prayers and good works of the just; and declare him, accordingly, to be no longer a member of the holy Roman Catholic Church.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

† HENRY, *Bishop of Philadelphia.*

This document is certainly of very different material, and of a very different construction from the forgery which has been sent afloat. It is the spirit and tenor of the form in the pontifical, applied to the facts which took place in Philadelphia.

We must acknowledge, ourselves, that for a long while we knew not what to make of the affair, there were so many contradictory statements, and such gross misrepresentation. We were inclined to think that the case was by no means of that plain nature that we discover, when we have shaken off the several accompaniments by which it has been clogged, and exhibited it alone, separate from extraneous matter.

One question only remains for inquiry—"What was the ground for the deprivation of faculties?" That, we confess, we do not know. The "Catholic Layman" has stated that it was insolent language, and expressions highly disrespectful to the bishop, used in his presence, immediately after his arrival in the pulpit, on two successive Sundays, in a crowded church. Others have added much more and of a different character. But the impression on our minds is, that in those other reports there is less truth than falsehood. We are not remarking upon the truth or falsehood of the original grounds for the deprivation, nor upon the prudence or imprudence of the bishop's conduct; those are questions which we have not the means of examining, nor the power of judging. But, in all conscience, the cause alleged by the "Catholic Layman" must be acknowledged not to be trivial, and the canons left the mode of punishment to the bishop. He chose the mode which to him appeared best; he therefore did not act uncanonically. The "Catholic Layman" says an apology was offered and ought to have been accepted. Perhaps so; we know not. It might have been prudent to accept it. It might have been imprudent. Upon this we cannot decide; but this we unhesitatingly assert—now that we see the canonical case for the first time plainly from beginning to end—all the episcopal acts were valid and regular. Upon the prudence or imprudence we are not competent to express an opinion, because we are not sufficiently in possession of all the circumstances. The young man who is employed in St. Mary's Church is validly excommunicated—deprived of jurisdiction. All his acts which require jurisdiction for their validity are of no effect—his absolutions to the dying or to those in health are of no avail—the communions which are received from him are, by the canon law, considered sacrileges; and all his adherents schismatics; and the church of St. Mary's in Philadelphia is not a church of the Roman Catholic communion. Such are the legal facts of the case, upon which there cannot be the least shade of doubt. We now conclude our remarks upon this painful subject, to which we hope it shall be unnecessary for us to recur.

SECTION V.

THIS subject is not likely to prove sterile. The young man who is employed as a clergyman by the Trustees of St. Mary's Church, has sent forth a pamphlet of 39 pages to prove that he has been deceived and injured by the bishop of this diocess. So far as his canon law is concerned, we shall only re-

peat, that we do not know how to argue either with him or with his supporters. With that part of his subject we have done. With regard to the bishop, he has chosen to speak for himself. We only beg leave to correct one gross error of this young man respecting our article on Norfolk; he states, that in it we "spewed forth upon the age-worn head of the Rev. Dr. Carberry, the acrimonious bile of our calumnious fabrications." Now, we never till this moment wrote truth or falsehood, fact or fabrication, about that Reverend Doctor. Nor did we ever till now make the slightest allusion to him.

The young man does not like our style; so much the better.

The value of his statements is, in our minds, poor indeed. We pray the attention of our readers to the following letter; so that, applying its contents to the pamphlet in question, they may know the value of that too.

LETTER I.

To the Right Reverend Dr. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—After the publication of a late pamphlet, by the Rev. William Hogan, entitled, "An answer to a paragraph contained in the United States Catholic Miscellany, edited by the Bishop of Charleston, under the head PHILADELPHIA," I feel myself called upon to give you an explanation of some of its statements.

The writer commences by asserting that I am the editor of the Miscellany and the compiler of the article, by pretending to answer which, he takes occasion to assail me. The fact of my being, or not being the editor of that paper, or of my having or not having written the paragraph, makes nothing for or against the statement I wish to explain.

In the pamphlet, p. 9, is the following statement: "That at dinner, at Rev. Mr. Power's, at New York, I stated that I left Charleston much prejudiced against Mr. Hogan; but becoming acquainted with the causes which led to the differences between Doctor Conwell and him, and with the characters of the priests of Philadelphia, my opinion was entirely altered, and I rejoiced to have it in my power to remove him from their society." The fact is, after Mr. Hannan and Mr. Power had informed me that Mr. Hogan had come from Philadelphia to obtain and to follow my advice, Mr. Hogan was introduced to me for the first time. We had a very long conference, in which *he* gave me *his* account of the causes, and *his* account of the priests; and I acknowledge I was greatly inclined to think that he gave me a pretty correct view of the entire, and the professions he had made were so perfectly in unison with those which would express the feelings that would become him, I did think I had been before in error, and that he was unjustly, or at least thoughtlessly punished; and did hope that upon my having an interview with you, or your authority to make arrangements, peace would be restored to Philadelphia; and upon this ground I asked Mr. Power's permission to invite Mr. Hogan to dine, and at dinner I did state, that if his account was correct, as I hoped it was, I had been in error, &c. To state, therefore, absolutely what I asserted conditionally, is not correct. I must add, my impressions now are, and have been for a considerable time, that when I used those expressions even conditionally, I was wrong in my estimate of the parties, and what has not often happened me, culpable for having formed too hasty a judgment, and expressed it prematurely.

You will recollect, Right Reverend Sir, that between the first interview in New York, which was sought by Mr. Hogan as I before stated, and my arrival in Philadelphia, I had two interviews with you, one when I called upon you at the house of our friend, Right Reverend Doctor Connolly, who was then so engaged in ministerial duties as not to be able to join us; the other when I met you at the house of the Rev. Mr. Power. We had never before met, at least, in America. Subsequently to my promising Mr. Hogan that I would endeavour to obtain your authority to investigate his case, as I have since discovered, several persons took great pains to misrepresent us to each other. I know you were exhibited to me in a false light, and I know that you spoke of me in a manner that you would not have done, had you not been deceived. The consequence was, we met each other with mutual distrust. You thought I wished to dictate to you how you should govern your diocess, and looked upon my interference with more than jealousy. I know you were led to imagine that I wished to raise Mr. Hogan and to depress you if I could. I confess that my notions of your conduct towards Mr. Hogan were very different then to what they now are, and I was led even to doubt whether your acts were altogether canonical. I then believed as fact what I now know to be fiction. I have since learned facts, of the existence of which I then was not aware; of course, I have changed my opinion. I have now no doubt upon my mind that your acts were not only valid, but perfectly regular.

With these impressions upon our minds, we met for the first time strangers to each other, to converse upon a subject which each of us was led to view in a different light.

I was under the impression that you had suspended Mr. Hogan for crimes, the existence of which he denied, and you had not sufficiently proved. You thought I wished to bring you to account to me for your conduct, when I asked you whether you had any objection to allow me to investigate the truth of the allegations upon which he was punished. You stated that, whatever your own belief might be, you did not act upon those allegations; and you stated that probably in my diocess he might do some good; that in yours, you did not think him useful, and that if he came to mine, and that I received him, you authorized me to remove his censures. I asked whether you would testify to his moral character, or suffer me to examine evidence as to it in your diocess. You stated that you made no charge against his morality, but that you would give no farther power to any other bishop, than that of absolving him from censures upon his leaving your diocess. I then stated that I would consider him innocent of the crimes reported, unless you would either state to me that he was guilty, or allow me to investigate their nature and the evidence upon which they rested. You would not extend the power, and we parted, probably without any accession to our mutual confidence from the interview.

I shall now, Right Reverend Sir, select the passages of which I conceive you ought to obtain explanations from me. And I feel happy at Mr. Hogan's having put it in my power to remove from your mind the impressions regarding me, which must have been gaining strength by the increase of time and the want of explanation. They are the following:

P. 10. "On his arrival in Philadelphia in October, I waited upon him; he then stated that he was empowered to arrange all differences between the bishop, the people, and myself.

P. 11. "In which case he could prosecute his claim against the Bishop of Philadelphia at Rome, or by the Bishop of Charleston, as his agent.

Do. "The necessary redresses, of the success of which Bishop England expressed his fullest conviction not a doubt need be entertained.

P. 12. "They could not, however, avoid remarking the strong and energetic mode in which Dr. England expressed his reprobation of the line of conduct observed by Dr. Conwell; the perfect conviction he entertained that a correct representation of the affairs of his diocess at Rome, would eventuate in his removal and the appointment of a more worthy and enlightened successor, and his own entire devotedness to promote so desirable, and so indispensable a result, for the attainment of which he did not hesitate to declare, 'I will spend the last thread of my existence.'

P. 14. "That the more culpable Dr. Conwell and those about him acted, the more certainly could the Rev. Mr. Hogan calculate upon their removal and redress; and that the Rev. Mr. Hogan would have much greater advantages by appearing as plaintiff against Dr. Conwell, than by acting as defendant.

P. 15. "To which Dr. England observed, that the conduct of Dr. Conwell, in this respect, was abominable.

Do. "That he conceived it highly necessary to preserve the Rev. Mr. Hogan's case and that of the people entirely distinct, as there would be then two chances against Dr. Conwell, and if the Rev. Mr. Hogan's failed, the people might still succeed and procure his removal.

P. 16. "Bishop E. replied, that he gave his opinion and advice upon the subject without knowing what course the trustees would pursue; that he thought it would be prudent to bear a temporary inconvenience for the purpose of obtaining an important benefit, and that by adopting the plan he recommended, the people would be certain of having their grievances redressed, to promote which he pledged himself to use every means in his power.

P. 17. "They had the honour and veracity of a bishop's pledge that Dr. Conwell should be deposed and removed out of the city, an object desired by every sincere Christian and peaceable citizen.

P. 24. "He arrives in this city empowered by Dr. Conwell to adjust all differences, and to see justice done; but no sooner does he receive the commission, no sooner is he invested with temporary jurisdiction by the unhappy bishop of this diocess, than he endeavours to undermine, to degrade, to depose, and expose him to further contempt, *'to accomplish which, he would spend to the last thread of his existence.'* "

They are reducible to the following charges:

1. One of the Rev. Mr. Hogan's, "That I stated upon my arrival in Philadelphia, in October, that I was empowered by you to

arrange all differences between you, the people, and him; to see justice done, and that for this purpose I was invested by you with temporary jurisdiction."

2. A charge by the same person, "That I had pledged to the trustees the honour and veracity of a bishop, that you should be deposed and removed out of the city, an object desired by every sincere and peaceable citizen."

3. A charge by the same person, "That I endeavoured to undermine, to degrade, to depose, and to expose you to further contempt, *to accomplish which I would spend to the last thread of my existence.*"

4. A charge by Messrs. Leamy, Ashley and Fagan, "That I stated to them, as part of the substance of my answer to Mr. Hogan's letter to me, that he could prosecute his claims against you at Rome, or by me as his agent."

5. By the same, "That I stated in my answer, that the necessary steps should be taken immediately for obtaining the desired redress, of the success of which I expressed my fullest conviction, that a doubt need not be entertained;" and farther, "That I entertained a perfect conviction, that a correct representation of the affairs of your diocess at Rome, would eventuate in your removal, and the appointment of a more worthy and enlightened successor, and my having expressed my entire devotedness to promote so desirable and so indispensable a result, for the attainment of which I did not hesitate to declare, 'I will spend the last thread of my existence;'" and farther, "That I did take those necessary steps for your removal, by advising them how it may be compassed, one of the modes to facilitate which, I conceived to be the keeping of Mr. Hogan's case, and that of the people, entirely distinct, as thus there would be two chances against you, and if the Rev. Mr. Hogan failed, the people might still succeed, and procure your removal;" and farther, that I stated, that "By adopting the plan I recommended, the people would be certain of having their grievances redressed—to promote which, I pledged myself to use every means in my power."

6. By Messrs. Ashley and Fagan, "That I observed, that your conduct, in resorting to the infamous means you used to destroy Mr. Hogan's character, and to induce the congregation to acquiesce in your treatment of him, was abominable."

If I made the assertion contained in the first charge, I stated a distinct falsehood, for the only power which you did, or would give me, was authority to receive the Rev. William Hogan into my diocess, if he would come thither; and next, power to absolve him from your censures upon his coming under my jurisdiction. I distinctly state, that the assertion of Mr. Hogan is totally devoid of truth, as I never stated that you empowered me to arrange the differences, and to see justice done, and that you gave me temporary jurisdiction for this purpose; but, on the contrary, I complained to Mr. Hogan, to your own clergy, and to Mr. Hogan's friends, that you refused those powers to me.

The three gentlemen, Messrs. Ashley, Leamy and Fagan, swore, pamphlet, page 13, that "After a pause, Dr. England replied, that he should endeavour to remedy this inconvenience, by *requesting* Dr. Conwell, *as a particular favour*, to permit him as his deputy to nominate," &c. And again, Dr. England stated, "That from his knowledge of Bishop Conwell, *he was not sanguine in his hopes that his request would be granted.*" It must be then plain, that if those gentlemen swore truly, Mr. Hogan must have stated untruly, or that I told Mr. Hogan one story, and told those gentlemen a different one. The fact is, I told them both the same, which was, that you refused to allow me any authority to interfere farther than I have before stated; and the fact is also, that I did use those expressions to the three gentlemen in the drawing-room, which I had the use of at the Mansion House, on Thursday, October 18th, and that, at that time, Mr. Hogan belonged to the diocess of Charleston, for I had received his request to receive him, and by your authority did accept of him by the letter, which I was concluding when those gentlemen were introduced.

The second charge carries its own refutation on its face. The trustees knew that I could not depose you nor remove you from Philadelphia; therefore, they must have looked upon me to be a madman, had I pledged the honour and veracity of a bishop, that what I could not effect should be done. You will perceive, that the words, "an object desired by every sincere Christian and peaceable citizen," are not attributed to me by the charger, but are the expression of his own opinion, for which I am not accountable.

The third charge will stand or fall by the fate of the fifth.

The fourth charge is made by the three gentlemen, and here I stand upon new ground. With Mr. Hogan my interviews had an official character, not as having any jurisdiction in your diocess, but having your authority to receive him into mine, and to absolve him from your censures,

should he consent to come. Those new witnesses and I met merely as private individuals, whom I was anxious to advise to pursue a line of conduct, which, I hoped, would put an end to a very unhappy schism in a very respectable congregation.

They testify, that in those conversations I was guilty upon the fourth, fifth, and sixth charges. The first is, that I stated to them as part of the substance of my answer to Mr. Hogan, that he could prosecute the claims against you at Rome by *me* as his agent. Indeed, sir, I do not know how I can meet this charge, otherwise than by saying, they must have greatly mistaken what I said, or meant to say. I prefer quoting from the allegations of the accusers, to loading the case with new documents, except it be unavoidable. Look to page 18 of the pamphlet: — "You shall have *my permission* to go to Rome, to institute any suit or suits, which *you*, or the *Catholics of Philadelphia*, think proper for the recovery of your rights." I rather think, Right Reverend Sir, that you will not construe this to mean, that I offered to become his agent. The gentlemen, then, misunderstood me, or I misrepresented to them what I wrote.

My opinion of "his rights" was distinctly given to him and to them, for I told both that his case was wholly untenable before any ecclesiastical tribunal, and that to have a decision against him, would not occupy any canonical court five minutes; but, that if he was of a different opinion, I had no objection to his trying it, though I had no doubt of his defeat; and that, if he chose to go to Rome, I would not prevent him. Indeed, the gentlemen testify my opinion, and my expression thereof in their and Mr. Hogan's presence, for they say, in page 14, Messrs. Ashley and Fagan's swearing, "Dr. England stated that the vicar, in vacant sees, could only make temporary arrangements; upon which point a different opinion was maintained by the Rev. Mr. Hogan, then present. Mr. Fagan remarked, that this was a point of canon law, upon which, as laymen, they were incompetent to decide; but, taking it for granted, he being the elder gentleman, was correct, *and that in consequence, Mr. Hogan was incorrect in officiating against the bishop's will in St. Mary's Church.* The bishop should have rested upon ground of canonical right, to drive Mr. Hogan out of his diocess," &c.

You must perceive, Right Reverend Sir, by this, that I distinctly told him and them, that he was incorrect in officiating against your will in St. Mary's, and that I did not offer to be his agent in prosecuting a suit for rights which I told him he had not, and that repeatedly, though I offered to permit him to prosecute it, if he and the people of Philadelphia thought proper. Mr. Ashley, whose acute penetration is of no inferior cast, saw the full force of my observations in so strong a light, that he instinctively turned to the part of the room where Mr. Hogan sat, and very emphatically addressed him in words which I shall not easily forget:— "Then, Mr. Hogan, it is now plain that you have been leading us into error all through." I could add much more on this topic, but my object is to be as brief as possible. I shall, however, make one remark, that in comparing the conversations as taken down by the witnesses adduced against me, with my own notes taken at the time in Philadelphia, I find a very serious difference, particularly in omitting much of what I said, the insertion of which is absolutely necessary, to give the remainder its proper meaning, and the omission of which, altogether distorts and destroys the sense.

To enable me to answer the fifth charge, it is necessary that I should exhibit the view which I took of the Philadelphia case. From you, Right Reverend Sir, I had no explanation. Mr. Hogan and his friends assured me, that in the administration of the diocess all things were mismanaged; they stated that you and your clergymen had entered into conspiracies to destroy the character of Mr. Hogan; that the reason of his persecution was the superiority of his talents, the extent of his zeal, and his devotion to the discharge of his duties; that upon this ground, they upheld him and opposed you, for their object was the maintenance of religion, which would perish in Philadelphia if he were removed.—Though I could not believe that you or your clergy did or would enter into such conspiracies, yet I did believe that the charges then exhibited against Mr. Hogan in the Mayor's Court, by a woman for profligate conduct, were unfounded. Mr. Hogan offered me, repeatedly, to prove his innocence to my satisfaction. I told him it was unnecessary, for I did believe him innocent. But, I also told him, that he had no jurisdiction in Philadelphia—that he was acting uncanonically, irregularly, and criminally in continuing to officiate in St. Mary's—that I knew from my conversations with you, that it was beyond hope that you would restore him—that the only rational mode of extricating all parties from their difficulties, was, as I had power to receive him into my diocess, and to absolve him from censures if he came, to come—and that I would absolve

him, and not only give him a mission, but, if he thought that those charges against you and your clergy were true, the truth or falsehood of which I could not pronounce upon, he should have leave to prosecute you and them in Rome, and if the charges were proved, I had no doubt of your and their removal.

I told the lay gentlemen the same, and gave them as my opinion, that Mr. Hogan's own case was indefensible; but said, if their charges against you were proved, I had no doubt you would be removed. And when they stated their ignorance of the mode of proceeding, I told them upon that ground there should be no difficulty; for, if they gave me sufficient proof of the truth of their assertions, I would feel it to be my duty to embody them into the shape of charges, and, if necessary, forward them to my own agent in Rome, to be exhibited against you and proved by them; and if they could succeed in the proof, I did not entertain a doubt of your removal; and farther, that if I did believe you to be guilty of the crimes, I would *spend the last shred* (not thread) *of my existence for your removal.* And, Right Reverend Sir, I now repeat, if I did believe the truth of those charges, I would do now what I then said; and if you thought me equally guilty, you would, I am convinced, feel yourself bound to act so towards me.

This view of the case, Right Reverend Sir, was what I wished them to take, and laboured to prove to them the advantages which would result from acting upon it. I stated to them, that, in place of having recourse to the regular tribunals for the redress of their grievances, they had usurped a power which was not theirs, and defied the authorities to which they were subject; that if those authorities abused their power, or were unfit for their places, there was a regular tribunal, which, upon proper application and sufficient proof, would remove the criminal or the incapable, and thus they would obtain regular redress: but that, so long as they united Mr. Hogan's case, *which was evidently bad*, with their own, *which might possibly be good*, and which, *if the allegations could be proved*, was certainly good, they destroyed that good case by its incorporation with a bad one.

The fact of their having made those charges they admit, page 14. "Mr. Fagan" remarked, that "the bishop should have rested upon the ground of canonical right to drive Mr. Hogan out of his diocess, and deprive the people of his services, and not resort to the infamous means he afterwards used to destroy the Rev. Mr. Hogan's character, in order to induce the congregation to acquiesce in the bishop's treatment of him, which, in whatever light it was viewed, appeared to be as unjust and tyrannical, as it was unmerited." "To which Dr. England replied, that the conduct of Dr. Conwell, in this respect, was abominable." I was at the moment seated in a room with a gentleman, for whose intellect I had and have high respect, (Mr. Ashley,) upon whom I was anxious to make an impression by reasoning, for I knew of no way of leading *him*, but by the conviction of his understanding. Suppose I had no regard to truth, I must at least be allowed so much common sense, as to know that my pronouncing a positive condemnation of you in such terms, without having been able to examine the evidence, would at once baffle my hopes of gaining upon him. I am not in the frequent habit of too hastily pronouncing a condemnation of any man without evidence; and though I had abundant evidence of your having been charged with injustice and tyranny, and a variety of other crimes, I had no evidence of their truth. The fact is, I did say, from the mutual criminations, and especially the production of the charges then before the Mayor's Court, "that there must be abominable conduct somewhere:" but I acquitted the gentlemen then present, of any participation therein; as I did, without expressing it, acquit you then and now—for if I believed you to be guilty, I would, long since, have endeavoured to find the proof, and to send the charges to Rome against you, even if the schismatics were to join the Catholics in opposing me.

I did not, then, Right Reverend Sir, observe, "that the conduct of Dr. Conwell was, in that respect, abominable," though it would have been true to state, that I remarked, "the conduct *imputed* to Dr. Conwell was abominable."

The statement, "That the more culpable you and those about you were, the more certainly could the Rev. Mr. Hogan calculate upon their removal and redress, and that it was better for him to appear against you as plaintiff than as defendant," having been expressed as my opinion, is, in itself, a truth: but it is stripped of its circumstances, with which I will beg leave to clothe it.

It was stated by the gentleman who called upon me, that if they made certain concessions which I recommended, you, and those about you, would treat them worse than ever; upon which I remarked, if your case be good, so much the better—for the more culpable, &c.

It was asked, could not Mr. Hogan remain in St. Mary's, and the suit be under-

taken? I answered, it could not, for two reasons: first, his case being bad, he was by the canon law looked upon as an intruder, and should appear as defendant against the bishop, who would then be plaintiff; and it would be more advantageous to him to be plaintiff than defendant. The second reason is here unnecessary.

I beg to add to this, one other paragraph respecting your clergy, page 29. Mr. Hogan asks me, "Was not my language moderate, when contrasted with your own observations on those gentlemen, in public and in private, while in New York and in this city?" I beg to assure those reverend gentlemen, that neither in New York nor in Philadelphia, in public or private, have I made any farther observations upon them or their conduct, except to complain of the manner in which one of them had acted several times respecting myself, and to state that, if they were the criminals which Mr. Hogan has painted them, they deserved to be ranked in the lowest scale of society. He has calumniated them to the world, and he now treats me in the same way, and adds to this the attempt to make each of us believe that it was the other who assailed him. It would, indeed, be no small gratification to our common assailants to bespatter us both, and then excite us to quarrel for having soiled each other.

You and I, Right Reverend Sir, have had this trick played off upon us before; it has had partial success, but I trust it will not be a second time successful.

I shall take the liberty of explaining some other passages of the pamphlet in a future letter, because I owe it to my station to show, that, although I might have been injudicious, I was not criminal.

I had forgotten, in its proper place, to notice the following assertion of Messrs. Leamy, Ashley, and Fagan: "They could not, however, avoid remarking the strong and energetic mode in which Dr. England expressed his reprobation of the line of conduct pursued by Dr. Conwell." Page 12.

This refers to my first interview with those gentlemen. I shall beg leave to state one fact which took place, and which I am convinced those gentlemen will not deny. In that interview Mr. Fagan expressed himself in very strong terms of crimination of you, and was continuing in a most unmeasured manner, when I stated my wish that he should avoid the topic altogether; for, though I regretted as deeply as he did such occurrences as he described, which I supposed he must know to be true, and which I would not therefore question, still their mention was unnecessary, and the subject was to me most unpleasant. Mr. Leamy used some expression of coincidence with my wish, which I have not entered and have forgotten; but Mr. Ashley, in a smart manner, which appeared to me natural to him, struck lightly several times with his fingers the under part of the table where we sat, and repeated, "Right, right, right: better say no more." The only way in which I can account for their statement, then, is by supposing they mistook Mr. Fagan's expressions for mine.

Another very natural explanation would present itself: because it is a fact that I did, in strong and energetic terms, reprobate the line of conduct *imputed by them* to you; and as *they stated that you pursued* that line of conduct which *they imputed to you*, they probably wrote as they felt, and transferred to me a conviction which I did not feel, viz.: that you pursued that line of conduct which I reprobated. I certainly would prefer this to charging them with having sworn what was contrary to the fact, and which I do not believe they would do; but I cannot destroy my own recollections, nor disbelieve my own notes taken upon the spot.

Allow me, now, Right Reverend Sir, to give you a view of what, I believe, will be admitted a fair representation of the case: 1st. I could not have known the nature of the transactions in Philadelphia, except from the testimony of those who witnessed them, for I had not been present. 2d. Whatever impressions were upon my mind, must have been created by the testimony which I received. 3d. If the impressions were wrong, the fault was in the witnesses. 4th. The accounts I had received were from the Rev. Mr. Hogan and his adherents. 5th. You did not think proper to give me any explanations. 6th. All my subsequent declarations must, of course, be founded upon the supposed truth of the accounts which I had received from the witnesses: for they were not, and could not be founded upon my own observation. 7th. I did wish to examine testimony on both sides, but you did not think proper to authorize me to do so. I was, therefore, constrained either to abandon altogether the attempt of restoring peace, or act upon what testimony I had. 8th. Rev. Mr. Hogan made several statements to me, which he said he could or would prove. 9th. Messrs. Ashley, Leamy, and Fagan, supported those statements. 10th. I could not, either in common politeness or in common justice, tell those gentlemen that their statements were untrue, because they gave them as facts, with which they were acquainted, and of which I could have

known nothing of my own knowledge. 11th. I, therefore, conceived myself warranted to *assume* the truth of their statements, without having my mind finally made up as to their absolute truth or falsehood. 12th. Upon their *assumed* truth, I gave my advice. 13th. I distinctly saw Mr. Hogan's case untenable, and I as distinctly told him and them so. 14th. I distinctly saw, that if their allegations were true, and that they proceeded canonically to their proof, they might be certain of redress, and I as distinctly told them so. 15th. They expressed their difficulties, from want of knowing how to proceed. I told them that, if they gave me the proofs of the allegations, I would obviate that difficulty, and manage the whole for them, provided they conducted themselves as became Roman Catholics; and in place of continuing an unjustifiable and irregular opposition to you, they would prosecute you in the proper court. 16th. They stated, that by following my advice, you would, in the mean time, have the church, they be thus triumphed over, by your obtaining all that you desired, and that you would treat them worse than before. 17th. I answered, that it was often necessary to suffer temporary inconvenience to obtain a permanent good; and that, the worse your conduct would be, the more certain would they be of your removal. 18th. They asked, whether no mode could be devised to remedy even this temporary inconvenience, by appointing clergymen whom you could not remove, and in whom they would have confidence during the suit? 19th. I answered, that this could only be done with your consent, which I feared you would not give, but which I would endeavour to obtain. 20th. I did write to you, as I promised that I would. 21st. But, they preferred continuing their former line of conduct, to adopting my advice. 22d. And now they charge me, not they indeed, but Mr. Hogan, with having accused you of those crimes which they imputed to you, and of having endeavoured to expose and to degrade, and to remove you.

Now, Right Reverend Sir, for the support of every one of those propositions, I refer to their own published documents, and to the common sense of any individual.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir,
Your obedient, humble servant,
And brother in Christ,
† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, Sept. 6th, 1822.

SECTION VI.

WE this day lay before our readers, two other letters from the bishop of this diocess, in explanation of the pamphlet published in the name of the young man employed in St. Mary's Church. One object of the pamphleteer evidently was, to set the clergy quarrelling with each other—in this, we have no doubt he will be disappointed. We shall reserve our own remarks for the present.

To the Reverend B. J. Fenwick.

MY DEAR SIR:—You, perhaps, have seen a pamphlet just published by the Rev. Mr. Hogan against me, in which, p. 16, is the following passage, extracted from a conversation, stated by Messrs. Ashley and Fagan to have been held between them and me in Philadelphia, on Friday, the 19th of last October:

"A desire was expressed, to know whom it was intended should be substituted for the Rev. Mr. Hogan, in St. Mary's Church, while proceedings were carrying on at Rome; as the name of the Rev. Mr. Fenwick had been mentioned for the purpose, who, it was observed, from his intimate connexion with the interests that predominated at Baltimore, would be highly obnoxious to a people that had suffered so much from the unprincipled intrigues originating in that quarter. Dr. England acquiesced in the correctness of the observation, and said he should not be the person; he also stated an instance of improper conduct on the part of that gentleman and the Archbishop of Baltimore, in the diocess of Charleston, since his own appointment thereto."

I feel, my dear sir, that my leaving this passage unexplained, would be ill-treating you. The conversation was held upon an assumption, which I considered and stated to be an improbability, viz., that Dr. Conwell would give me power to appoint for St. Mary's. On that account, I took no note of this particular part of our intercourse, as I looked upon it to be altogether immaterial to the subject under arrangement; and even if Dr. Conwell had granted my request, I thought it would be sufficiently early for me to enter upon an inquiry, when I should have received power. But, if I recollect rightly, Mr. Fagan was the gentleman who expressed the desire; to which I answered, that I had not thought upon the subject as yet, and feared I should not need to think upon it, as I was still of the opinion which I expressed on the previous day to himself and the other gentlemen, that Dr. Conwell would not accede to my request. *He* then mentioned your name, as a person whom I might in such a case possibly appoint, and

inveighed pretty loudly, and by no means sparingly, not against you personally, but against Jesuits and Sulpicians, and all the clergy of Baltimore, and stated that your appointment would be obnoxious. I said that he had need have no apprehension of your appointment, first, because much as I wished the restoration of peace and religion in Philadelphia, I preferred the interests of my own diocess to those of any other, and I would not easily part with you if I could detain you: and next, because I knew you would not come, for you had already, to my knowledge, refused Dr. Conwell's invitation, which was most pressing and flattering—and that you had declared to me that nothing could induce you to destroy your peace of mind, by entering upon the ministry in Philadelphia. I farther acquiesced in the correctness of the observation which had been made, but which the gentlemen have omitted to record, though I distinctly recollect it, that were your virtues ever so great, your appointment would not produce peace, if you were highly obnoxious to the people. But, I trust I need not assure you that I did not acquiesce in any observation which would imply your want of any qualification for any station of the ministry; and my acquiescence in such an observation, would have been my own condemnation, for, at the time I had left you as vicar-general in charge of my diocess, and had to express to you those feelings which I shall ever cherish, of gratitude for your virtuous discharge of that duty.

As to my stating an instance of improper conduct on your part, &c., though I have no distinct recollection upon the subject, which would enable me to speak positively as to the manner in which it was introduced, I do recollect, that in some way, I did mention as a fact, the archbishop having given to you a commission as vicar-general of the diocess of Charleston, in December, 1820, though he had received my notice of appointment and consecration, and intention of coming to my diocess, and renewal of jurisdiction to the clergy therein, on the 21st of the preceding month. I do not know what caused it to be introduced, nor how it bore upon the subject. But, supposing this to be the fact, it was evidently no improper conduct on your part; and you have since, by the exhibition of the original document, convinced me that what I stated was not a fact, because the commission which I thought bore date in December, 1820, was given in December, 1817, and was for the Carolinas and Georgia, then part of Baltimore.

I trust, my dear sir, that this explanation will satisfy you and the respectable clergy of Baltimore, that I did not acquiesce in the truth of charges against them, to which I was under the necessity of listening; but as to the truth or falsehood of which I could give no opinion, as the alleged facts, if ever they took place, occurred, some of them, whilst I was in Ireland, and others before I was born. I trust, also, that the insertion of this clause, "if ever they occurred," will not be taken by Messrs. Ashley and Fagan, as questioning their veracity; it is but practising a degree of caution, which I have been taught by themselves, to prevent the observance of politeness being misconstrued into an acquiescence in the truth of what I have no opportunity of ascertaining.

I am also convinced that this explanation will frustrate what I conceive to be the object of the pamphleteer, viz.: to produce quarrels between us.

Believe me to remain, very reverend and dear sir, your much obliged,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, Sept. 11, 1822.

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LETTER II.

To the Right Reverend Dr Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—In my former letter to you, I trust I have succeeded in satisfying you, "that I did NOT assert that you gave me powers which you had not given."—"That I did NOT pledge to the trustees of St. Mary's Church, the honour and veracity of a bishop, that you should be deposed and driven out of the city." "That I did NOT endeavour to undermine, to degrade, to depose, and to expose you to further contempt," &c. "That I did NOT state, that your conduct. with respect to Mr. Hogan, was abominable." "That I did NOT offer to be Mr. Hogan's agent to prosecute you for the violation of his rights." But, that I did inform him and his supporters repeatedly, "that Mr. Hogan was incorrect in officiating against your will in St. Mary's Church;" and that, in all the advice which I gave, to have the charges against you sent to Rome for examination, and in my offers to send them, and to bring the case to a proper hearing and decision, I did so upon the assumption, that proper proofs of the charges should be first made out, and that I should be satisfied of their truth and their sufficiency: and that my object was to produce peace, by placing in a regular and orderly way, for proper decision, before competent tribunals, those complaints and recriminations, which had destroyed the peace of a large and respectable city, em-

bittered the comforts and destroyed the harmony of private families, and covered with obloquy and disgrace a church of which, however unworthy I may be, I was one of the bishops.

It now remains for me to show to you, and to my flock, that I am not guilty upon other severe charges which Mr. Hogan has thought proper to make against me. So far as I am individually concerned, I should have been content to be silent, and leave to those who know me, to say whether they believed me capable of acting as I am charged to have done. If I know myself, John England would be quite satisfied to say nothing upon the present occasion; but, the character of the individual will sometimes give a tinge to the estimation in which his office will be held, especially in a country where the nature and the duties of the office, and the qualifications necessary for the discharge of these duties, are very imperfectly known. And upon this ground, I feel myself called upon to give some additional explanations.

I shall, in the present letter, examine the following passages of the pamphlet:

P. 6. "In the course of my remarks on the Right Reverend Editor, I shall confine myself, exclusively, to a recital of facts; and I am prepared to show, from under his own hand, and from his own lips, that in his public and private calumnies against me, he is guilty of the most irreconcilable inconsistencies, and the most shameful departure from truth!

P. 10. "I consented, provided he appointed a clergyman in my place exclusively for St. Mary's Church. He pledged himself, in presence of the Rev. Mr. Power and the Rev. Mr. O'Hannan, that he would, if possible, find a clergyman to officiate in my place. I replied, that unless he could provide a clergyman, or satisfy the people of the propriety of my going for a time, I could not think of going with him.—His answer was, *as to satisfying the people, leave that to me; I will engage to do that.* Upon these conditions, entered into in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Power, and the Rev. Mr. O'Hannan, I expressed, in writing, my consent to become his subject.

P. 16. "The Rev. Mr. Hayden was then mentioned as one that would be acceptable, and Dr. England said, that should his application be successful, he and some other gentleman, agreeable to the congregation, should be appointed. To which Mr. Ashley replied, he had no doubt of his success, in that or any other request, that might procure the removal of the Rev. Mr. Hogan, as that seemed the only object Bishop Conwell had at heart; and again observed, that the trustees could not consent to be answerable for such a measure. To which Dr. England replied, 'Leave that matter to me; I will take all the responsibility from Mr. Hogan and the trustees.' He was then asked, whether he would address the people in the church? The answer to which was, 'Whenever it may be necessary.'

P. 18. "The day after being Saturday, I inquired of the right reverend editor, who was to officiate on the following Sabbath morning? His reply was, 'Shut up the church.' Of course, as he did not perform his promise, in procuring a clergyman to officiate in my place, nor come forward to satisfy the people, my contract was *ipso facto* annulled, and I continued the discharge of my functions in St. Mary's Church.

P. 19. "At the close of a few hours he believes every charge against me. I expected he might come forward in person, the following Sabbath morning, and reconcile the people, as he promised, with my absence.

P. 21. "I expected this letter would have allayed the rancour which, for some hours, seemed to have taken possession of the prelate's bosom. I hoped, that the recollection of his being the minister of the Most High, and having to approach his most holy altar on the following morning, would inspire him," &c.

The entire of this is reducible to a single charge, viz.: That I violated a contract which I made with him—which contract was, that if he came to Charleston, I would procure some clergyman to officiate in St. Mary's, or else satisfy the people of the propriety of his going from them for a time.

Now, if this was our contract it must be evident I did not violate it, for as he did not come to Charleston, I was not bound to perform my part of the engagement.

But, he states that I manifested a disinclination thereto, and gave proof of my want of intention to fulfil it, by telling him, "When he inquired *on Saturday*, who was to officiate on the following Sabbath morning," to "shut the church," and thus that he was released.

Now, suppose I made no such contract with him, it will be plain, that my telling him on *Saturday morning* to shut the church, would not, on my part, be a violation thereof. What are his own words? "He pledged

himself. in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Power and the Rev. Mr. O'Hannan, that he would, *if possible*, find a clergyman to officiate in my place." My answer is, then, very simple. It was *not possible* for me, because I had no right to give jurisdiction to any clergyman, when I had none myself—but, *I did all that was possible for me to do.* I consulted the clergymen of the city whether they thought the interdict under which the church lay, extended to prevent mine, or the Rev. Mr. Power's officiating in St. Mary's, and was told by them, that they were convinced I would do wrong, even if it did not extend so far, to officiate therein, as they had no doubt it would be against your wish. It was not possible, then, for me, nor for any other clergyman, to officiate there. But it was possible for me to apply to you, Right Reverend Sir, for power to appoint a pastor, and I did so, but I could not receive your answer in sufficient time for that Sunday. Why, then, did I not go to explain that to the people, as I contracted to do? The sequel will show.

But, suppose the procuring a clergyman, if possible, for St. Mary's, formed no part of my contract with Mr. Hogan, would I then have violated it, by not having a clergyman in the church? Now, the fact is, there was no such clause in our contract; and Mr. Hogan has not stated what was the fact, when he asserted that there was.

In my letter, p. 17 of his pamphlet, are specified, *all* the conditions which I bound myself to fulfil, and the manner in which this letter was given by me, will show that it must contain *all* the conditions to be fulfilled by me.

I arrived from New York in Philadelphia on the 16th of October, which was Tuesday: at that time the Mayor's Court was occupied in the inquiry arising out of the complaint of Mary Connell. Mr. Hogan called upon me: I was then, as I still am, under an impression of his innocence of the charges made by that woman. I received him in the manner in which I ought, from the impressions on my mind. On that and the next day we had several interviews, and from a determination which I had come to—not to see the lay gentlemen of either side, unless after I had closed, if I could, the ecclesiastical question—I declined the visits of some of the most respectable gentlemen who did me the honour of waiting on me, sending as my apology the determination I had formed. On Thursday morning, the 18th, Mr. Hogan and I had agreed upon the conditions of that letter, except the last two, the subjects of which did not then present themselves. Mr. Hogan was then asked by me to write a request to me to receive him into the diocess of Charleston, upon the conditions we had stipulated, and I showed him a form which I had drawn up, and which he was to copy. He then, for the first time asked me who was to officiate at St. Mary's, and seemed anxious to learn what should be done upon that head. I told him if he came to my diocess he would not be responsible for St. Mary's; and that, unless he chose to continue acting irregularly, he could not officiate there; and that, of course, it was the business of the Bishop of Philadelphia to appoint a pastor; that Mr. Hogan had no right to continue, and that he knew I had no right to appoint. Mr. Hogan said the people would be greatly displeased and disappointed. I stated that their displeasure or disappointment ought not to sway his determination, but he should weigh the propriety or impropriety of his own acts. He said he was disposed to follow my advice, but was at a loss to know how he should explain his conduct to the people. My answer to him was, that I would make his difficulties as few as possible—that he could very easily state that it was by my advice, as a friend whom he consulted, his acts were regulated, and throw the weight of explaining the grounds of that advice upon me. He then expressed a wish to see the trustees before he would write the letter. I distinctly told him that the impression upon my mind was that the trustees would not be pleased at his acting as I recommended; that now, I thought, he had received sufficient reasons from me to convince him that he would do right in following my advice; but that his seeing them would only increase his difficulties, and entangle him in embarrassments arising from former pledges, from feelings, and perhaps reproaches, which I wished him to avoid. I concluded by saying that, as a priest, he ought to be led by maxims of duty, and not by the wishes of any party—that he could see them if he pleased—but, that as I foresaw it would only increase his difficulties, I advised him against it. We then had a long conversation as to the consequences likely to follow from leaving the church without a clergyman; and with this distinct knowledge of my views, and with a distinct knowledge that I had no power to appoint a clergyman for St. Mary's, he took home the form which I gave him to copy, and sent me his application copied from that, requesting me to receive him into the diocess of Charleston, upon the condition, on my part, "of his having leave to go to Rome, should he think proper, to prosecute

on his own, or on the behalf of the Catholics of Philadelphia, any suit or suits he or they may think proper to institute against you," and promising "to obey me, and to be directed by me as his bishop." Thus, it must be plain that at that time I made no contract with him "to provide a clergyman, or to satisfy the people of the propriety of his going for a time;" and he not only "thought of going" without this contract being made, but actually agreed to go. I, indeed, promised him, that I would explain to his supporters the ground of my advice; and I fulfilled that promise, and told him that as the ecclesiastical part of the question was now closed, I would gladly see the lay gentlemen; and as I had before declined his invitation to dine, I now, in a message through Mr. Power, informed him that I would dine with him on that day, Thursday. Shortly afterwards I received his application, and whilst the Rev. Mr. O'Hannan was yet waiting for the answer, which I instantly wrote, at about 11 o'clock, Messrs. Ashley, Leamy, and Fagan did me the honour of calling. I, of course, could not then have forgotten the contract which I had just made, nor could I expect to keep from their knowledge so important a part of that contract, as that which was all they cared for, and what Mr. Hogan stated he insisted upon, and which, if I agreed to, he would have instantly told them.

What do they state? That I mentioned to them the substance of Mr. Hogan's communication, and of my answer, which contained all the conditions. When I mentioned the whole of my agreement and advice to them, they naturally saw that there was *no* provision for placing a clergyman in the church, and as naturally, page 12, Bishop England was asked what would become of the congregation in the absence of the Rev. Mr. Hogan, as it was observed that "while the grass was growing, the steed might starve." To which he replied, "the trustees might shut up the church," &c. Now, Right Reverend Sir, I will ask three questions: 1. If I had stipulated with Mr. Hogan, not an hour before, that I would find a clergyman to officiate in the church, would I have then told the trustees that the church was to be shut up? 2. If I told the trustees on Thursday that the church was to be shut up, was it necessary for Mr. Hogan to inquire of the Right Reverend Editor on Saturday, who was to officiate on the following *Sabbath* morning? And 3. If I contracted with Mr. Hogan to provide a clergyman for the church, must I not know he would give the trustees information of that contract?

I promised Mr. Hogan, that I would satisfy his supporters that he acted by my advice, and that I would endeavour to convince them, as I thought I had convinced him, that they and he would do well to follow that advice, and I redeemed this pledge, for those gentlemen swear, (p. 11,) that after explaining what that course was, "Dr. England went into a diffuse train of reasoning, to prove the necessity and propriety of the course he recommended."

I did not even lead them to hope, that I could remedy this want of a clergyman in the way they desired, for I told them, that it could only be remedied by your giving me, as a particular favour, permission to nominate a pastor, but which permission *I did* NOT *expect*. Thus, it is plain, I did not lead those gentlemen to think I would officiate, or procure a clergyman to officiate.

On that day before dinner, in the presence of Messrs. Power and O'Hannan, I told Mr. Hogan, that now he having left the diocess of Philadelphia, and being under my jurisdiction, might if he chose be absolved from his censures, as I had in that case your power to remove them. I then, upon the expression of his wish to have them removed, required him upon his knees to profess his full belief of all the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, to express his regret for his publications, to promise to obey the decisions of the See of Rome upon all the parts of his case, and until such decision could be had, *to obey me and to follow my directions upon each and every part thereof.* He made those declarations and promises, and I then absolved him upon those conditions; after which we went to dinner.

He after dinner said, that having now done everything which I required, he thought it was not incorrect to ask what he was to do in Philadelphia, and what I meant to do regarding him in Charleston. I told him, that of course he knew that if ever he had jurisdiction in Philadelphia, he had now resigned it; that I could not give him power where I had none myself, and that he must of course altogether cease from doing any ministerial acts, and prepare as soon as possible to go to Charleston. He made several observations upon the trouble which he said would probably follow the closing of St. Mary's, and said he should not like to witness it, and for many other reasons he was anxious to go as soon as possible, and in the course of the conversation he expressed his wishes for Mr. O'Hannan being placed near him, &c.

Next morning, which was Friday, Mr. Power informed me at an early hour, that Mr. Hogan wished to see me, and at the

same time showed me a paper which Mr. Hogan gave him, for my signature, stating all the conditions which I had agreed to as favourable to Mr. Hogan, and as conceived by him. Mr. Power expressed a strong suspicion of Mr. Hogan's dispositions, from some conversation which he had with him. I stated that I could have no objection to give in writing what I had agreed to, as I considered my word equally binding upon me as any other pledge I could give, and that I would ascertain Mr. Hogan's disposition by putting a test before long. Accordingly, after some conversation with Mr. Hogan, I accompanied him to his boarding-house, and whilst breakfast was getting, I made some verbal changes in the form presented by Mr. Power, stating my reasons to Mr. Hogan, which seemed to have their due weight with him. Mr. Power copied it during the time I was at breakfast. I then gave it to Mr. Hogan to reperuse, which he did. I then asked him if it contained *all* the conditions which he had made; to which he answered, that it contained more than he had hoped for, and expressed his gratitude. I then signed it, and presented it to him, on the morning of Friday, the 19th of October, and not on the 20th, as it is dated in the pamphlet, at about nine o'clock, at the house where he boarded, not far from St. Mary's Church. This is the document which is found in the 17th and 18th pages of his pamphlet. The copy differs from the original in two words towards the close of the second paragraph. The original has, "which I could not give you, did I believe you guilty of the charges advanced against you." Mr. Hogan has printed it, "did I believe you guilty of *any of* the charges advanced against you." This addition is immaterial, for the charges were those of immoral conduct, which I did not believe to be well-grounded.

Thus, I think it must be clear, that this document recites *all* that I had engaged to perform up to that period; and in this there is no mention of my having engaged to provide a priest to officiate at St. Mary's; but there is positive evidence by Messrs. Ashley, Leamy, and Fagan, that I distinctly told them, *on the preceding day*, that unless Dr. Conwell granted permission to me, and which permission I did not expect, to appoint a clergyman, *the church should be shut*, or only open to Dr. Conwell or his delegates.

My proof, Right Reverend Sir, does not end here. After I gave Mr. Hogan this letter, I then told him, "Now, sir, you are done with St. Mary's Church, will you give me the sacrament if it be in the tabernacle; and if you have got any particles in your pixis, that I may give it to the Rev. Mr. Cooper?" He assented, and we went together to St. Mary's Church, where, on his knees, he gave me the key of the tabernacle, from which I took the vessels containing the sacrament, which I removed thence to St. Joseph's, where I gave them up to the Rev. Mr. Cooper, to place the sacrament in the tabernacle there; and, as Mr. Hogan stated the vessels to be his private property, I brought them back to him. At leaving the church, I remarked, that God alone knew when mass would be celebrated there again; and I stated to him, that as he may feel a delicacy in attending at mass, on Sunday, in one of the churches, and as he could not say mass himself, and as he was free from censures, I would say mass, if he chose, at his house, to give him an opportunity of assisting at it.

Upon my return to Mr. Hogan's, I met Messrs. Ashley and Fagan, whom I informed of what had been done, and went into my reasons again at length. In their history of this interview they preserve much of the substance, but by no means the order of the conversation.

After I had given my reasons, Mr. Ashley remarked, that Mr. Hogan had acted from himself, and not by the advice of the trustees, and that before the congregation they stood blameless; and asked Mr. Hogan how he could reconcile his present acts with his former declarations, especially his late pledge to the people from the pulpit, to continue in the church? I interposed, and told Mr. Ashley, that perhaps at that time Mr. Hogan viewed the subject in a different light from what he now did; and that if any person was responsible, it was I who gave the advice. Mr. Ashley then said, that either Mr. Hogan or I should, from the spot in which the pledge was given, give an explanation to satisfy the people, that it was not the act of the trustees. I stated, that when I gave the advice, I did not know how the trustees were disposed, nor was I acquainted with their wishes, nor did I consult them, and that it was by my advice Mr. Hogan did not consult them, and of course the trustees could not be responsible. Mr. Ashley then said, he hoped the responsibility would not rest upon them, but where it ought. I answered in the very words stated by Messrs. Ashley and Fagan, "Leave that to me, I will take all the responsibility from Mr. Hogan and the trustees." I was then asked, "As I would not consent to officiate in the church on Sunday, and as Mr. Hogan, it now appeared, had determined not to officiate, would I address

the people in the church on Sunday, upon this subject?" I stated, "either there or in some other convenient place, when it shall be necessary." Mr. Ashley remarked in substance. "That the trustees did not wish to take a thorn from Mr. Hogan's side, and plant it in their own;" and added, with a significant smile, "At all events, Hogan, you have drawn your neck out of the noose very dexterously." It must then be plain, that the trustees were under the impression that I *made no pledge* to supply St. Mary's with a clergyman, and that it was to them, and not to Mr. Hogan, that I, on the preceding day, stated that I would apply to you, as a particular favour, for leave to appoint one, though I had no hopes of my request being complied with, and I redeemed this pledge by writing to you, Right Reverend Sir.

Messrs. Ashley and Fagan state that they waited on me "on Friday, to know what arrangement would be made, under existing circumstances, for the celebration of divine service on the ensuing Sunday; on which subject Dr. England deferred expressing his intentions until evening," (page 14.) Those gentlemen, together with Mr. Leamy, state in page 12, that on the preceding day I told them, "they might shut up the church." It must then be plain that I did not inform them on the preceding day, that I would officiate, or procure a person to officiate; but they state that I undertook to write to you for leave to appoint, &c. Why then call upon me next day, when they knew I could not have your answer? and why by my desire? The plain and full statement of what occurred will be the best explanation. Mr. Hogan having withdrawn without any stipulation with him for supplying St. Mary's Church, the trustees conceived they ought to try what could be done. Accordingly they instantly proposed their difficulty; to which I gave my answer. They calculated that I would have the power of appointment, and that, probably, before a week. Mr. Ashley stated, page 16, he had no doubt of my success—this conviction he expressed also on the preceding day. The entire difficulty was then reduced to this single point, Shall the church be closed on Sunday, or will any arrangement be made to have Mass? Not wishing hastily to decide, I stated that I would answer next day. After consulting the clergy, I was told you would not give me the power, nor be pleased with my saying Mass in St. Mary's. I wished to reconsider the case and declined answering until evening, to try whether the clergy would change their opinion. I found them continue unchanged. My determination and the opinion of the clergy were known in the evening, and then the trustees determined to procure Mr. Hogan's continuance.

In going with Mr. Hogan, subsequently to this conversation, to return the visit of Mr. Meade, who did me the honour of calling on me on Tuesday, I was asked by Mr. Hogan whether I would have any objection to Mrs. Ashley's attending my Mass at his house on Sunday morning, as he believed she would prefer assisting there to going to one of the churches. I stated that I had not, and that he might bring whom he pleased.

Finding my situation at the Mansion House extremely inconvenient, I requested that I might be directed to some private lodging, where my accommodation would be more suitable to my feelings. Mr. Hogan pressed me to use his house for the few days during which I was to remain, and to sleep there that night. I consented.

Rev. Mr. Power accompanied me thither from St. Joseph's, at about half-past ten o'clock. Mr. Hogan was not at home. Mr. O'Hannan received us. I instantly observed him to be greatly agitated and dejected; and Mr. Power gradually brought him to acknowledge that he feared the trustees had prevailed upon Mr. Hogan to retract his promises to me, and to bind himself to officiate on Sunday. I said it was impossible he could consent. Mr. O'Hannan replied there was no use in deceiving me—it was a fact. I asked what could be thought of him after having acted so? His answer was, "You would not blame him if you saw him—no man was ever so beset and worried." It was now considerably after eleven o'clock, and though Mr. O'Hannan pressed us to stay, Mr. Power and I went out, declaring we would prefer walking all night through the streets to remaining there, and returned to the Mansion House.

Next day was Saturday, and Mr. Hogan neither sent to me nor came to me to inquire "who was to officiate on the next Sabbath morning?" nor did I reply, "shut up the church." But he sent to request an interview, and I answered, "If he be not disposed to do what is right, I do not wish to meet him—if he be disposed to act as he ought, let him leave the occasion of being tempted by those people—let him leave town and not return until Monday, and then I will see him and forget what he has done last night." I have been informed, I do not know how truly, that he was twice on the point of doing so, but was prevented. I know two of his supporters came to inform me that he was going, and to know would

I speak to the people? I answered, that when he had left town, I would appoint the time and the place. At six o'clock one of his warmest partisans came to inform me that Mr. Hogan would not leave town, but would officiate next day. I then said, "I do not wish to add to his censures. By officiating he relapses into his former state—let him send me a request to release him from my jurisdiction, and I will comply with it—but let me have it in half an hour, and I will inflict no farther censure; but unless I receive it then I shall be obliged to issue an excommunication." I was told I should have it before twenty minutes. I waited four hours and a half, and at half-past ten at night Mr. Power and I called at his house; and Mr. Power served on him a formal monition, signed by me, directed to him as a priest of my diocess, not to officiate in a strange diocess in which he had no jurisdiction, and in which he was forbidden under censures to officiate, and declaring that if he disobeyed this monition and mandate, he, by the fact, would incur major excommunication, and the power of absolving therefrom reserved to me; and in my presence Mr. Power, having burst into tears, put it into his hand, informing him also of its contents.

Mr. Power and I retired to the Mansion House, and about twelve o'clock Mr. O'Hannan, accompanied by the person by whom I had sent the message in the evening, came to me with the paper which I was promised to have at half-past six. I said it was now too late, the monition had been issued and received. I, however, kept the paper.

Next morning, Mr. Hogan was at St. Mary's Church, at an early hour. I said mass at St. Joseph's, *after* I had been informed that he celebrated at St. Mary's. I then breakfasted, and was waiting to preach, when I was handed the letter in p. 19, which is there dated October 20th, that is Saturday, whereas the original was dated on Sunday, 21st, and the ink was fresh and the wafer wet, and in place of asking me to "proceed to-morrow afternoon," as in the printed copy, the original asked me to "proceed this afternoon;" and the words *possess ecclesiastical information*, which are marked in italics, allude to a conversation which I held late on Saturday night, and which he could not have known before it was held, and the complaint against Mr. Cooper was for a conversation which he had after nine o'clock on Saturday night. All these are so many palpable proofs of the letter being written on Sunday morning. What can be his object in studiously altering it to Saturday, and changing its context to suit the change of date, I know not.

My answer was written the instant after I read the note, for in the original there was a passage which I did not find in the printed copy, stating that he was anxious to announce to his flock at mass, that I would address them on that evening. After what had taken place, I looked upon the letter to be intended as an insult; to which I sent the answer, p. 22. The letter from Mr. Hogan, of the same date, was given to me with the wafer wet, on the morning of the 22d, in Willing's Alley, at ten o'clock. I did not read it, as soon as I saw the commencement, but returned it to the messenger, remarking that I knew no pastor of St. Mary's.

I trust it will be seen from the documents and facts which the pamphlet of my accuser contains, that it must be evident I did not either lead Mr. Hogan or the trustees to believe, either that I would officiate, or procure a person to officiate in St. Mary's Church, unless in a case which I stated to be improbable, viz., your giving me power to do so; and next, that before I promised to do even that, Mr. Hogan had, without any such condition being made, placed himself under my jurisdiction, and promised to obey me as his bishop; and that it was not in consequence of my not observing my promises to him, but in consequence of yielding to the trustees, that he declined fulfilling those solemn promises; and though I always, since I examined the case, was convinced that Mr. Hogan acted irregularly, I never then or now charged him with profligacy, because, though I have proof enough for the first charge, I have no proof for the second. But, I now repeat what I have before stated, that I was doing all I had promised to do, and he has thought proper, after acting irregularly, to charge me with being the person in fault.

It will also be perceived, that, to the last moment, I had not declined my intention of addressing the people as I had promised, though I was in doubt whether it would be proper for me to do so in St. Mary's Church. But, after Mr. Hogan had acted in direct opposition to my injunctions, and that at the solicitation of the trustees, I had little hopes of my address to the people being productive of any good effect; besides, the glaring impropriety of my appearing officially in the same church, with a person whom I had been obliged to excommunicate.

Your clergy told me, and I believe with good reason, that the consequence of my appearing in St. Mary's Church, would be, creating an erroneous impression, that I did

not consider Mr. Hogan to have been validly excommunicated.

Tedious as I have been, I must address to you another letter, to explain some other passages of the pamphlet.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir, your obedient humble servant, and brother in Christ,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, Sept. 12th, 1822.

SECTION VII.

WE feel obliged to J. F. of Baltimore, for his care in sending us the letters signed *Pacificus;* they cannot be immediately reviewed, but they shall not be neglected. Why would not J. F. entrust us with his name, or give us some reference to assure us that we may depend upon his statements? He must himself feel that we would act indelicately in giving to the public the name of any individual as the author of a publication, without knowing the authority upon which we gave it. It is true, that we have received duplicates of the same papers from Philadelphia, and the same name was written on the margin as the writer of the letters. We, however, do not know who the author in Philadelphia is, nor who is the writer in Baltimore. As to the other points of the letter of J. F., we have no doubt whatever of *Pacificus* not being a Catholic; the affectation of his phraseology is an attempt to exhibit technical knowledge and legal precision, and ecclesiastical information and close reasoning. Any of his paragraphs would instantly show that he is not only not a Roman Catholic, but that he knows not one particle of canon law, not even its first principles, not even the essential and fundamental principle of church authority. However, he shall have his day. But he must have patience for his turn.

We lay before our readers this day a letter to which, under other circumstances, we would not give insertion; because, whether the Bishop of Charleston was or was not, publicly and according to law, punished for a libel, or whether he wrote many libels, is not of itself the matter which we have proposed to discuss in this paper; but as this personal attack has been made upon him from the motive of revenge, for our having done our duty in exposing the want of jurisdiction in the young man employed in St. Mary's church, it is but just that he should have an opportunity of repelling that charge as he has done the others.

The young man in St. Mary's cannot understand why the ship he came in, and the captain with whom he sailed, were mentioned. There is an old saying, "None so deaf as they who *will not* hear." We would stake our lives for it he is at no loss to understand, and also that he will pretend not to understand the reason. His cousin George could understand it, and the captain understood it, but we will not trouble the young man with recollections where it is pleasant "to remember to forget." We have nothing to do with any part of his life or conduct, but with his public acts, regarding St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia. Those acts we shall examine as we please, and comment upon as we think proper.

LETTER III.

To the Right Reverend Dr Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—In my two former letters, I have explained those points of the Rev. William Hogan's pamphlet which principally regarded the transactions upon the nature of which you had a strict right to satisfaction.

Mr. Hogan has thought proper to place before the American public many other allegations which, if true, would very justly lower me in public estimation, and argue the impropriety of my retaining that place in the ministry with which I am charged.

I was, for some time, of opinion that, after having explained my conduct in Philadelphia, I should not have to obtrude upon the public; but I am otherwise advised, and it is suggested, that, having given a partial explanation, silence upon the other charges would, by many persons, be construed into an avowal of their truth. I shall, therefore, endeavour, as briefly as I can, to give the explanations which I consider necessary for my defence. Were Mr. Hogan and I in Ireland, I should not need to explain. The facts which he distorts are there well known, and, from the most virtuous and public spirited individuals, as well as in the public prints and at public meetings, I have repeatedly been complimented for those very acts upon which he demands my condemnation in this country. And I trust that, when they who have read his charges shall have read my statement, of public and notorious facts, I shall not appear so condemnable in their eyes as they may be at first led to believe I deserved.

The following are the passages which I shall first explain. I may not be able to review them all in the compass of this letter, but I shall exhibit them here:—

P. 7. "Probably the bishop dreaded he would injure his health by his attention to a party paper which he then edited,

and to which he seemed to be then exclusively devoted; or, perhaps, he apprehended he would injure his lungs by haranguing mobs at elections for members for the city of Cork; or, peradventure, he had some reason to fear the world would be censorious enough to remark, that it was not the province of a clergyman however virtuous or talented, to edit any party paper, or to become the head of any electioneering mob."

Do. "This young man, actuated, no doubt, by that generous ambition which always bespeaks a loftiness of mind not peculiar to all the sons of Adam, hearing that the Carolinas were constituted into a diocess, applied for the superintendence of them, and through the agency of some of his parliamentary friends, who never lose an opportunity of contributing to the happiness of America, obtained the appointment."

P. 19. "But our astonishment ceased *when we recollected the editor of the Southern Reporter, author of sundry libels, for one of which he had been publicly, and according to law, punished.*"

P. 31. "You seem not to be acquainted with the progress of the human mind in this great and vast country; your long acquaintance with convicts, and cells, and gallows, might have enabled you to form accurate ideas of the base and more corrupt passions of the human heart; but it appears you have never looked at the fairer side of human nature, or never seen the bright and progressive aspect which the human soul wears when it breaks through the fetters of slavery, and shakes off the encumbrances of ignorance, despotism, and superstition, as it has done in this country; otherwise, vain as you are, you would not dare to introduce amongst us, its inhabitants, the absurd and revolting doctrine of blind obedience and non-resistance."

P. 13. "It may be proper here to remark, that Dr. England, in going to the wharf, stated to Mr. Ashley, that from his knowledge of the Rev. Mr. Hogan in Ireland, he was perfectly convinced the report of his having been suspended in Ireland was as groundless as it was unprincipled."

They are reducible to the following charges:

1. That I edited a party paper in Cork, to which I seemed to be exclusively devoted.

2. That I was editor of the Southern Reporter, and author of many libels.

3. That I was publicly, and according to law, punished for one of those libels.

4. That I headed an electioneering mob in the city of Cork.

5. That I ran the risk of injuring my lungs by haranguing the said mob.

6. That all this was inconsistent with my duty as a clergyman.

7. That, having heard of the erection of the Carolinas into a diocess, I applied for their superintendence.

8. That I obtained the appointment through the interference of my parliamentary friends.

9. That my parliamentary friends never lose the opportunity of contributing to the happiness of America.

10. That I dared to introduce into this country the revolting doctrines of "blind obedience and non-resistance."

11. That I appear not to be acquainted with the progress of the human mind in this vast and great country.

12. That, from my long acquaintance with convicts, cells, and gallows, I am incapable of forming accurate ideas of freedom of soul.

13. A statement by Messrs. Leamy, Ashley, and Fagan, that I stated to Mr. Ashley that, from my knowledge of Mr. Hogan in Ireland, I was convinced the report of his having been suspended in Ireland was as groundless as it was unprincipled.

The first charge contains two statements. First, that I edited a party paper in Cork; second, that I seemed exclusively devoted thereto.

Before I proceed to give distinct answers, I must give an explanation. A respectable friend of mine, at one time a most opulent bookseller in the city of Cork, and a most respectable Roman Catholic, is now, together with his two sons, whom I shall have occasion to mention, in this country, after having experienced great vicissitudes of fortune. This gentleman was half proprietor of one of the best-conducted and most profitable papers in Ireland,—*The Cork Mercantile Chronicle.* He became embarrassed. His partner in the newspaper stated that, as the failure occurred in the book department, and the paper, which was a separate concern, was flourishing, he would either sell his moiety for a stated sum, or purchase the other moiety for the same. A number of the most respectable and opulent Roman Catholics of the city, amongst whom were the former and the present bishops, and the former and the present deans of the diocess, entered into a subscription, and purchased one moiety from the partner and the other from the creditors, for the benefit of the family. They had two objects in view, one

to save the property, the other to uphold the principles of the paper, and they wished to find a person to whom they could confide both: after considerable inquiry, they unanimously requested me to undertake, not the editing, which was then conducted by a very eminent lawyer, but the trust. I had two objections: one, I knew that as the paper was conducted upon the avowed principle of supporting civil and religious liberty, and as the trustee was liable for every line it contained—for, by the Irish law, he is the person punishable, whoever may be the writer—I would be exposed to the continued hostility of the attorney-general, who avowed that he was anxious to extinguish that print on account of its republican spirit, and vindication of Catholic rights; the second was, that I could not undertake it without the bishop's consent. The bishop having not only given the consent, but having joined in the request, I undertook the property as trustee for the two minor sons of my friend, as by the law I could be trustee only for minors, persons of age being themselves responsible. The paper was certainly, as might be seen from its files, a party paper, inasmuch as it spoke the sentiments of *the friends of civil and religious liberty*, who in Ireland are not the people, but a party,—and inasmuch as it spoke the sentiments of the Roman Catholics, who in that country are also *a party*. I was not the editor, but I frequently wrote for the paper before and after accepting the trust, and occasionally, in the absence of the editor, conducted the print. My associates in contributing to its columns were those men who still continue fearlessly, in Ireland, to express those sentiments of which an American may be proud. If there be found in its columns during my trusteeship a single sentence favourable to despotism, or opposed to rational liberty, let me meet the abhorrence of every friend of freedom, whether in Europe or America.

The second part of this first charge is totally untrue, for during that period I successively held the following situations, all the duties of which I regularly discharged: the chaplaincy of the city prisons; that of the Presentation Convent of Nuns for the education of poor children; that of the Magdalen Asylum; the lectureship of the cathedral; the superintendence of the diocesan seminary, and teacher of philosophy and theology therein; inspector of the poor-schools of the city, which contained upwards of two thousand boys; and secretary to the Fever Hospital; and was on the committees of several charitable institutions. Many of those situations I held together, and was during the entire period secretary to the diocess, and secretary to the Board of Examiners of Candidates for Holy Orders.

The first part of the first charge is then untrue in the sense which it was meant to convey to the public. The second part is altogether opposed to the truth.

The second charge is, I believe, in its first part, only a mistake of the name of the paper,—for my impression is, that Mr. Hogan knew nothing of the case but what he learned from some vague rumour. If he were acquainted with the facts, the Southern Reporter is the last paper with which he would connect my name, for it was a paper in the pay of the British government; and one of the duties assigned to it, was the abuse of the Roman Catholics who would not consent to barter the remnant of their liberties, and the purity of their religion, for pensions for the clergy, and eligibility to office for the laity; and as I was one of the most active in opposition to those destructive and enslaving measures, I saw myself exhibited, week after week, in the columns of the Southern Reporter, sometimes as a star, and sometimes as a cloud, sometimes as a madman, sometimes as a very Daniel. If, then, the Reporter contained libels, they were not mine. The second part of this charge distinctly states that I am the author of sundry libels. Was this assertion made by a person whom I would choose to appear against in any court of justice, I believe I could, in America, obtain a verdict against him as a defamer, unless he could show that I wrote more libels than one: but I shall be satisfied to lie under the censure due to a libeller, if either Mr. Hogan, or any other person, will produce one libel of my composition, or [in] which I was a participator.

The next charge is, that I was publicly, and according to law, punished for one of those libels. I pray your attention to the facts. In the year 1816 I was trustee for the Chronicle: in the paper of the 1st of April, 1816, the following paragraphs appeared:

"COMMISERATION OF A LANDLORD.

"Whilst we feel gratified in recording the many concessions made in these calamitous times, by landlords to their distressed tenants, we cannot refrain, however painful the task, from the statement of an instance of an opposite nature, which our public duty compels us to notice.

"Within the last month, a poor tenant, not more than twenty miles distant from the city, had keepers placed upon him by his

landlord for an arrear of rent, amounting to about £5. The tenant, unable to pay, shared, as an Irishman always will, his dry potatoes with the persons sent to prevent the removal of his little stock. The day of sale arrived, the landlord came upon the premises, the stock and furniture were set up and knocked down, and still the produce did not suffice to pay the arrears and cost. His little stock of provisions was sold, even to the last bushel of potatoes. The wife of the tenant, surrounded by twelve crying children, ran in a distracted manner from her dismantled and dreary dwelling; the heart of the landlord could not resist the impression which such a scene was calculated to create, human feeling was not yet dead within him; he turned from these miserable objects, and declared, "*upon his honour, it was a pity that one half of them were not shot!!!*" and he departed, lest the delicacy of his nerves should not be able to withstand the impressions. Was all this done for the £5? No, reader, it was not! It was done for recovering the land. It is an exhibition of one minor transaction of that extensive system which has been the bane of Ireland. The landlord had but a residue of two years' interest in this ground, and the tenant had a demise for that period. The head landlord was known to be a nobleman who had determined to give a preference to the occupying tenant; and therefore the under landlord, or middleman as he is called, was anxious to have the land in his possession; and it was not for the £5 that the distress was levied, but for the purpose of driving the occupant from the land. But whither was he to be driven? or to whom was he to look for assistance? How were his children to be supported? We cannot answer these questions. This is one great cause which has driven the unhappy peasantry of Ireland to desperation. The owners of the estates are absentees,—the middlemen and the agents are generally good friends,—and the name of the occupier is not on the roll exhibited to the lord paramount, or if by chance his name should be mentioned, he is, as we have known to be the case in one very extensive estate in this county, not long since out of lease, returned as a labourer or a cottager; and thus, ejected from their dwellings, driven from their homes, vagrants through the country, out-canted, and rendered penniless and hopeless—these unhappy persons enter into combinations which civilized society cannot tolerate, and must punish. But whilst we acknowledge the necessity of preserving order, let us shed a tear over the victim, and cherish the hope that the day may not be distant when the poor Irish slave may be protected by his landlord, and be allowed a small participation of the blessings with which heaven rewards his toil.

"In the case before us, a remedy has been, we trust, found,—because the agent of the nobleman, upon whose estate this occurrence took place, was a man of humanity, and has interested himself on behalf of the wretched family; he had certified the statement of the poor man, who, by the contributions of his neighbours, has been enabled to proceed to London, to look for a renewal of his lease from the noble lord, and we have very little doubt that his prayer will be granted. We regret to say, that the mesne landlord is a clergyman. How unlike other reverend gentlemen, whose humanity we had occasion to applaud! They say he expects shortly to be decorated with the magisterial mantle. Want of space prevents our entering more at large upon this subject at present."

I never was believed to be the writer. Mr. Goold, who was the leading counsel for the gentleman who brought an action against the trustee of the paper, for damages in the Civil Court, at the trial, I copy the words from the printed report, "lamented that the reverend gentleman should be found sacrificing his functions, and in violation of his sacred office, his time, whether with the consent of the higher powers or not, to him was not known, but he found this reverend gentleman to be the responsible, legal proprietor of the 'Mercantile Chronicle;'" and again, "the plaintiff has no enmity to Mr. England, and he equally admits that he is convinced that reverend gentleman neither had nor has any enmity to him. I believe they do not even know each other; but though he is convinced that Mr. England *was not* the author of the paragraph, and that he had no participation therein, still he holds Mr. E. accountable, if he will not produce the writer."

Mr. Quin was leading counsel for me; he answered one part of Mr. Goold's speech in the following words: "Gentlemen, Mr. England is the proprietor of this print in a very peculiar manner. My learned, and I am always to add, my eloquent friend, Mr. Goold, stated something about the exercise of 'unprecedented functions' in public prints. Gentlemen of the jury, if the exercise of benevolence be unprecedented, if amiable benevolence be unprecedented, then my client has indeed been unprecedented. Gentlemen, he has been, and he is the benevolent trustee of the respectable but unfortunate family of *****. He, gentlemen, as trustee for that family to that establishment, at the

request of a number of the most respectable amongst his fellow-citizens, stands upon the highest ground of Christian benevolence." "Gentlemen, this is not a case, as Mr. Goold would have you believe, between two individuals; it is not founded upon a charge of malice; it is an action brought by an individual against the proprietor of a public print to whom no malice has been imputed, whom the very plaintiff acquits of malice."

"You will recollect also, that neither counsel nor evidence insinuated that the defendant had any intention to injure or to give pain to the plaintiff."

"Now, how does he prove his case? By bringing witnesses to prove that the transaction described took place between himself and his tenant; that it was known in the vicinity; that it was talked of, and then that it was inserted in the paper without the mention of names, without the designation of place, and that the moment it appeared the whole transaction was so accurately described, no person who knew the transaction could doubt but it was meant for him."

In the examination of the witnesses there were two defects fatal to the defence; the first, the words attributed in the paragraph were not spoken by the landlord, but by a person in his company; of course, the landlord, upon this part of the case, should succeed. Next, the tenant who was the principal witness to support the allegations, repeatedly stated, that although all the facts of his case were described in the paper exactly, and that he read the paper, having been told that his case was described therein, and having sworn that the description was exact and accurate, yet he would not undertake to say, that the landlord and tenant described were his landlord and himself. The jury, who were twelve landlords, being special, declared their conviction that he perjured himself in this last statement. They, upon that ground, rejected his testimony altogether, and of course found a verdict for the plaintiff to the amount of one-fifth of his claim. This was the libel for which I was publicly, and according to law, punished.

I knew nothing of the facts, neither did the editor of the paper, and my consent was given to the insertion of the article, after I had been applied to for the purpose, by a most benevolent man, who had no connexion with either of the parties, but who had learned the facts in the neighbourhood, and who pledged himself to me that he believed them to be true. The names were not mentioned to me, and I stated the conditions of insertion to be, that no individuals should be pointed out, and that it should be made a subject for giving a general view of the evils of Ireland, arising from the oppression of the industrious by the idle.

I could have withdrawn from the responsibility of the trial by the offer of the plaintiff, but I had been requested by the writer of the article, for whom I had the highest esteem, and who has since died in his benevolent attendance upon the sick, and who was the father of an amiable family, not to give his name, as the inconveniences that would arise from the uneasiness of that family, would be afflicting to him. I respected him too much not to comply with his request. Mr. Hogan knows a brother of his in Limerick, who is also a pattern of benevolence and patriotism. The testimony of their fellow-citizens, of every religious denomination, and of every gradation in society, has given to those gentlemen, a character well earned by their acts. For such men, engaged in such a cause, I should, at any time, be happy to volunteer my feeble aid. And at the trial, though he said upon the law he should decide against me, the presiding judge, Johnson, declared his concurrence in the following sentiments, expressed by my leading counsel, Mr. Quin:

"But, gentlemen, there is one matter, which, in despite of my learned friend, I must advert to and draw your serious attention to. Mr. England is proprietor—you have learned under what circumstances. It is an essential part of the political economy of every well-regulated public print, that all transactions bearing upon the public feeling, interest, or of national prosperity or adversity—that every transaction acting upon the interest, degradation, or feeling of a portion of the community, shall be observed upon and freely discussed, with energy and spirit, but certainly with temper and understanding; and it is for the benefit and very existence of society that such print so acts; and let me tell you, that the print neglecting to discharge so imperative a duty, deserves not the name of a public press. Such a press, so venal, betrays its own authority, the country, and the constitution. Under such a press crime will grow so big, so monstrous, as to shake the land to its centre; in such a case, it is only the free press that can show guilt in its deformity, make vice hide its head, and from the glorious transcendent emanation of an honest press, give vigour, and health, and independence to the land. And if any subject in this country require the animadversion of the press—if any subject is capable of interesting the feelings of the great, the good, the wise, in this nation, it is the identical subject upon which this paragraph in question is the theme! All things are weak—every sub-

ject is minor to the high consideration of the happiness or misery, the comforts or calamities of that vast population, the 'peasantry of Ireland;' the high consideration of the relative situation of the governor and the governed, the union or disunion of landlord and tenant, the union and bond which link and tie in unison two relative parties, which cannot, by art, by stratagem, or by force, exist together, except in reciprocity of action, by the natural and reciprocal ties of generosity on the one side, and gratitude on the other. That happiness and peace can only have life and animation where the lordly master can feel the full impulse of generous sensibility, and never allow himself to indulge in a greedy, avaricious, and grinding oppression of the unfortunate cultivator of the soil. In this country, particular circumstances will occur between landlord and tenant, which, from a variety of causes, much as we must deplore them, still continue to exist; in all such circumstances, it is the duty of us all to lean to the side of the unfortunate peasant; and when such is the case, the grand object for the security and peace of the country is, that a mellowed system should be acted upon towards the peasantry, and which system can only have existence in the humanity of the landlord. Gentlemen, it is demonstrated to you that Mr. England received the paper in question —that he knew not of himself the parties— that it complained of gross, indecent oppression on the part of a rich landlord, and a clergyman, upon a poor tenant, a peasant, himself cultivating the soil which he rented, and which was now about to be out of lease —he inserted it under those feelings, and conceived he was only discharging a duty which the liberty of a press imposed upon him, namely, as a proprietor, to notice the intrenchment upon the rights of society in general terms, at a certain risk; he has done so, and he now stands in a situation to meet the charge and to encounter the risk."

The judge, in charging the jury, stated, "That although he must give it as his opinion that a verdict must be had for the plaintiff, yet he must urge upon their consideration, that it was evident there was no crime, no malice on the part of the defendant: and the only fault which he appeared to have committed, was that of too easily receiving the statement without sufficient scrutiny; perhaps he relied upon others for examination; on all hands it was agreed, the paragraph, so far as the statement of alleged facts, did not originate in the office, and was published without ill-will. But, why not give up the writer? That neither I nor the jury can answer—perhaps the trustee of this paper ought not. It frequently happens, that it would destroy the sources of intelligence which a public print possesses, were they to be pointed out, besides the situation in which a trustee stands regarding the property of others, is very delicate."

The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, but even his own witnesses proved the statement, with the exception of the mistake in attributing the words spoken by one person to another, to be substantially correct.

From this statement, copied chiefly from the report of the trial taken down by shorthand writers in the court, and immediately printed and widely circulated, the value of Mr. Hogan's charge may be appreciated.

I know not what the public of America, who know not the system against which the paragraph was directed, may think of such a libel; but I know, that continuing the system to which it was opposed, has made Ireland the wretched abode of fever and famine, which it is to-day.

Whilst Mr. Hogan was indulging in pursuits more to his taste, I was to be found using my best efforts to avert the ruin which I foresaw, but which a host of greater and better men than I am could not prevent. I regret that the publication was so highly coloured—I regret its mistake in attributing to one man what was said by another—and I regret that the writer was not more guarded in his special description, to avoid pointing out an individual; but I was not the author, nor did I know the parties.

I have already swelled this letter too much. I shall close for the present, and resume the other topics in my next.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir, your obedient humble servant, and brother in Christ,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, Sept. 18th, 1822.

SECTION VIII.

LETTER IV.

To the Right Reverend Dr. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—In my first two letters to you, I proved from Mr. Hogan's own pamphlet, that my conduct had been greatly misrepresented in his publication. I did not, at the period of writing these letters, intend to go out of the pamphlet, and thus load the case with additional documents; but some of my friends who have seen the documents which I hold upon the subject, are of opinion that I would be guilty of great injustice to myself, were I not to exhibit them. I shall, therefore, comply with their wishes and defer examining the charges

enumerated in my last letter, until I shall have exhibited those papers, the originals of which, I shall, if you require it, send to Philadelphia for your inspection and examination, and that of any other person who may desire it.

I stated in my second letter, that Mr. Hogan sent me a written application to be received into the diocess of Charleston, without making any condition for my supplying St. Mary's Church; and, that in my answer to his application, there was no such condition agreed to on my part.

Before my leaving Philadelphia, I returned Mr. Hogan's letter upon my receiving back my own, but the following copy was taken at the time:

"To the Right Rev. Dr. England, &c., &c.

"RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—In order to facilitate the arrangements which you propose, for healing the wounds inflicted on religion in this city, I beg to inform you, that I shall retire from the diocess of Philadelphia, provided you receive me into that of Charleston: upon condition, however, that I shall have full leave to take such lawful and canonical steps as may be necessary for the vindication of my character, and the prosecuting before the See of Rome, such suit or suits as may be proper to obtain for me, or for the Roman Catholics of this city, such redress as the Holy See may judge fit to grant for the wrongs *which we allege* have been done to us.

"As to my publications and conduct, I only have to say, that I leave to the Holy See to judge and to decide upon both; and that after it shall have been made fully acquainted with the facts, I shall most cheerfully submit to its decision. Meantime, *I shall be guided by you as my bishop* in the future *regulation of my conduct*.

"I have the honour to remain, your lordship's humble servant.

"WM. HOGAN.

"October 18th, 1821.

"ENDORSED.—Received from Rev. A. O'Hannan, October 18th, 1821, in Philadelphia, with answer.

"This is a correct copy taken by me from the original.

"A. O'HANNAN.

"October 20th, 1821."

My answer, which was returned to me by Mr. Hogan's messenger, on the night of the 20th, was as follows:

"To the Rev. Wm. Hogan, Philadelphia.

"Philadelphia, October 18th, 1821, Eleven o'clock.

"REVEREND SIR:—I feel much gratified at the receipt of your letter, which Rev. Mr. O'Hannan has now handed to me.

"The conditions which you make are so reasonable, that I cannot object to them. Your submission to the Holy See is sufficient for me. I do think, that under all the circumstances of your case, it will be better to lay all the facts before that tribunal. Your pledge to abide by its decision, warrants me in exercising the jurisdiction which I have received from the Bishop of Philadelphia, upon the condition of your coming to my diocess, and that which I possess as delegate of the Holy See within my own diocess, where I hope soon to meet you.

"The details will be better arranged in an interview between us this evening. Meantime, I beg to say, that I have the authority of Dr. Conwell for your leaving his diocess. His consent, and your own wish both concurring, I now receive you as belonging to the diocess of Charleston, and trust that you will always find in me a bishop anxious to direct you in the discharge of your duties; and, from your several conversations with me, I anticipate your zealous co-operation with, Reverend Sir, your bishop,

"† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*"

It is plain, Right Reverend Sir, that when Messrs. Leamy, Ashley, and Fagan, first conversed with me, which was after I had received the above application, and despatched the above answer, which I was closing when they came in, Mr. Hogan had retired from Philadelphia, and been received into Charleston, in the full extent of canonical usage; and this without any pledge "under my hand," or "from my lips," of providing a pastor for St. Mary's—without Mr. Hogan's stating it as one of the conditions, without obtaining which he could not retire. It is also plain, that these gentlemen, who were informed of the substance of these letters, saw that there was so such condition, and, therefore, *they* sought to obtain it, and finding it impossible, they prevailed upon Mr. Hogan to remain in Philadelphia.

The next point to which I will draw your attention, Right Reverend Sir, is to Mr. Hogan's publication of my note in pp. 17 and 18. When I wrote my second letter, I did not intend to publish the documents which I now give; and finding that I could vindicate myself without exhibiting the variations of that copy from the original, I determined not to notice the alterations which were made. I, therefore, only remarked upon what was a substantial error in the close of the second paragraph, and corrected

its meaning after having merely looked to the substance, without having the document before me.

I shall republish Mr. Hogan's copy, and give the original. You will then observe the changes, and be at no loss to determine their object.

Mr. Hogan's alleged copy is this:

"October 20th, 1821.

"REVEREND SIR:—You having agreed to the terms, which I conceived myself bound to make, to settle the differences now existing in the congregation of St. Mary's Church, requires on my part, a distinct recapitulation of the conditions I then proposed.

"You shall have a mission in my diocess, which I could not give you, did I believe you guilty *of any of the charges advanced against you.*

"You shall have my permission to go to Rome, to institute any suit or suits which you or the Catholics of Philadelphia may think proper, *for the recovery of your rights.*

"Should you wish to leave my diocess, you shall have my permission, with testimonials founded on a just view of your future conduct.

"You shall receive a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum, from whatever institution you may serve, or to which I may think fit to appoint you.

"I shall endeavour to place you and the Rev. Mr. O'Hannan as near to each other as possible, and the interest of my diocess will permit.

"† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*"

Copy from the original, and compared and agreeing with the copy taken by the Rev. Mr. Power on the spot, at the time:

"Philadelphia, October 19th, 1821.

"REVEREND SIR:—You having agreed to the arrangements which I conceived myself in conscience bound to make, for the restoration of peace to the congregation of St. Mary's, in this city, requires, on my part, a distinct recapitulation of the conditions which I proposed to you, and which I now repeat.

"1st. You shall have a mission in my diocess, which I could not grant did I believe you guilty *of the crimes with which you have been charged.*

"2d. You shall have my permission to go to Rome for the purpose of prosecuting any suits, which you or the Roman Catholics of this city may institute before the Holy See, *for any acts hitherto done, or connected with the late occurrences in Philadelphia.*

"3d. Should you, at any time, wish to leave my diocess, you shall have my permission to do so, and testimonials of your conduct, founded upon a just view of your future behaviour.

"4th. *Should I deem it prudent, and you feel it convenient to reside with me, or be otherwise employed by me for the service of religion,* you shall receive from me, or from whatever institution you may serve, at the rate of $800 per annum.

"5th. Unless it should be, in my opinion, inconvenient to the service of the diocess, I shall endeavour to place you and the Rev. Mr. O'Hannan as near each other as possible.

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

"To the Rev. Wm. Hogan."

You will observe, Right Reverend Sir, that in this genuine document I made no mention of *his rights.*

The next document is a sketch of my view of Mr. Hogan's case, together with my opinion upon that case, as stated by himself, which I drew up on the evening of the 17th, after having supposed the truth of all the assertions made against you by Mr. Hogan. I used it as a sort of memorandum to guide me in the advice I should give. I read it for Mr. Hogan more than once, on the morning of the 18th. I read it for Messrs. Leamy, Ashley, and Fagan, on the 18th; and I read it for other friends of Mr. Hogan, on that and on the following day, dwelling upon and explaining its several parts and propositions, as I found necessary, to endeavour to impress upon them the propriety of being guided by the principles which it contained. I read it also for the Rev. Mr. Hurley, and I think some others of your clergy, and I believe for Mr. Carey.

It is a slovenly production, without form, because it never was intended to be exhibited, and was merely taken down to keep in view the train of reasoning upon which I gave my advice, supposing even that you were guilty of all the faults charged by your opponents; but I prefer publishing it in its unpolished state, to making even the slightest alteration.

"Principles upon which the divisions of Philadelphia can be healed.

"*Statement.*—Rev. Mr. Hogan has been censured by the bishop. His moral character has been aspersed. He denied the validity and legality of the censures. He officiated in the church of St. Mary's, which was interdicted. He administered sacraments, aspersed the moral character of a number

of clergymen in his publications, and denied the truth of the charges against himself.

"1mo. No person can be a judge in his own cause. Therefore, Mr. Hogan must either submit to the sentence of his bishop, or appeal to a higher legal tribunal. All other acts are injudicious, illegal, and destructive, even of a good cause, in every tribunal, civil and ecclesiastical.

"2ndo. The Bishop of Philadelphia is the regular ordinary; therefore, all his acts are presumed valid and regular, unless *proved* irregular and invalid, *coram judice*. The conviction of truth upon the mind of any individual, or number of individuals, *is not proof coram judice*. Therefore, the sentence must stand, even though there should be a conviction upon the public mind of its irregularity and invalidity, *until it be set aside by the proper judge;* and though the irregularity and invalidity should be proved to millions of persons, this proof will not avail, unless they be the regular judges: because the proof is *coram non judice*.

"3tio. The congregation of St. Mary's is *not* the canonical judge. The archbishop is, in some cases. The See of Rome can be in all. The archbishop is not now here; and even if he were, he has already refused to entertain the original question: and by one side is strongly suspected of being a party to the question to be tried. Therefore, Rome is now the only tribunal which can and ought to be appealed to for obtaining a *judicial* setting aside the sentence pronounced by the lower tribunal.

"4to. A person free from censures stands upon better ground in court, than an appellant under a sentence, the reversion of which he seeks. Therefore, Mr. Hogan should endeavour to place himself in that situation, without injury to his case, did he mean to go into court.

"5to. A person who, having acted injudiciously and illegally, ceases to do so, and expresses sorrow for his injudicious and illegal acts, stands upon better grounds in court, than one who continues those acts; those acts once committed, and not retracted, are in canon as well as in civil law, presumed to continue. *Mr. Hogan's acts have, in many instances, partaken of both those qualities*. Therefore, he should rectify this error, did he mean to go into court.

"6to. It is always better to appear in court as plaintiff, for an injury sustained, than as defendant to a cause. Mr. Hogan can complain of injury sustained, only when he has been obliged to leave what he claims as his situation. He is virtually a defendant even in an appeal, whilst he still holds, even by force of the congregation, and the law of the land, that place which the bishop claims to be his by canon law: for judgment must be given by the canon law, not by American civil enactments."

From those principles, it must necessarily follow:

1st. That Mr. Hogan acted wrong, in assuming to himself to be judge in his own case.

2d. That he acted wrong in not submitting, *in foro externo*, to the bishop's sentence, until it should have been set aside by a competent tribunal.

3d. That this competent tribunal is either the court which inflicted the sentence, or its delegate, or its superior, i. e. the Bishop of Philadelphia, or his delegate, or the See of Rome.

4th. That it would be imprudent in Mr. Hogan to appear before the See of Rome under censures.

5th. That Mr. Hogan ought to discontinue his injudicious acts, by retracting his pamphlets: *and his illegal acts, by desisting from the discharge of his clerical duties in the diocess of Philadelphia*.

6th. That thus he will stand upon such grounds, in any suit for injustice, in which he may choose to be plaintiff, as will bring his case under far more favourable consideration than it could otherwise obtain.

Note upon the heads 3tio and 3d.—It must be remarked, that Mr. Hogan can, if he chooses, by one act, place himself in such a situation as would give jurisdiction to a delegate of the inferior court, viz., of the Bishop of Philadelphia, to do away all the effects of the sentence, *except so far as the territory of the diocess of Philadelphia is concerned;* and thus the necessity of an appeal to the superior court, viz., Rome, for removal of censures, would be rendered unnecessary: for in case Mr. Hogan withdraws from the diocess of Philadelphia, and places himself under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Charleston, the Bishop of Charleston as delegate *pro tanto* of the inferior court, will absolve him, in *foro externo;* and *interno*, so far as may be necessary, from the censures, *ab homine*, inflicted by that court. And as the delegate of the superior tribunal, viz., of Rome, by virtue of special powers of delegation, which the bishop will exhibit, he will absolve from all irregularities and censures, inflicted *a jure*. Nor will Mr. Hogan be thereby prevented from the vindication of his character, in any mode he may think proper—nor from becoming a plaintiff before the See of Rome, for any alleged injury against the Bishop of Philadelphia, or any other person; but, on the contrary,

by doing this act, he will plainly stand upon better ground for all those purposes.

Messrs. Ashley and Fagan testify, page 14, enough to show, that I did use those reasons "in support of the advice which I had given;" but they indeed reduced the entire to this: "he mentioned" * * * "that the Rev. Mr. Hogan would have much greater advantages, by appearing as plaintiff against Dr. Conwell, than by acting as defendant; to obtain which advantage, it was necessary he should relinquish his present situation in St. Mary's Church." Perhaps those gentlemen thought my reasoning reducible to their statement. They also testify in the same page, that I stated Mr. Hogan was incorrect in officiating against your will in St. Mary's Church. Perhaps they thought the word incorrect was equivalent to *illegal and invalid;* for I repeatedly told them, that the acts requiring jurisdiction, such as absolution in confession, and the like, were all *invalid.*

I shall close this communication by exhibiting to you the copy which Mr. H. gives in his pamphlet, p. 19, of a letter, which he states he sent me on Saturday, the 20th of October, and the exact copy of that which I received:

"October 20th, 1821.

"RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—I regret the omission of a mere formula should prevent you from doing what you conceived would be of paramount advantage to religion. I have agreed to all your propositions, though some of them required the sacrifice of my rights and feelings. I only objected to the mode of complying with them, seeing that it would be detrimental to the cause of religion in general, and to my flock in particular, who, by such a mode of procedure, would be deprived of all the comforts of religion, and involved in the consequent miseries thereof. Should you, Right Reverend Sir, permit me, I shall mention to my congregation, that you will, *as you have said,* address them *to-morrow afternoon,* and restore them that peace they stand so much in need of. I shall have all things arranged for the occasion; of your success you seem to have no doubt. I do not presume to dictate to you,—but it appears to me that, in matters wherein the vitality of religion is supposed to be concerned, we should not stand on formalities. Were I to *possess the ecclesiastical information* of others, perhaps I should *act* differently; but possessing only what answers my purposes, and wishing *to display it only for the good of religion,* I have taken the liberty of again giving you my ideas on this subject; and assuring you, that in all our intercourse *in this business,* I only require the protection of my honour and veracity. Were my own interest alone concerned, I should yield to your wishes; but the rights of a large and respectable congregation *are at stake;* and under such circumstances, could you require of me to leave them, without even wishing them farewell? Put your hand to your bosom, and ask yourself, whether you would thus leave a congregation who had protected *you against the most villanous machinations;* no, sir, you would not; it is not human nature, and religion requires not the total overthrow of humanity. Reflect, again, and again, I beseech you; and if you think well of it, proceed *to-morrow afternoon* to heal the wounds *which, you say, have been inflicted on religion.*

"Your Rev. Pastor, Mr. Cooper, actuated by his usual zeal, or, perhaps, under the influence of one of his periodical fanaticisms, is spreading over the city sentiments which I believe you never *expressed.* I wish you would *discard such madmen from your society, and act from the impulse of your heart.* Should you *prefer* an interview with me, I shall *have the honour of waiting on you* when or where you please.

"I have the honour to remain your humble servant,

"WILLIAM HOGAN."

Letter received by me, and copied *without changing a letter,* marked on the back in my own writing, on the spot, "Received in Bishop Conwell's house, at half-past 10 o'clock, on Sunday, October 21st, 1821. Answered immediately."

"RIGHT RE'D SIR:—I regret the omission of a mere formality should prevent you from doing what you conceive would be of permanent advantage to religion—I have agreed to all your propositions, tho some of them required the sacrifise of my wrights and feelings; I only objected to the mode of executing them, seeing that it would be detrimental to the cause of religion in general and to my flock in particular, who by such a mode of procedure, would be totally deprived of all the Consolations of Religion and involved in all the consequent miseries thereoff.

"Should your Lordship permit me, I shall mention to my congregation that you will address them *this afternoon* for the purpose of restoring them, that peace they stand so much in need of. I shall have all things arranged for the occation, of your success you have no doubt; *neither have I.* I do not presume to dictate to you; But it appears to me, that in matters, wherein it

is supposed the vitality of religion is *even locally* concerned, we should not stand on mere formulas—*did I posess 'the delicate sense of moral feeling* or *extensive* ecleseastical information of others' I may *think* differently, But posessing only as much as answers my purposes of *both those qualifications* and wishing only to make a *parade of them for the benefit of my fellow creatures*, I have taken the liberty of again giving your Lordship my ideas on this subject and assuring you that in all our intercourse I only required of you to protect my honor and verracity *which you know have been pledged to my congregation*—were my own interest alone concerned, I should submit to your wishes on this occation, but the wrights of a large and respectable congregation, *nay their eternal salvation is concerned*, and under such circumstances could you require of me to leave them even without bidding them farewell? Put your hand to your boosom and ask yourself, whether you would leave a congregation who have protected *me from persecutions of the darkest hue* in such a manner. No, my Lord, *your greatful and generous heart would spurn at it*, it is not human nature. and the establishment of religion requires not the total overthrow of human nature. Reflect again and again I besiege you, and if you think well of it proceed *this afternoon* to heal the wounds, *which imprudence, (not to say worse) has inflicted on our holy religion, I shall be no obstacle in your way.* Your Rev'd. Pastor Mr. Cooper actuated by his usual zeal, and perhaps under the influence of one of his periodical fanatiscisms, is spreading all over the city sentiments which I believe you never conceived—*this I can prove.* I wish my Lord you would *act from the impulse of your own noble and generous heart—let me conclude by assuring you again on the honor of a priest and a man, that the warmest wish of my heart is to promote the interest of religion, and that I am ready to make any reasonable sacrifise to accomplish it in this city.* Should your Lordship *wish* an interview with me, I shall *meet you when* and *where* you please.

"I have the honor to be your humble servt.

"W. HOGAN.*

"Oct. 21st, 1821."

Mr. Hogan has, therefore, in this document, made serious alterations to suit the changes of date, which it was very material to preserve; because on the 20th, Mr. Hogan had done no act which would have induced censures. But, on the 21st, at the time of my receiving the letter, he was actually under a reserved major-excommunication, inflicted by myself. On the 20th, he had done no act which would have prevented me from addressing the people under proper circumstances; but on the 21st, his acts deprived me of the power of addressing them.

I do not complain of his suppressing the compliments which he paid to my heart, for I value equally his compliments and his reproaches. I shall neither be flattered by the one, nor feel pain from the other. He can neither bestow upon me the permanent brilliancy of a star, nor the consumptive qualities of a meteor. But I do complain of any change in a document which forms part of a case submitted to public opinion. Such a change is unwarrantable.

Whether the document given in the 22d page as Mr. Hogan's note to me, be or be not a true copy, I cannot say, for I returned it unread. That given as mine is correct, except the date, which ought to be "Sunday, half-past 10 o'clock." This is material.

In my next, I shall explain the succeeding charges made against me by Mr. Hogan. I remain, Right Reverend Sir, your obedient humble servant, and brother in Christ,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, Sept. 25th, 1822.

SECTION IX.

LETTER V.

To the Right Reverend Dr. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—Allow me to continue my defence upon the charges made against me by the Rev. Mr. Hogan, in his pamphlet, and enumerated in the third let-

* [Although a stern necessity compels us to make an exposure of the ignorance as well as the criminality of a fallen and faithless brother in the priesthood, we cannot allow such a document as the foregoing to pass without protesting against its being taken as a specimen of the ordinary style in which Catholic priests, even of the most moderate abilities and education, are wont to express themselves. Certainly, no superior would be justified in recommending, and no bishop in ordaining, a youth so completely deficient as this unfortunate young man evidently was, in the most common branches of an English education. It sometimes, however, though rarely, occurs, that, by a reprehensible lenity and indulgence, a person is admitted to holy orders without the requisite education, and consequently, without a Divine vocation. And experience has shown, that the usual result is, as in this case, the ruin of the unhappy youth, and the scandal of religion.]

ter which I had the honour of addressing to you. I have met the first three charges. I now proceed to the fourth, "That I headed an electioneering mob in the city of Cork." The fifth, "That I ran the risk of injuring my lungs by haranguing the said mob." And the sixth, "That all this was inconsistent with my duty as a clergyman."

To you, Right Reverend Sir, no explanation is necessary for the purpose of enabling you to judge of the nature of Irish elections for members of Parliament. But, for the public of America, to whom Mr. Hogan has denounced me as a mob leader, explanation is essentially required, because the elections there are conducted in so different a manner from the elections here; and the ground upon which the interference of a clergyman in the one place may be demanded, not existing in the other, the mistake arising from the difference of circumstances would, probably, lead to an unwarranted conclusion unfavourable to me.

The short history of facts, and these facts public and notorious, will be my defence.

In the civil war which raged in Ireland upon the accession of William III. to the throne of England, the Irish, who were principally Roman Catholics, and who had a powerful army, made a vigorous stand at the city of Limerick, which surrendered upon terms of capitulation, amongst which was a solemn guarantee to the Irish Catholics, for the undisturbed possession of their property, the free exercise of their religion, and the full enjoyment of their civil rights.

No sooner had they laid down their arms than this treaty was violated by the King of England, who pleaded as his excuse, the refusal of its ratification by the English Parliament. The Roman Catholics of Ireland were plundered of their property, divested of their franchises, and persecuted with the most relentless cruelty.

After nearly a century of unparalleled sufferings, the Irish Catholics began to experience a little sympathy from some of their fellow-subjects, and a degree of commiseration from the English government, or, at least, the semblance of commiseration from its policy. Amongst their earliest, most strenuous, and unalterable friends, the father of the present Lord Donoughmore, Mr. John Hely Hutchinson, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, was conspicuous. He was then a member for the city of Cork. Mr. Hutchinson was succeeded by his son, Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, now Lord Hutchinson; and upon his promotion to the peerage after his conquest of Egypt, the Hon. Christopher Hely Hutchinson was elected in his stead. Every member of this family strenuously supported the claims of the Catholics, as well in the British as Irish houses of Lords and Commons.

In the year 1812, an Orange party was privately formed in the city of Cork, for the purpose of opposing the return of Mr. Hutchinson, or any other member of this family, to parliament, *because of their support of the Roman Catholics;* and because Mr. H. was considered by the party to be an admirer of republicanism, and an advocate for a reform of the corruptions in the British government. The party succeeded after a close struggle, and *Mr. Hutchinson lost his seat because he had voted for Catholic emancipation.* If Mr. Hogan were a Roman Catholic elector of the city of Cork, would he have felt no humiliation at beholding the representative of that family, to whose exertions he had been greatly indebted for regaining his right to vote, driven from the city for those exertions? If he would not, I do not envy his feelings. I was then a freeholder of the city of Cork, and of the very few Roman Catholics who was legally qualified to vote for a member of parliament. I had the honour of being acquainted with Mr. Hutchinson, and some of his family, and was informed by his brothers, the Hon. F. H. Hutchinson, and the Hon. Ab. H. Hutchinson, before the close of the election, which lasted seventeen days, that from a review of the votes given, and those expected, they had no doubt of their brother's defeat, and were convinced it was owing to the supineness of the Roman Catholics who could qualify, but did not qualify, that their brother was turned out of the representation of the city; and remarked, that nothing could tend more to diminish the number, and to damp the ardour of their parliamentary friends, than to find the Catholics negligent in supporting the persons who had earned the hostility of the government, by their efforts to relieve a suffering people.

I must own, that my pride and my feelings were roused by the remarks, and I was struck by their force; and my spirit was still more excited when, upon going into the court to give my vote, I found every menial of the Castle of Dublin, who had the freedom of the city of Cork, from the dancing master to the cook, &c., sent down by the government to vote against Mr. H. As an elector, I had a right to address the court if I thought proper. I was requested by many of my friends to do so. I did speak, not to a mob, but to as respectable an assemblage of electors of the city of Cork, as were ever together at one time. I was an elector of the city. I did not conceive I had lost my civil rights by becoming a clergyman. I

was a Roman Catholic I owed my right to vote, in a great degree, to the father of the man on whose behalf I spoke. I was a clergyman of that church for attempting to save which from persecution he was suffering. I thought I owed him support and gratitude. Swarms of Protestant clergymen had come to vote against him, some of whom had spoken against his principles. I held the principles which they attacked, and I was requested by my fellow-citizens to defend them. I did speak in their defence. If this be a crime, I am a criminal.

I feel abashed and humbled, Right Reverend Sir, at being forced to write the history of those acts in this country; but I am driven to those explanations by my assailant, in whose language I once was "the patriot" for those very acts. And as I am compelled to enter upon the topic, I will state, that when from my occupations of a more pressing nature, I was able to snatch a moment, I endeavoured to redeem the pledge which I on that day gave, that the friend of the Roman Catholics should not again lose his return whilst I could exert myself; and I did redeem it. The gentlemen with whom I was associated did place on the registers of the city upwards of 1200 Catholic electors, where there had not been before 200; and although the intolerant portion of the Protestants had the exclusive power of making freemen of the city, the liberal Protestants, united to the Roman Catholics, succeeded so far as to be able to send in from thenceforward two friends to religious liberty, as the city representatives. I had the honour of being, for some years, a principal of this association, of which I was the founder, and which consisted of some of the most wealthy merchants of the city, some of the most enlightened professional gentlemen, and some of the most extensive landed proprietors of the county, and all the independent and liberal electors, and several friends of civil and religious liberty, who were not electors. Some of them indeed were poor in pelf, but they were rich in a commodity, the value of which Mr. Hogan probably can estimate. They had consciences and honour, which all the ecclesiastical trustees of America could not purchase.

From the nature of the situation with which they honoured me, I had frequently to address this body; but, thank God, my lungs have outlived the exertion, and are not injured. As I have been frequently complimented by the public thanks of the people, for what they were pleased to call my services, I can the better bear with Mr. Hogan's reproach. As my efforts have been successful, it is fit that my vanity should be checked by occasional rebuffs, lest I may forget my weakness; and in the celebration of my triumph I am sufficiently humbled, when I look at the companion by whose side I am placed, and from my own experience I applaud the wisdom of the ancients. However, I have two sources of consolation. Our opponents acknowledged, that whilst we firmly asserted our own rights, and subdued them, we avoided hurting their feelings, or exasperating them after their defeat —that, although we were victorious, we were not insulting. The other is, that for the performance of those acts, I did not omit the discharge of my duties, because I devoted to their performance only those hours which more polished and better educated gentlemen were accustomed to give to the sports of the field, and to other amusements not so incompatible, I presume, with the clerical character.

I trust, Right Reverend Sir, the people of America will consider that it was not unbecoming in a Roman Catholic clergyman in Ireland to manifest his gratitude to a man who, together with his family, have been the steady, laborious, and beneficent friends of the Roman Catholics—who have come forward in their behalf, at a moment when every one else held back or opposed them. That it was not unbecoming in an Irish Roman Catholic clergyman to give the support of his vote to an individual of that family, which greatly contributed to confer on him the power of voting. That it was not unbecoming in a Roman Catholic clergyman, at the request of a respectable portion of his fellow-citizens, to assume an active place in sending into parliament a friend to civil and religious liberty, who had been put out of his place for having maintained that no man should be persecuted for his belief, and that governors should not be permitted to infringe upon the rights of the people.

Those were my acts—I am yet to learn that they were unbecoming. They were performed under the view of two successive bishops, who governed the diocess, and who themselves aided, as far as they could, to promote the object for the success of which I laboured, and who both not only authorized, but encouraged me to the labour. But I ought to have recollected, Right Reverend Sir, that I am reproved by Mr. Hogan, who is a better judge of ecclesiastical propriety than all the bishops he has ever known.

The state of unfortunate Ireland is not like that of America. Here, although the Roman Catholic religion labours under several disadvantages, there is no state persecution, and hence the Catholic clergy are not

called upon to interfere in state concerns. As similar causes to those in Ireland are not here found, similar acts would not here be regarded as becoming in a clergyman. Hence, too, what may be here unbecoming, was there justifiable.

The succeeding charges are: "6. That having heard of the erection of the Carolinas into a diocess, I applied for their superintendence."

Mr. Hogan is perhaps led by a general principle of human nature, which he cannot subdue, to make this untrue assertion. Man generally judges of other men by the criterion of his own disposition; and it is only by studying the difference of character, and making due allowance therefor, he is enabled to avoid the rash conclusions to which he is generally impelled by the delusion and fallacy of his assumptions. I shall not judge Mr. Hogan by his assertions; but I can assure him that, however he might have acted under similar circumstances, he has stated of me what was not the fact. I can assure Mr. Hogan, that *my emigration was not an act of necessity*—it was not a step which my own indiscretion compelled me to take. My departure, and my intention of departing, were matters of public notoriety, and I did not find it necessary to conceal either the time or the place of my embarkation. I *might* have remained at home, and was quietly and happily living in the midst of my family and friends, in a parish in which my income was twice as great, and my labour twice as little as those of my present situation; and the bishop of the diocess, who had twice before refused me leave to come to this country, and who had refused to comply with a written request of the congregation of the *Propaganda* in Rome, to the same effect, was concerting measures to promote me to the best situation in the diocess, and I knew the wretched system under which the Catholic clergy of the United States were placed, and the miserable compensation which was doled out for their services; so that, if under those circumstances I did apply for the superintendence of the Carolinas, it must be allowed I did not act from motives of interest. I am not a person who has deserted a flock that treated me with kindness, to exhibit in a more fashionable city; but when I was retiring canonically, I introduced my successor to my former flock, and saw their wants supplied before my departure. Neither did I receive their money for services which I had not performed, and withdraw before the expiration of the time for which I had been compensated. Under these circumstances, I cannot perceive why Mr. Hogan should lay so much stress upon my applying for the superintendence of the Carolinas.

But what is the fact? I never did apply—but I was applied to. Two years before the erection of the diocess of Charleston, I was applied to for the purpose of learning whether I would allow my name to be placed upon the list of volunteers for foreign missions, in the office of the congregation of cardinals *de propaganda fide* in Rome. I consented, with one restriction, viz., "except for a British colony." The Bishop of Cork, about twelve months afterwards, informed me that he had some reasons to believe there was an intention of requesting me to go on some foreign mission, as he had been required by the cardinal prefect of the congregation *de propaganda* to make a report of my qualifications—that he had answered the demand, but hoped I would remain at home. Some of my friends, who had been in Rome subsequently, informed me that they saw my name on the list, and that a resolution had been entered, to suffer it to lie aside until an appointment in a republic should be necessary, in consequence of remarks upon my political principles. Soon after this, application was made to Rome for the erection of new diocesses, and the appointment of bishops for a portion of the United States; and I had actually been named for Charleston, before I heard that Charleston was to be erected into a see. The first intimation I had was a letter from Rome, representing the Catholic Church in America to be in imminent danger of extinction, from the uncanonical usurpations of the laity in several places, and the unprincipled conduct of a few of the clergy, who, in place of upholding the discipline of the church, misled the people and involved them in schism, and requesting me to recollect my offer of service, and prepare to set off for Charleston, to the government of the church of which I had been appointed—that the documents were expediting through the necessary formalities, and would be quickly transmitted, and that it was expected I would be ready instantly to act upon them.

Mr. Hogan, who had no opportunity of knowing any one of those circumstances, thought, I suppose, it would tell something in his favour to make the assertion, and to create a prejudice by the insinuations which, with equal want of truth, he has linked to the principal untruth.

His next charge is, "That I obtained the appointment through the interference of my parliamentary friends."

This is not a random shaft, and if I be rightly informed, has not been shot by Mr. Hogan. I have many reasons for thinking

that a man of more ability than Mr. Hogan fights in Mr. Hogan's name. A young gentleman, who is more expert in the field, has assumed his place, and combats in his armour. That, however, makes nothing for the truth or falsehood of the charge. The question is not, "who makes it?" but "is it true?" It is not true. From the statement which I have just given, its falsehood must be apparent. My parliamentary friends! Indeed, they are easily counted up. I have moved in too humble a sphere of life to have many friends or acquaintances in the British Parliament. I repeat it—Mr. Hogan never knew me, does not know my history, *even now he does not know me*—our acquaintance has been too brief. In both houses of the British Parliament my acquaintance does not extend beyond twenty or thirty members of the Lords and Commons, and of those perhaps I go the full length when I call one-fourth of them my friends. When Mr. Hogan penned his assertion, he perhaps thought to flatter that vanity by which he knows I am so completely swayed: but I have been humbled, I shall resist the temptation, for if I have reason to be proud of some of my acquaintance at the other side of the ocean, I have reason to blush for at least one new acquaintance I have made at this side; I shall not then be cheered and elated by the music of "parliamentary friends."

Unfortunately for the truth of the statements of my new acquaintance, the very few parliamentary friends whom I had, used their utmost exertions to prevent my emigration, and in those efforts they were joined by my own family, and my other friends; but, when I give pledges, I am in the habit of redeeming them, and my answer was, "that although I had every objection to the climate of the Carolinas, and had no ambition to contend for the principles of church government with self-sufficient individuals, who neither knew in theory, nor exhibited in practice, the principles of the religion which they professed, sometimes without believing, and sometimes without understanding; yet, as I had volunteered to place my services at the disposal of the Holy See, I would accept the appointment."

But, what could induce Mr. Hogan, or his substitute, to invent this fable of the interference of members of the British Parliament, in the appointment to American bishoprics? Of course I can only form a conjecture, and judging from the conduct of the party by which Mr. Hogan is employed, I find a very obvious motive. Those men who profess to be Roman Catholics, have uniformly endeavoured to overthrow the Roman Catholic Church government. I have read the tirades of the principal opponents to our religion against our clergy. I have known the virulence of the worst spirit of persecution in the British dominions; but, in all that I have read or known, I have not found a spirit more hostile to Catholic Church government, than the spirit which animates an infidel of the modern school, or what is called an American, independent Catholic. There is, in almost every other opponent, a feeling of decent forbearance—he may condemn you and openly oppose you, but the infidel and the pretended Catholic will profess to belong to the church, will endeavour to obtain dominion over its clergy, and claim to be its governor and protector, at the very moment that he despises its ordinances, ridicules its observances, derides its practices, mocks its ceremonies, and denounces its most ancient and venerable solemnities as unbecoming superstitions. Those men, unable to reason justly, and careless of truth, lay hold upon the public prejudices of our separated brethren, to enlist them on their side, and hence they endeavour to raise against us the feelings of a people who are justly jealous of their liberties, by insinuating, that some of us are the minions of a body, whose dominion they flung off because of its injustice. And they wish to have it believed, that the head of the Roman Catholic Church makes appointments to the American sees, to gratify the members of the British Parliament. And those men say they are Roman Catholics!!! But, as their statements are untruths, their expected conclusions must vanish. The American people will examine testimony, discover evidence, and become acquainted with the truth. If Mr. Hogan will prove the truth of any of those charges which I have rebutted, I shall consent, during the remainder of my life, to be placed on the same level with a person who could deliberately publish palpable untruths, garbled documents, and mutilated statements, as the correct testimony of the acts of a person to whom he once professed friendship and gratitude.

The ninth charge is, "that my parliamentary friends never lose the opportunity of contributing to the happiness of America." Of the truth or falsehood of this I can give no opinion. I know neither their opportunities nor their contributions to the happiness of America. But, on behalf of those gentlemen, I thank Mr. Hogan for his kind notice of their merits; and on behalf of America, to which I feel a strong attachment, and for whose prosperity I have been always interested, I thank those friends who

never lose an opportunity of contributing to its happiness. But I must confess, that notwithstanding Mr. Hogan's respectable testimony, I am not quite convinced of the fact.

I shall trouble you, Right Reverend Sir, with some farther explanations in my next. I remain, your obedient, humble servant, and brother in Christ,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, October 4th, 1822.

SECTION X.

LETTER VI.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—Much as I have intruded upon you, and upon the public with my defence, I still feel myself forced to continue the examination of the charges brought against me by the Rev. Mr. Hogan.

His next charge is, that I dared to introduce into this country, the revolting principles of "blind obedience and non-resistance."

Much of the apparent difference of human opinion would vanish, Right Reverend Sir, could words and phrases be invented, which should convey to the human mind only the same or similar impressions; but one of the inconveniences of our present situation, is the imperfection of language. The same set of words, even to persons using the same language, do not convey always the same idea to the same person, nor similar ideas, at the same moment, to different individuals. Did Mr. Hogan, or his substitute, vouchsafe to inform the public, in the first place, what they meant by the principles of blind obedience and non-resistance, the charge would be intelligible. Did the writer next specify the time, and the place, and the matter, and the manner of my guilt, I might be able to come forward, and demand an acquittal upon disproving the statements. But, I am allowed no such opportunity: the whole charge is expressed in these words—"Otherwise vain as you are, you would not dare to introduce amongst US, *its inhabitants*, the absurd and revolting doctrine of blind obedience and non-resistance."

To the charge of vanity I plead guilty. I am sorry for it, and for many other faults to which I am subject. But, as I stated in my last, I have been humbled, and my humiliation ought to pacify my opponent were he generous. I have been placed by the side of Mr. Hogan, and knowing him as I now do, my vanity has received a most severe and salutary check. But when, or where, or how I did dare to introduce the absurd and revolting doctrine of blind obedience and non-resistance amongst the inhabitants of this country, I am at a loss to learn. To this charge I plead "not guilty." I have not yet the honour of being a citizen of the United States, but I forfeited my freehold rights in my native country, to become a citizen here. I stripped myself of privileges which I actually possessed, and subjected myself for five years, to the inconvenience of undergoing a probation in a strange country, before I could regain there equivalent to what I had at home. Yet, I do not claim, on account of that sacrifice, to be preferred to a person who had no such sacrifice to make. I have never, since the moment of my arrival in the country, intermeddled with its politics; and the only paragraph which I ever wrote upon the subject, was contained in my first address to my flock.

"Your past conduct, and what we have learned of your dispositions, leave no doubt upon OUR mind, of your devotion to the interests of the state, and of your determination to fulfil your duty as citizens. You need not OUR exhortation on this head. But do not deem it presumption in US, who have not yet the honour of being an American citizen, to have adverted to the topic; for were it necessary, it would have been OUR solemn duty to call upon you for the preservation of the public peace, and the maintenance of those liberal institutions by which you are so well protected: for WE are the minister of the GOD OF PEACE, who has placed the sword in the hand of the governors for the good of society. And WE have for a long time, admired the excellence of your CONSTITUTION; and being desirous to behold your eagle grow in strength and beauty as his years increased; whether he rested in majesty upon the basis of the wisdom, the moderation, and the fortitude of your government; or lifting himself on the pinions of your prosperity, and surrounded with the halo of your multiplying stars, fixed his steady eye upon that sun of rational freedom which culminates for you as it departs from the nations of the East."

I am greatly in error if this contains "the absurd and revolting doctrine of blind obedience and non-resistance." Perhaps Mr. Hogan does not wish American citizens to be under the necessity of preserving the public peace, and maintaining their civil institutions, whilst those institutions afford sufficient protection. I must confess I do wish it, and I consider it equally their duty

to obey the government, whilst it fulfils its part of the social compact, as I consider it their right to change the mode of government when it becomes injurious, or oppressive, or inefficient, and to remove the governors when they become unjust, tyrannical, oppressive, negligent, or incapable; but, whilst I admit those rights in the body of the people, collectively or in convention, I am far from allowing, that every individual who imagines the governor to be unfit, or the government to be bad, a right to disobey the laws of that government, or to resist their execution by that governor. An individual has a right to appeal to the rest of the community; and if he succeed in convincing them of the correctness of his views, together with them he has his share of the right which belongs to the body, but not to the individual. But, if that community maintain the government, and support the governor, this individual ought to obey the law, or to depart from the nation; and if compelling the individual to remain quiet should he stay, and advising him, in such a case, to obey the authority of the state in which he resides, and not to resist its laws, be teaching the doctrines of blind obedience and non-resistance, then am I guilty. The principles here laid down are the basis of my political creed.

Those principles have with me been unchanged. I profess in America what I professed in Ireland, and what they who were my associates in Ireland still profess. I may indeed say with truth of myself, what was said not exactly in the same meaning of others, *Cœlum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.* I have not in America changed nor dissembled a single principle, either political or religious, which I have cherished. The political principles which I held in Ireland may be easily known from the facts mentioned in my last letter. Obscure as I was, Mr. Hogan knew them before he came to America from public testimony, for they were publicly known in Ireland. When I came to America, Mr. Hogan knew them, not from the paragraphs of papers from the southern states of America, for at the time Mr. Hogan wrote his pamphlet, in which he called me the star, and the patriot, and the divine, and the scholar, and the gentleman, and all the other fine names, no paper in the southern, in the northern, or in the middle states of America, had "inserted a puff to please him," p. 5, except a few extracts from Irish papers, which appeared once in an evening paper of this city, soon after my arrival. Nor was it "those puffs which elicited the above eulogium," p. 5; there was a more natural cause for the flattery. But vain as I was, thank God, I was not allured by his bait. The newspapers in Ireland, some of those in London, and other parts of England, long since have published the political principles of the insignificant individual, the value of whose politics to the world is poor indeed. But still valueless as they may be, he has testimony of what they were.

On the 30th of August, 1813, an attempt was made, in the city of Cork, by some agents and expectants of the British government, to prevail upon an aggregate meeting of upwards of ten thousand Roman Catholics of the county to adopt the principles of blind obedience and non-resistance, and, amongst others, I was one of the successful opponents to the measure. Mr. O'Connell, and a few others, and I, exerted ourselves and defeated the union of government agents and aristocrats, who combined against the people. Nor were the people ungrateful. I can still exhibit the address with which I was presented by them, and the chalice with which it was accompanied by the Roman Catholics, when a large and most respectable deputation of my fellow-citizens, appointed at a meeting of "the friends of civil and religious liberty," did me the honour of waiting upon me at the seminary which I then governed, to thank me. I shall not load my letter with the address, but I give you the inscription of the chalice—"*Rev. Johanni England, donum Civium Catholicorum, indefessum ejus erga* PATRIAM *fortunatumque laborem, admirantium. Corcagi, Augusti die* 30*ma*, 1813."

When I was leaving Ireland, I received, in my own parish in Bandon, from the friends of civil and religious liberty, a public dinner, the president at which was a Presbyterian, and one of the vice-presidents a Protestant of the Church of England, and several of the gentlemen who attended were of other persuasions. They kindly added a valuable piece of plate, with a suitable inscription, as a testimony of their regard for me, not so much as a clergyman, but as a friend to my country.

In the city of Cork upwards of one hundred and fifty of my fellow-citizens did me the honour of giving me a public entertainment, after my consecration, and to which some of the richest and most independent and public-spirited members of other religious denominations subscribed, and at which they attended. The chairman was instructed to inform me that it was meant to compliment me, not so much as a clergyman, but as a friend to civil and religious liberty.

After leaving home my countrymen did

not forget me. I received the following letter in due course from the highly respectable chairman of the Roman Catholics of the county in which I lived:

"Cork, 20th April, 1821.

"My dear Lord:—As chairman of a most numerous and respectable aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholics of the county and city of Cork, held at Carey's Lane Chapel, in this city, on Monday the 2d instant, I have the honour of transmitting the subjoined copy of a resolution, adopted by that meeting unanimously, and with a degree of enthusiastic acclamation which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to convey any idea of by words. With the feelings of Irishmen your lordship, I am persuaded, is already well acquainted; and never were those feelings more warmly or unequivocally exhibited than in the manner in which your name, and this well-earned tribute to your past exertions in favour of Ireland, were received upon that occasion. Counsellor O'Connell, who proposed this resolution, prefaced it by a glowing and beautiful panegyric on your lordship's public and private character, *and your patriotic exertions in the cause of civil and religious liberty*, which was among the happiest efforts of his powerful eloquence, and was alike honourable to his head and heart.

"I regret my utter inability to do justice either to Mr. O'Connell's speech, or to the feelings of the meeting at which I had the honour to preside; but I cannot conceal the sincere and heartfelt pleasure which I experience in being selected as the organ of making this communication; and I trust your lordship will do me the justice to believe, that in unabated admiration of your powerful exertions in favour of your native country, whilst residing on this side of the Atlantic, and in fervent wishes that success may attend your future labours in the cause of religion and humanity in the free and fortunate land of your adoption, no individual at that meeting participated more warmly and sincerely than, my lord, your lordship's devoted and very sincere and obedient servant,

"Thos. Stephen Coppinger.

"To the Right Rev. Dr. England, Bishop of Charleston, S. C., &c., &c."

The following is a copy of the resolution of the aggregate meeting:

"That the chairman be requested to convey, in the warmest manner, to the Right Rev. Dr. England, our unabated admiration of *his patriotic and powerful exertions in favour of Ireland whilst amongst us*, and our fervent prayer for the success of his endeavours in the cause of religion and humanity in the free country where he now resides."

My fellow-labourers are the acknowledged friends of civil and religious liberty, and no fact has been adduced to prove that I have changed my principles. Upon those grounds I assert the charge to be unfounded. To principles of blind obedience and non-resistance in civil and political concerns, I have always been an opponent. Did I attempt to introduce them into the country it would be, on my part, inconsistency which would be despicable, and high treason to the state, for which I ought to be punished. I unequivocally state that the charge is as devoid of truth, as it is of even the shadow of grounds for its support. In Ireland I have been treated with a propensity to republicanism. In America I am charged with introducing the principles of blind obedience and non-resistance. I have lived longer in Ireland than in America, and was better known in Ireland than I am in America.

But, perhaps, my religious principles were those to which Mr. Hogan and his deputy alluded.

My religion is strictly Roman Catholic. I am not taught by that the doctrines of blind obedience and non-resistance, neither have I taught them.

You know, Right Reverend Sir, what are our principles—allow me for an instant to examine them. The Roman Catholic religion gives me the following simple maxims for my guidance:—1. That I am a creature, and consequently bound to obey my Creator. 2. That I have an understanding which I am bound to submit to that Great Being, by believing, upon his authority, what he reveals to me, though the nature of the proposition which he reveals should be above my comprehension. This obedience I call faith, and this faith must be founded upon evidence, not of the doctrine, but of the fact that God has revealed it, and this evidence is to be established by testimony. 3. That I have a will which is to be submitted to the law of God, of which law I must have evidence, but which evidence must also rest on testimony. 4. That when I have sufficient evidence of God's revelation and law, I am bound implicitly to adhere to them, and to observe them. 5. That although this evidence be founded on human testimony, still the obedience is paid not to human, but to divine authority. 6. The Roman Catholic Church exhibits to me evidence that her doctrine has been revealed by God, and that her code of morality has been given by God; that the general rules of her discipline were given by God, and that he gave authority to the body of the Apostles, and to their successors, to the end of the world, to regulate the special observance of those general principles, by special laws adapted to the circumstances of time and place; and I have evidence that the successors of those Apostles are the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore, when I teach that we are to obey the authority of the successors of the Apostles, I teach only what God has taught, and obedi-

ence to God is not what is generally understood by "blind obedience," because it is the duty of the creature to obey the Creator. Neither is it teaching "the doctrine of non-resistance" as it is generally understood, to teach that man ought not to resist God; or if teaching those doctrines be what Mr. Hogan means by blind obedience and non-resistance, I plead the truth of the fact; but the absence of guilt in the action, because obedience to God is no crime nor absurdity, nor is this doctrine revolting to reason, though it may be revolting to pride, and to infidelity, and to ignorance; and it is a doctrine which I would dare to teach anywhere, because it is truth, and of course it is reason.

But it is intimated that I told Mr. Hogan to submit, and blindly to obey and not to resist. If Mr. Hogan was to be believed in other parts of his pamphlet, Right Reverend Sir, I told him you should submit and be turned out with disgrace, and that he was to resist and to triumph, and not to give up his rights. Now, if I told him all this and still preach blind obedience and non-resistance to this same person, what must be the value of my intellect? However, I must not allow myself to be an inconsistent blunderer because Mr. Hogan chooses to write a pamphlet of contradictions, forgeries, calumnies, and falsehoods.

The doctrine which I preached to Mr. Hogan, and to his employers, was submission to the regular tribunals of the church, and if they conceived they were aggrieved by one tribunal, to appeal to another. The greatest democrat in the Union would, in a temporal concern, give them the same rule —"Bring your case into court, and if you think this court has injured you, appeal to the next." Suppose in place of appealing one of the parties revolted; and whilst he professed obedience to the state, actually turned the judge out of the court, denied his power, abused and vilified him and his supporters, by writing indecent, scurrilous pamphlets, and still professing obedience, made use of physical force to overturn the decisions of the court, pleading that an appeal was troublesome and expensive, would it be teaching blind obedience and non-resistance, to tell this outlaw, that in place of violating order and decency and law, he ought to come regularly into court and abide the decision of his case, and prove by his acts, that his declarations were not those of a designing hypocrite? But if in place of doing this, this man were still to say he knew law better than the judges, and he knew his case was so good, and the law was so plain, that he did not feel it necessary to go into an appeal, would it be preaching blind obedience and non-resistance, to say that the conduct of such an individual was incorrect, illegal, and outrageous? If Mr. Hogan, or his abettors had, upon the most trifling case that could come before an American court of justice, gone the twentieth part as far in bringing into operation the principles by which they are actuated, as they have done in the ecclesiastical cause with which they have troubled their city, they would, long since, have felt the gripe of that power, which in every state is necessary to guard the public administration of law from being thwarted by individual or private discontent and insubordination.—There is no tyranny in stating the facts, that Christ left an authority to govern his church, that the successors of the Apostles are the depositaries of that authority, that they alone have the power of deciding upon church concerns, and the principle, that they who drag such decisions from that tribunal to lay tribunals, act as inconsistently as the persons who would drag civil suits before the tribunals of bishops. Such things have been done by common consent, where there was a union of church and state. In this country, thank God, they have been separated—the church has no authority in state concerns, neither has the state in church concerns. The duty of every good citizen, is to obey the authority of the people, who are the source of power in temporal concerns; and to obey the positive manifest authority of God, the only source of spiritual power in church concerns. This is what I have taught, and shall continue to teach; and in doing so, I feel myself warranted by the evidence of truth, and the constitution of the country.

The next charge is, "that I appear not to be acquainted with the progress of the human mind in this vast and great country." Then I should be taught; perhaps Mr. Hogan would have the kindness to be my instructer. I shall, however, venture to suggest what I do know. I have travelled over a much greater extent of the states than Mr. Hogan has done. I have not merely run through, but sojourned in seven of the states, and been in two or three others. In those states I had the honour of meeting with the first society; hence, I do know a little more than may be at first imagined. I have conversed with and observed those in the more humble as well as the most elevated classes. My communications have been with the native and the settler. My teacher will probably have only to correct my notions, not to extend my research. I shall now state those notions. I believe the hu-

man mind is not caused to progress by the vast extent of the country. I do not know any greatness of the country that causes a progress of the human mind. There was as genuine republicanism in the little commonwealth of St. Marino in the papal states, as in any one at this side of the Atlantic. Rome and Greece were small; yet in them the human mind made progress. Did a native American write about the progress of the human mind in this vast and great country, I would forgive him for the little vanity to which we are all subject. When a stranger writes it, I am inclined, perhaps uncharitably, to suspect he wishes to gain some point with the American, by flattering that vanity. Now, my opinion is, that the emigrant here is just the same, as to the progress of his mind, that he was in the country of his birth—that the native Americans have a creditable spirit of investigation, a love for truth, an accuracy of reasoning, and they generally unite in themselves two qualities, which are rarely found united in the same individual elsewhere, a just discrimination of character, and slowness in expressing an opinion of their neighbours, especially if it be unfavourable. And although, as a body of people, they have more general information than perhaps any other body of people, they are, by no means, exempt from the common imperfections of human weakness; and much of the mist of religious misrepresentation which their English ancestors hung round the colonies still dims the lustre of the states, though it must necessarily be dissipated by the power of the great principle of religious liberty, which they have nobly established. From this view, I am inclined to think that America is a country in which the human mind is free, though but partially cultivated; but, though their desire for improvement is great, and the progress has been considerable, I am of opinion it would have been more, but for flatterers who told them the Americans have outrun the rest of the world.

I did hope that I should be able, in this letter, to conclude my explanations of these charges, but I find that in justice to myself I must resume them and trouble you again.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir, your obedient, humble servant, and brother in Christ,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, October 14th, 1822.

SECTION XI.

LETTER VII.

To the Right Reverend Dr. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—The next two charges are easily disposed of.

"12. That from my long acquaintance with convicts, cells, and gallows, I am incapable of forming accurate ideas of freedom of soul."

I avow that much of my time was spent amongst convicts, and it would be strange if it were not, because I, during nine years, was chaplain to the prison in which those unfortunate beings were confined, after having been brought to the city of Cork from all parts of Ireland for transportation. I, therefore, did spend much of my time in cells and in dungeons, and in the holds of prison-ships, and had frequently to attend the wretched victim of offended justice, and sometimes the victim, the innocent victim of a mistaking jury, at the gallows. But in those scenes of human wo and affliction and endurement, I was led to deep contemplation and to profound research. I may perhaps be in error; I have known and conversed with the persons who figured in a court, and I have frequently made a very rapid transition from listening to the story of the weeping captive, and teaching him how to prevent the galling of his chains upon his body and his soul, and mingling my tear of sympathy with his tear of grief, to the scene of festivity and enjoyment, where innocence and mirth exhibited themselves in the faces of some, and in others care or guilt showed through the deceptive veil which had been flung over them; here, as well as in my ordinary intercourse with society, have I learned to estimate human nature, and to form my ideas of the human soul. Had the writer of the charge known the sensations experienced by him who consoles the afflicted, he never would have written as he did. From my soul, I believe no Catholic priest could have penned the paragraph. It certainly was not Mr. Hogan. He could not, if he ever did his duty as he ought, and that he sometimes had, I am inclined to believe, by the side of an afflicted and dying Christian, receiving the consolations of religion, and, aided by them, triumphing over pain, and misery, and death, he could not ever have written so foul, so false a charge. True freedom of soul exhibits itself most under the pressure of affliction. The pagan poet, the ancient philosopher, the recorder of the Godhead, the Christian martyr, the suffering saint, whether innocent or penitent, the experience

of the world, are all, all in opposition to the thoughtless, unfounded assertion of the pamphleteer.

I shall not call into question his knowledge of the world, of the clergy, and of canon law. He is kind enough to find a standard by which mine is to be estimated. Addressing me, he writes: "Your age is about thirty-six, mine about thirty-two, *and supposing an equality in every other respect*, it is more than probable the difference of our education, in our juvenile days, and since our entering the church, the nature of our avocations would make a balance in my favour, and leave me as well acquainted with the world, theology, and canon law as you, venerable and (if you will have it so) aged prelate."

I am quite incompetent to give an opinion upon the comparison, for many reasons; but a principal one is, that I have not the honour of knowing the manner in which Mr. Hogan was educated in his juvenile days, though I have Mr. Hogan's own avowal for the extent of his knowledge, previously to his coming to America, because he informed me in New York, that he had indeed never looked into canon law in Ireland, but that he had made a great proficiency in the study in Philadelphia. On the same occasion, he complained much of the time which he had lost in Ireland, by neglecting to study, but he had now redeemed it by close application. Of course, this application was directed by very proper and well-qualified teachers.

I shall yield to Mr. Hogan the palm for knowledge of the world, for knowledge of theology, and for knowledge of canon law, before I will yield to him, or to any other person, those feelings which I experience at recollecting my dungeon scenes, and my conversations with the convicts; or before I will yield the pleasing delusion which I cherish, that in those places, which the pamphleteer would avoid as degrading, I have learned more than in any other schools, and in which, if I possess any sentiments of religion, they have been greatly strengthened; and I would unhesitatingly say, that in those chambers of affliction, I have met with many who would not envy even Mr. Hogan, his peace of soul, or his freedom of spirit.

"13. A statement by Messrs. Leamy, Ashley, and Fagan, that I stated to Mr. Ashley, that *from my knowledge of Mr. Hogan in Ireland*, I was convinced the report of his having been suspended in Ireland, was as groundless as it was unprincipled."

This, Right Reverend Sir, though brought forward by me at the close of the preceding charges, is that which astonished me the most, and is to me perfectly inexplicable. Mr. Hogan says it was "sworn to in court." Impossible! There must be some mistake. It is impossible that either of these gentlemen swore to such a statement. I have shown that other documents have been changed by the publisher of the pamphlet. I should sooner believe this was also changed, than that either of the gentlemen swore to a palpable falsehood.

I never knew Mr. Hogan in Ireland. Mr. Hogan, I believe, never knew me in Ireland. I have a distinct recollection of having told Mr. Ashley so, and surely Mr. Ashley is not so stupid as to mistake, "I never was acquainted with Mr. Hogan until I met him in New York, about five weeks ago," to mean, "from my knowledge of Mr. Hogan in Ireland, where I have not been for the last twelve months, and where Mr. Hogan has not been during the last two or three years, I am convinced the report of his having been suspended in Ireland, was as groundless as it was unprincipled."

I knew nothing material of Mr. Hogan at the time. I have since, from Ireland, learned facts which I did not then know, and had I known those facts before I had the honour of Mr. Hogan's acquaintance, neither the public, nor you, nor I would have been annoyed with my explanations to-day.

I never did then make the statement in the charge, nor do I believe it was sworn to by any of the gentlemen named above.

I shall endeavour to conclude my explanations in another letter.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir, your obedient, humble servant, and brother in Christ,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, Oct. 18th, 1822.

SECTION XII.

LETTER VIII.

To the Right Reverend Dr. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—Having explained Mr. Hogan's charges against me, I shall trouble you with a few additional observations upon the pamphlet, and supply a few omissions.

In the first place, p. 13, Messrs. Leamy, Ashley, and Fagan, stated that I informed them, at their first interview with me, "that now all impediments relative to sacraments were entirely removed." They state the truth. I did inform them that the impediments were then removed, and at the time they really were, though they subsequently recurred.

What were the impediments? The schism of the Rev. Mr. Hogan and the adherence of the schismatics to him. The interview took place on Thursday, October 18, after Mr. Hogan had sent me a written promise of leaving Philadelphia, provided I would receive him into Charleston, and I had received him into Charleston, and did not imagine he would break through his promise. The schism being, therefore, considered by me as at an end—I stated the impediments relative to the sacraments were then entirely removed, distinctly not meaning that Mr. Hogan could administer them, but that the other clergymen would not now refuse them to those that had adhered to him. And I, as plainly as words could convey this meaning, did convey it to the gentlemen; for I told them, that no clergyman would now refuse to admit those who had previously gone only to St. Mary's to sacraments in the other churches, upon their applying with proper dispositions, and Mr. Ashley distinctly understood me, for he remarked that he was of opinion many of the people would not so trouble those other gentlemen, *since they could not receive the sacraments from Mr. Hogan.*

You will observe, however, Right Reverend Sir, that from the manner in which this expression is thrust into the context, the meaning is absolutely changed; and this is not the only sentence of that description so placed; there are many other propositions in the compilation which standing alone or coupled with the proper circumstances, would convey truth to the mind, but being thrust out of their places and connected with that to which they do not appertain, create false impressions upon the reader. This is the most culpable species of deceit because it is the most imposing, and exhibits a degree of deliberate, cool, determined intention to mislead.

The statement of the sub-committee was, "that those who entertained opinions favourable to Mr. Hogan were in fact now excluded from sacraments in all the churches of Philadelphia except St. Mary's," in order to show the necessity of having a clergyman in St. Mary's. My answer went to show this cause did not render the appointment necessary; because the schism being terminated by Mr. Hogan's leaving Philadelphia, "all impediments relative to the sacraments '*in other churches*' were now entirely removed." But when Mr. Hogan revived the schism the impediments were also revived.

The second remark I shall make is upon what no stretch of my charity, which I suppose will therefore be accounted very limited, can cover as a mere mistake. In almost every production which has come forth under the name of Mr. Hogan, or from any of his supporters, the usual pretext was that, according to the canon law as it now stands, he and his adherents were right, and all their opposers wrong. They wanted only to have the law carried into execution—they wanted no change; but it was stated that their opponents, whether stars or fools, knew nothing; ignorance, malice, tyranny, folly, &c., were their characteristics; Mr. Hogan and his *learned* friends were the only canonists. "Messrs. Binney and Sergeant, who are *considered* ornaments to their profession and to the city," were to be overturned by those inexperienced young men, who knew the written law so well that they could immediately produce it upon every occasion. The written law, the law as it was written, and nothing but the written law for them. One would imagine, Right Reverend Sir, that we were opposing law in opposing those gentlemen. Let us take one instance of their conduct. Speaking of the mode of appointing bishops, what is their own declaration? P. 8. "The salutary mode of appointing bishops by the suffrages of the people or clergy of each diocess having been long since *exploded.*"

Thus the pamphleteer acknowledges that for a long time the salutary mode of appointing bishops by the suffrages of the people or clergy of each diocess has been *exploded.* Of course it is not now the custom. It is not now the law. Then the American bishops are not the first intruders, nor the only ones. Now, I would ask, is there a Roman Catholic bishop in the whole world, lawfully appointed? and I assert there is not a Roman Catholic bishop in the whole world who has been elected by the suffrages of the people, nor one in the whole world who has been appointed by the suffrages of the clergy of the diocess. They are all appointed by the Pope; though he may sometimes voluntarily bind himself to make the appointment in a particular way, still the right is in him:—and when the bishops were at any time or in any place appointed otherwise than they now are, it was not by any right then in existence which does not now exist, but by virtue of a permission then given, which is now withheld; and the reason why it was withheld was the same which any person observing the situation of Philadelphia during some years would acknowledge to exist there in full force. The dissension, the contention, the animosity, the tumult, and the breach of peace, both in families and in public, produced thereby—and hence, the indulgence was withdrawn because it was found not to be salutary: but

the tribunal which has the right of appointment, that is the Holy See, is open to receive the recommendation, or to the remonstrance, or to the protest of any individual or body, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and will attend to all their remonstrances and recommendations, though without allowing them any right of dictation.

But what would appear strange to any person not knowing the tissue of contradictions of which falsehood is composed, is, that those writers should in the same breath almost assert that they are convinced a peculiar mode of appointing bishops has been long since exploded; and also assert that the bishops of America are not bishops of America, because they are not appointed by the *exploded* mode.

One good gentleman in Philadelphia, who wrote more pamphlets than one upon the subject of the present schism, had the kindness to assert that you were not Bishop of Philadelphia, because you were not appointed by the people or clergy, but only by the Pope; and he produced canon law for it too, but he forgot to read the 8th canon of doctrine of the 23d session of the Council of Trent, which expressly condemns his proposition as heretical.

It would be rather difficult for those gentlemen to point out the people of the diocess who appointed St. Paul by their suffrages, or the clergy of the diocess that appointed St. Patrick by their suffrages. We would be equally at a loss to know whose suffrages raised St. Augustine to a bishopric in England, or St. Denis to govern the church of Athens. We do, indeed, find an instance of the election of a bishop in America, and of the very first bishop; but it was granted not as a right, but as a special favour; not to form a precedent, but *for that time only;* not as a general rule, but as an exception, and by him who had the power of appointment in whatever way he thought most salutary. What sort of election took place for the appointment of Dr. Carroll? How far were the laity concerned therein? In no way whatever. Let any person look to the bull of Pope Pius VI., published in the 16th number of the Miscellany, on the 18th of last month, and see who were the electors and *by what right*, and who was to have the power of future appointments and upon what ground.

First, the bull states that to preserve men in "the evangelical truth delivered by Jesus Christ, support must be given by that heavenly authority which is entrusted to the Catholic Church as a steady pillar and solid foundation which shall never fail." The denial of this proposition is a denial of Catholic faith, not because it is recited in the bull, but because it has been testified by the church in every age and in every nation, to be one of those principles derived through the Apostles from our Saviour.

The document next states in what that authority consists: "Now this charge of *teaching and ruling*, first given to the Apostles, and especially to St. Peter the prince of the Apostles, on whom alone the church is built, and to whom our Lord and Redeemer entrusted the feeding of his lambs and his sheep, has been derived in due order of succession *to bishops*, and especially to the Roman Pontiffs, successors of St. Peter and heirs of his dignity and power." The denial of the entire or of any part of this statement would for the same reason be a denial of the Catholic faith.

Two facts are stated in the first part of the document to which it is now necessary to refer. The first is doctrinal, the denial of which, therefore, would be a denial of Catholic faith. "That the Lord has imposed upon the Pope the duty of feeding and ruling his flock in the different regions of the earth." The second is upheld by the assertion of His Holiness, and it is at least no crime to believe it: "That his care and solicitude were particularly engaged that the faithful of Christ who, dispersed through various provinces, were united with him in Catholic communion may be *governed* by their proper pastors, and diligently *instructed by them* in the discipline of evangelical *life and doctrine.*"

The next fact stated, is the wish entertained by the Catholics of the United States to have a bishop. Next his coincidence with that wish. Next that he proceeds to carry this joint wish into effect "according to the rules of the sacred canons." Next he commissions the congregation of cardinals *de propaganda fide*, to examine and to make their report to him. Next, they made their report, in which they advise that the priests then in America *should be empowered* to advise together and to determine first where the see ought to be erected, and next who ought to be the bishop.

One remark will suffice here. If the canons gave those priests the power of making the election, they had no need of being *empowered* by the Pope; but the congregation of cardinals *recommended* that they should be *empowered* to do that which otherwise *they had not power* to perform.

The next fact is, that the Pope, according to the recommendation "for the first time ONLY, *and by special grace*, PERMITTED the said priests to elect, and to present to this apostolical see." Then it recites the facts,

that "in obedience to that decree," and not by any other right, "the aforesaid priests" did assemble and did fix upon Baltimore as the site for the see, and the Reverend John Carroll as a fit person to be the bishop, and sent the necessary testimonials to the cardinals of the congregation *de propaganda fide*.

The bull continues to recite the fact, that the congregation made their report to the Pope, through Cardinal Antonelli, their prelate, in which they express their opinion, that the establishment of this new see, and the appointment of Dr. Carroll, will be beneficial to religion, and the Pope's determination in consequence. His Holiness then proceeds to his act of jurisdiction, and "by the plenitude of his apostolical power," not by the authority of the laity or clergy of America, nor by the authority of the cardinals, but by that which, as successor of St. Peter, he received from Jesus Christ, "he did erect the aforesaid town of Baltimore into an episcopal see for ever;" and proceeding, "according to the rules of the sacred canons," "for one bishop *to be chosen by the Pope* in all future vacancies." The bull then continues the recitations necessary for the special communication of power, and necessary to authorize some other Catholic bishop to consecrate Dr. Carroll.

Now either Pope Pius VI. knew the canon law of the church which he governed, and the cardinals knew it, and they acted according to those canons, or they acted in opposition to them. Yet we perceive, all through the recitals, that no reference whatever is made to any share which the laity had in the transaction, beyond their perhaps joining in the original wish, that there should be a bishop in the United States. Neither did the clergy act from any canonical right which they possessed, but in virtue of a permission which they received, "by special grace," and "for that time only." However, Right Reverend Sir, this dilemma is not perfect in its logical accuracy, for there is an alternative. They might have been ignorant of the canon law, and they might have been better instructed had they been aware of the existence of the Philadelphia University, in which any person may obtain a diploma of *utriusque legis doctor*, and a commission to receive appeals in all ecclesiastical causes, and to decide upon them summarily and without farther appeal, even against bishops and archbishops, upon paying the small fee of two dollars yearly towards the support of St. Mary's Church. So that amongst the other blessings of this free country, we shall soon, I trust, find flocking to our shores, students in canon law from every nation in the globe, the time, and the labour, and the expense of obtaining a degree in canon law in America, being so much less than in any other nation. The *corpus juris canonici* being now in fact wrested equally with the Holy Scriptures from the monopolizing grasp of proud, and petulant, and vain, and ignorant, and domineering, and illiterate, and pompous, and arrogant prelates, and having been subjected to the inspection and interpretation of the poor and the rich, the learned and the unlearned, men, women, and children of this vast and great country, in which no person can be enslaved, and in which it is the glorious privilege of every person to judge, and no person is so degraded as to be judged by another; except, however, always the regular civil and criminal courts, in which this privilege is restrained to a few individuals, and withheld from vast multitudes, and in which, notwithstanding the glorious principles of our constitution, the many are obliged to submit to the decisions of a few individuals who, strange as it may appear, are even provided with the means of compelling the multitude by force to submit to their dictation, though they will not permit any of the multitude, many of whom are, perhaps, wiser than themselves, to give even their advice as to the manner in which this decision is to be made; and what is more extraordinary, the very person who is most concerned in the decision, will not be permitted the privilege of embodying his friends in sufficient numbers to turn the judge out of the court, and to decide his own case as he thinks most convenient.

By this bull also, "according to the rules of the sacred canons," "till another opportunity should be presented to him, of establishing other Catholic bishops in the United States of America, and until other dispositions should be made by the Apostolic See of Rome, the Pope declared, by apostolical authority, all the faithful of Christ living in Catholic communion, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, and all the clergy and people dwelling in the aforesaid United States, though hitherto they might have been subject to other bishops of other diocesses, to be thenceforward subject to the Bishop of Baltimore in all future times; and to this bishop, and to his successors be imparted," by apostolic authority, "*power to curb and check, without appeal, all persons who may oppose or contradict their orders*—to visit personally, or by deputies, all Catholic churches, to remove abuses, to correct the manners of the faithful," &c. Those are amongst the special enumerating of episcopal ordinary power, as "regulated by the canons;" and

whenever a bishop is appointed as an ordinary, he receives exactly similar power.

In the year 1808, that same Pope did "establish other Catholic bishops in the United States of America," following the same regulations of the canons, and thus he restricted the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baltimore, as to extent of territory, but his dignity was elevated by his being created an archbishop. Amongst the bishops then created, was the Right Reverend Dr. Egan, for the new diocess of Philadelphia. Now will the clergy or laity of Philadelphia assert, that they were the electors of your predecessor? It is evident that he was appointed by the Pope, as you were, as I was, as every Roman Catholic bishop in existence was. Though the mode of recommendation in different places be different, the right of appointment in all is exactly the same. They are all appointed by the Pope. If then this be the law and the custom founded upon that law, and that those gentlemen only desire to be guided by the law of the church as it is, will they deny that you are, by law and by fact, Bishop of Philadelphia? Will they deny that it is part of your ordinary power, derived from the Apostles, to curb and to check, without appeal, one of the clergy subject to you? Or will they assert, that the power of your decisions upon the exercise of spiritual authority within your own diocess, respecting your own clergy, is vested in Messrs. Ashley, Leamy, Fagan, and their associates? They acknowledge that you have been appointed in the ordinary way, consecrated validly, recognised by your metropolitan and the other bishops of the province, as being legally and properly Bishop of Philadelphia, and of course recognise in you the ordinary power of Bishop of Philadelphia, and yet deny you the right of exercising that power. To uphold this contradiction is one object of the pamphleteer. I shall endeavour to exhibit more of his objects in my next.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir, your obedient, humble servant and brother in Christ,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, October 25th, 1822.

SECTION XIII.

LETTER IX.

To the Right Reverend Dr. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—As I am about to close the remarks in vindication of myself, I may now be permitted to recapitulate the principal charges which Mr. Hogan has been pleased to bring against me; and those persons who have taken the trouble to read my defence, will be enabled to form their decision. I repeat again, that so far as my own individual feelings are concerned, I should never have troubled myself, or you, or the public with giving a line in my exculpation. But I did not think I could, in justice to the Roman Catholic Church, allow the public to continue under the impression, that if I were the notoriously unprincipled villain painted by Mr. Hogan, I should, notwithstanding, be continued in the responsible and elevated situation to which I have been raised in that church. I may be unworthy of the trust reposed in me, I may want the virtues befitting my station, I may not have the same literary qualifications as Mr. Hogan. Upon those grounds, and many others, I may be totally unfit for the place, to fill which I have been selected. I feel its difficulties, and in many instances my own incompetency, and am ready immediately and unhesitatingly to surrender it to that authority which alone can receive my resignation, and place another in my stead; and when the competent authority shall find a substitute, and relieve me from occupying a post of privation and annoyance, I shall retire into private life with much more satisfaction than I felt at having been brought into public life. But whilst I am in charge, I shall endeavour to do my duty; and one of the first parts of that duty is not to suffer my office to be disgraced, by allowing it to go abroad without contradiction, that the Roman Catholic Church places therein the very refuse of society. It is not my province, neither am I competent to pass judgment upon myself. I have not done so, neither shall I attempt it. But I have been accused publicly in print, and in a public print I have given the facts upon which a correct decision might be founded; they who take the trouble of examining can decide. Mr. Hogan assures me, p. 33, "that in Philadelphia I can never acquire the character of an upright man, or acquit myself of the charges brought against me." In the same page he tells me, that he "knows not whether I possess sufficient power of face to attempt acquitting myself of those charges *he has found* me guilty of." For, "there are some, when they find themselves sunk in public estimation, cease to make any efforts for the recovery of their characters, and endeavour to persuade themselves and others that the world is beneath their notice." He then informs me, "that the strongest proof which I could give of my good sense would be to

say that Philadelphia and its inhabitants, their opinions of me, and *the charges he has proved me guilty of*, are beneath my notice." I have, I must confess, been frequently tempted, as I am here, to take notice of his ignorance of the meaning of English words; but I did and do feel it beneath my notice, as I never should enter into a contest with Mr. Hogan about words,—and whether he writes correctly or incorrectly is not the question under examination.

I shall take his charges in his own words, p. 33. "They hailed my approach with joy, they welcomed me with enthusiasm, they considered me as a man of honour and veracity, a gentleman, and a scholar." Yet Mr. Hogan and his associates knew then as well as they do now, that "I had a long acquaintance with convicts, and cells, and gallows." Mr. Hogan knew then as well as he does now, "the difference of our education during our juvenile days, and since our entering the church the nature of our avocations." Mr. Hogan knew then as well as he does now, the splendid opportunity which was afforded to one of us, of being better acquainted with theology and canon law, by his having been expelled from college before he had read half the usual course which is gone through by the ordinary students in Ireland.* Mr. Hogan could tell then as well as he can now, how favourable to the acquirement of theological and canonical information are the sports of the field, and the enjoyment of the social board. "But the course I pursued, the treachery I have been guilty of towards Mr. Hogan, and towards you, Right Reverend Sir, *my manifest disregard for truth*, and manifest want of Christian charity, *my various contradictions*, my evident unacquaintance with church history and canon law, accompanied with the most unparalleled vanity and self-sufficiency, left a different impression on their minds." "But their astonishment ceased when they recollected the editor of the Southern Reporter, author of sundry libels, for one of which I had been publicly, and according to law, punished." Yet they knew all this when they considered me to be "a man of veracity and a gentleman."

P. 25. "I must be frequently under the necessity of reproaching the Right Reverend editor with a *want of truth, and a departure from every principle which should actuate the Christian or govern the gentleman.* However, I beg to assure him, that I shall do it in the mildest manner which the nature of the case will admit of, and pay the highest deference to his feelings and station as a prelate."

P. 1. "I am prepared to show * * * how destitute the Right Reverend editor of the Catholic Miscellany is of Christian charity, *how inconsistent*, and finally *how regardless of truth.*"

P. 8 contains one instance, many others of which may be extracted from the pamphlet, of "his deference to the station of a prelate." "The young clergyman soon had the honour of having a mitre on his head. Now his desires were satisfied, and his hopes *crowned.* No sooner was this new ornament placed upon his head, *engraved upon his ring, seals, snuff-box, cane, tea-pot, coffee-pot, sugar dishes, and all other portable articles*, than he takes his passage to Belfast." The truth is, a bishop does wear a mitre on his head in the discharge of some of his duties; his seal of office must have its proper emblem, and of course I have conformed to what I had no choice in adopting or rejecting; but Mr. Hogan must have intended to pay great "deference to my station as a prelate," when he added all the other accompaniments quite in contradiction to the fact. It is true I wear a ring, but in doing so I have no option; I am under the necessity of conforming to a custom established throughout the Christian world from the earliest ages; and the subject of even canonical regulation, by which bishops are required to wear certain indications of their office, which are forbidden to the other orders of the clergy; and Mr. Hogan's "deference to my station as a prelate" shall not prevent me from conforming to the canons and the customs of the Roman Catholic Church. And in page 21 he writes, that he expected his "letter would have allayed the rancour which for some hours seemed to have taken exclusive possession of the prelate's bosom."

Another instance may be seen in p. 38, which is as false in the insinuation, as it is wanting in "deference to my station as a

* "The Rev. W. Hogan, late of St. Mary's, of Philadelphia, went through a part of his course at Maynooth; he was expelled in 1814, before he received priesthood.[1]

[1] "Having mentioned the name of Mr. Hogan, it is but fair to say a few words of his collegiate career. In 1814, I was a student in philosophy,—he was in the second year of theology. The dean, in his rounds, found him and one or two more in a student's room (where a second person was not permitted to enter) with a bottle of wine. The president was bound on oath to expel any one who violated the rule incurring *expulsion*. He accordingly pronounced Mr. Hogan, &c., expelled. Mr. Hogan protested his innocence, and declared that he did not partake of the potation: his case was referred to the trustees at the next meeting of the board. They restored him on condition of making a public apology for the scandal given. He would not apologise, and of course was obliged to leave the college."—*A Maynooth Student.*

prelate." "The gentleman alluded to is the venerable Dr. Carberry, formerly of Norfolk, a gentleman who is old enough to be grandfather to this mitred youth, and vituperative editor,—a gentleman whose gray hairs should unnerve the arm, and unstring the tongue of the most vindictive coxcomb, whether clothed in purple or otherwise." I regret, Right Reverend Sir, that gray hairs cannot produce the effect which Mr. Hogan desires, for then *you* would not have been assailed. The editor of the Miscellany has already stated, that the paragraph to which Mr. Hogan alludes, was not intended for Dr. Carberry, with the colour of whose hair I am totally unacquainted; and p. 19, "I knew he was naturally quick and petulant," and liable to "hasty ebullitions of passion."

But to return to his charges—p. 6, "I am prepared to show, *from under his own hand, and from his own lips*, that, by his public and private calumnies against me, he is guilty of the *most irreconcilable inconsistencies*, and the *most shameful departure from truth*."

P. 8. "I shall, in reply to his private and public calumnies, show *his inconsistency, shifting prevarications, and total disregard to truth*."

Mr. Hogan's charges, in which he states that he has "treated me in the *mildest* manner which the nature of the case would admit, and paid the *highest deference* to my feelings and *station as a prelate*," are before the public; his object was, to prove that, in my conduct with regard to his case, I was guilty of *inconsistency* and *falsehood*. My explanations are now, too, before the public. I trust they will be convinced that, whatever my other faults might have been, they will acquit me of having been guilty of *double dealing*, which is *criminal* inconsistency; from that inconsistency which is the weakness of nature, and an imperfection *without criminality*, I claim no exemption. I trust they will perceive, that in my explanations I have proved, by the testimony of my opponents themselves, that I was not guilty of falsehood, from the pages of Mr. Hogan's own pamphlet.

If I have preserved truth and moral consistency, I trust I may yet be allowed to associate with gentlemen; and though my charity does not lead me to close my eyes against what I consider to be glaring irregularities, and tacitly to approve of what my office requires me, under peculiar circumstances, to condemn, I trust I may be allowed the appellation of a Christian.

I have not volunteered my interference in the concerns of Philadelphia. You, Right Reverend Sir, have more than once asked me to come forward. In passing through Philadelphia your clergy renewed the request. Mr. Hogan followed me to New York, and promised me that he would abide by my decision, and requested I would examine his case. "And pursuant to a resolution of the board of trustees, a committee from their body waited upon the Bishop of Charleston, on Wednesday, the 17th of October (they ought to have written Thursday, the 18th), at the Mansion House, to present him the respects of the trustees of St. Mary's Church, *and solicit his good offices for settling the differences existing therein*," (p. 11.) And I am still under the impression, that if Mr. Hogan were left to act from his own judgment and feelings, he would have followed my advice. I conceive it but justice to him to state, that whilst I was engaged in endeavouring to accommodate this unfortunate schism, Mr. Hogan always spoke to me as he felt, and that he was guilty of no deceit; but he was the slave of circumstances, and absolutely under the dominion of the oligarchy, who are the true authors of the schism. And if Mr. Hogan had firmness enough to be led by the decisions of his own mind, his emancipation from a slavery, under which he still groans, would have been effected by one act of energy on the night of Friday, the 19th of October, 1821. He had the weakness, contrary to my advice, to attend on that evening a meeting of the trustees; and I do acknowledge, that to resist such men under such circumstances required a very extraordinary degree of fortitude. Though I must condemn his conduct, I feel for his situation. I cannot, I would not answer for my own conduct, were I circumstanced as he was; but though I lament his misfortune, I must not betray my duty.

Mr. Hogan has done wrong. The editor of the Catholic Miscellany has only done his duty, by exposing the weakness of the schismatical case. Mr. Hogan has considered me as the writer of the paragraphs. I do write for the Miscellany, sometimes a great deal, sometimes a little. But Mr. Hogan is in error, if he imagines me to be the only writer for that print. Without avowing or disavowing the paragraphs which have excited his displeasure, I distinctly state that they express the sentiments which I entertain. Mr. Hogan has assailed me, and endeavoured to exhibit me as an enemy to the principles of free government. I trust I have shown by more than assertion, that I admire, and have always admired, governments founded upon the principles of freedom,—the principles of the

American constitution. Mr. Hogan says, in p. 4, that he "must confess he differs from me in political opinions, and that his are *unchangeable;* neither time, nor place, nor circumstances, nor expectations can alter them." Mr. Hogan, who appears to have known my whole history in Ireland, and who here styled me "a patriot," must have known mine,—and, therefore, when he differs from them, he differs from the constitutional principles of American freedom with which mine are identified, and which I always cherished; and an attachment to which I publicly professed upon solemn oath, in the Court of the United States in this city. I did imagine, that a writer who professed to be so well acquainted "with the bright *and progressive aspect* which the human soul wears when it breaks through the fetters of slavery, and shakes off the incumbrances of ignorance, despotism, and superstition, as it has done in this country," would not be so irrevocably opposed to the principles of American politics, as "that neither time, nor place, nor circumstances, nor expectations could alter his determination." However, as I do not wish to take any advantage of Mr. Hogan's mistakes, I am ready to allow that he did not intend to come to this conclusion; but as his knowledge of logic must also be superior to mine, I feel astonished at his not having been more exact in the statement and examination of his premises.

Mr. Hogan, in the same place, makes another assertion with, I believe, more truth: "I must confess I differ with him in religious opinions." I am sincerely convinced of the truth of this. We do indeed differ in religious principles and opinions, and very widely. I am a Roman Catholic; Mr. Hogan, I am convinced, *is not*, and I make the assertion deliberately, and after reflection.

I have thus, Right Reverend Sir, made such observations as I thought were called for by my station, in reply to the personal attacks of the pamphleteer upon me individually. My motive for having done so I have already explained. To me the examination has been most painful and mortifying; and as I am not disposed to deprive even Mr. Hogan of the gratification which he may derive from knowing that he has even partially succeeded in the attainment of his object, I shall not strip him of the decoration of his triumph. However, I would advise the victor to make the most of what he has obtained, as he is never likely to have a recurrence. The evident object of the pamphlet was my mortification; of this I was previously informed by the writer himself, through the post-office: and never indeed was I more mortified and humbled, than in feeling myself called upon to answer and to compete with Mr. Hogan. It has been our first encounter: it shall also be the last. My crest has fallen, my vanity is punished, my arrogance is chastised, my petulance has been rebuked, my ambition has been checked, my pretensions to learning have been blasted, my hopes have withered, "the spear has fallen from my vindictive arm," "the envenomed sword of malice" has been wrested from my grasp—I am a fallen victim, "unacquainted with the science" of war, who know not how "to pursue the combat as a gentleman should," covered "with the odium and contempt which even my own imprudence has superinduced," and dreading "the rounds" which a triumphant antagonist can yet endure: "having lost my reputation in the city of Philadelphia," I shall retire satisfied with that portion which I have already received, "of scurrility and abuse, which only the vindictive and licentious indulge." It is true, that it has been given to me "in the mildest manner which the nature of the case would admit of, and with the highest deference to my feelings and station as a prelate," and by a priest who, on the day of his ordination, with the blessed sacrament still upon his tongue, on his knees before the altar, solemnly swore, according to the most ancient known rite of swearing allegiance, that he would "*obey his bishop*," whom you were, and *reverence* not only his own bishop, but the whole episcopal order. By his own voluntary act, that *obedience and reverence* was by him, with your consent, transferred to me; and by the canons of the church, he stands solemnly sworn, in the presence of the whole church and of Heaven, to pay to me that *obedience and reverence* which he vowed on the day of his ordination. He has disobeyed me, where the canons gave me a right to command him. I charged him, as I do hereby again solemnly, and by virtue of his sworn obedience, charge him to desist from his sacrilegious attempt at ministry in Philadelphia, where he has no jurisdiction. He may boast of liberty, he may style me a despot—but will his boast of freedom, or his sneer at the episcopal authority, blot out the oath which he swore at the foot of the altar, and which is registered in heaven? "Do you promise obedience and reverence *to your bishop?*" "I DO." (*Form of ordination of a priest.*) "I shall be guided by you *as my bishop*, in the future regulation of my conduct," (*Letter of Rev. William Hogan to the Bishop of Charleston, October 18th*, 1821.) "*I*

now receive you into the diocess of Charleston," (*Letter of the Bishop of Charleston, in answer to Mr. Hogan's, of the same date.*) I promised, on the 20th of October, to grant Mr. Hogan a release from this bond, provided he would apply for the release before a certain hour. He did not apply until several hours after the lapse of that specified time, nor until I had been under the necessity of doing the very act my anxiety to avoid doing which caused me to make the offer of release. After that act was done Mr. Hogan applied, but to this moment I have not given the release. Mr. Hogan's employers were, I believe, led to imagine I would countenance their schism, and to this I attribute their kindness to me, and the praises which they bestowed upon me; but, perceiving their error, I became the object of their vituperation. To Mr. Hogan himself, when I perceived a disposition to return to the path of duty, I thought kindness was due; but, when I discovered that he had determined to continue in schism, I frequently reflected on the words of the Psalmist: "Why dost thou declare my justices, and take my covenant in thy mouth? Seeing thou hast hated discipline, and hast cast my words behind thee: if thou didst see a thief, thou didst run with him: and with adulterers thou hast been a partaker. Thy mouth hath abounded with evil, and thy tongue hath formed deceits. Sitting, thou didst speak ill against thy brother, and didst lay a scandal against thy mother's son; these things thou hast done, and I was silent. Thou thoughtest unjustly, that I shall be like to thee; but I will reprove thee, and set before thy face." (Psalm xlix. 16, &c.) Filled with the reflections which this passage was calculated to excite, I have indeed had melancholy moments, not from any regret for my own acts, but through grief at seeing evils which I could not heal. Mr. Hogan's arguments were easily overturned: the ground upon which he stood was evidently bad; but of what avail was this? His employers did not seek for truth, but for triumph; to argue with them would be folly. To quote canon law for men who did not know one of its principles, who should be first taught even its technical phraseology before they could comprehend its earliest distinctions—to defeat by a single assault a man who kept no fixed position, who was perpetually shifting his ground—to acknowledge the laity of St. Mary's the competent tribunal before whom a bishop should plead his cause, and demand authority to do his duty, was what I neither then nor now could do. Therefore I have not, nor will I meet Mr. Hogan in his attempts at canon law: I confess my incompetency to the task. Without boasting of my own proficiency in the study, I have no hesitation in staking whatever relic of character may yet remain to me upon the truth of the assertion, that Mr. Hogan does not know how to discover whether a canon be abrogated or in force. With him, then, it would be impossible for me to argue. But there is another obstacle in the way. Though I am not Mr. Binney or Mr. Sergeant—and Mr. Hogan may be, any young gentleman of what talent he pleases, even *one of my correspondents*, if he will—a clever young lawyer of Philadelphia: still, however unqualified I may be, I am an ecclesiastical judge in the highest tribunal of the Roman Catholic Church, by the constitution of that church, which, if Mr. Hogan were a Roman Catholic, he would acknowledge to have been established by our divine Redeemer himself; and it will be generally admitted, that, although it is not indecorous for a judge to expostulate with and to advise a person during trial, it is not usual for him to enter in an argument upon the nature of his commission, or the extent of his authority with the culprit, upon whom he has passed sentence.

I am now done with the explanations of my own individual conduct in this unfortunate transaction. Mr. Hogan and his associates may write and speak of me as they please—for the future they may cut me into stars, or mould me into moons, as they may think proper. Upon that topic I am done. They shall be left in undisturbed possession of the arena. But, Right Reverend Sir, I shall take the liberty of troubling you and the public with a few other observations on the contents of the pamphlet.

I am, Right Reverend Sir,
Your obedient, humble servant,
And brother in Christ,
† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, October 31st, 1822.

SECTION XIV.

LETTER X.

To the Right Reverend Dr. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—In my last I have taken my leave of the Rev. Wm. Hogan and his associates, so far as I am personally concerned. He and they may henceforward speak and write of me without expecting a reply to any statement they may please to make.

But, I cannot dismiss the pamphlet without a few additional observations, not in-

deed upon the semblance of canon law which it contains, for upon that topic, too, I shall leave the gentleman unanswered. My object, then, is to give expression to a faint hope which I still cherish, that Mr. Hogan was not the writer of the pamphlet, and to state my grounds for that hope; or if I be deceived in this, to lament that I see no prospect of Mr. Hogan's return to the path of duty.

The Rev. Wm. Hogan may feel displeased at your withdrawing his faculties, and your subsequently inflicting canonical punishment for his irregular usurpation of the ministry. He may feel displeased with me for having inflicted canonical censures upon him also when, being under my jurisdiction, he deliberately disobeyed me. Did he confine his vituperation to us both, there might be some ground for supposing that we were perhaps hasty or inconsiderate, or ignorant. He could not, perhaps, be censured if, finding his appeal rejected or not received, he should be displeased with the archbishop. Neither should he be suspected of wanting Catholic faith if, finding no redress here, he had drawn up a formal complaint against the archbishop, and you and me, and sent it to the Holy See; there would have been an appearance of regularity in all this, and something like an observance of those canons with which he is so much enamoured. Was this his conduct? No. But he erects himself into a tribunal, quotes, for his authority, canons which have not the most remote connexion with his case, and most of which had been actually repealed, and then pronounces himself guiltless, condemns those who sentenced him as having incurred censures, and denounces them as irregular; and thus, from having been a person under censures, he becomes the judge of his judges without any commission, and sentences those who sentenced him, without even lodging a complaint before the tribunal which had been established to hear and to determine the appeal in such cases. Was this correct? Yet such has been his conduct. So that, even supposing the archbishop negligent, and you and me culpable, still he is irregular. It may, perhaps, be useful to ask how did this happen? How much would the appeal have cost him? I shall state here one fact, that when I spoke of sending the charges to Rome, and if necessary sending an agent, "in going to the wharf I stated to Mr. Ashley," that it would be, I thought, well to send an agent, if they could substantiate their charges; and Mr. Asbley remarked, that sending to Rome was expensive, and they could not afford it. I feel convinced, Mr. Ashley must recollect what I have said, and what he has said, better than he could what I am to suppose was, by mistake, inserted as having been stated by me to him in p. 13, but which was never said by me, nor thought of by me.

There can be no doubt but sending an agent anywhere will generally cost the support and pay of that agent. But Mr. Hogan could, and now can, lodge and prosecute his appeal without any expense, save the postage of his letters and documents to Rome, and the postage of the answers from Rome. And if their love of justice and reformation will not urge those gentlemen to defray those charges, I do hereby publicly bind myself to defray all the expenses of the suit, be the result what it may, if they will enter and prosecute the appeal against you and me, or against either of us, provided their first notice shall be transmitted before the first day of next January.

If, then, we have acted uncanonically and arbitrarily, let our ignorance and despotism be exposed and punished, not by Mr. Hogan, but by a competent tribunal. If Mr. Hogan and his employers be Roman Catholics, they will act upon this principle. If they be not Roman Catholics, why deceive the public by assuming an appellation to which they are not entitled.

The impression on my mind is, that the leaders of the schism are as fully convinced of the irregularity of their proceedings as you are, or as I am, and they will not have recourse to any regular ecclesiastical tribunal, lest "it would leave an opening to the bishop to enter again and to officiate in St. Mary's Church." (p. 16.) Thus it is not justice but victory they seek; and whilst they persuade the dupes of their artifices that they are Roman Catholics, they avoid seeking a decision upon the principles of the Roman Catholic Church, knowing that you would, by that decision, be reinstated, which result they wish to avoid. If this be not schism, there never was schism in the church—and yet these men talk of canon law.

But, suppose the archbishop and you and I were in error. The writer of the pamphlet says, that "the good of religion in this country, requires a just and final decision should be made as speedily as possible." Our statement is, that the decision has been already made by the competent tribunal, and that it is just. They affect to deny the competency of the tribunal, and proclaim the decision to be unjust and irregular. It is, then, in plain common sense, and plain common law, *their* duty, as it is their right, to apply to the superior tribunal for that final and just decision. They can do so without expense. We call upon them to do so.

They affect to acknowledge the superiority and the competence of the tribunal which we point out; and if they be Roman Catholics, they are bound to the acknowledgment. Why not then prosecute their cause, especially when they can do so without expense? Because they know the decision would confirm the condemnation of Mr. Hogan and his adherents. But why do *we* not apply for the decision? Because we do not need to disturb that which has been made. We know already the justice of the decision which has been made, and we do not seek to disturb it. Was it ever known that a judge appealed from his own tribunal against his own sentence? Was it ever known that a body of persons in whose favour the judge pronounced a decision, appealed from that decision to a higher tribunal? If Mr. Hogan and his adherents say the sentence is unjust, they ought to be the appellants. But they do not want to appeal, for they have all they require—they have the church and they want no more. But they hold that church by physical force against the law of the Catholic Church. Thus, though they possess the property, they are disobedient to the law. They are schismatics.

The compiler of the pamphlet appears to care but little for the laws or the tribunals of the Roman Catholic Church. In the form of consecrating bishops according to the pontifical, the very first duty of a bishop is stated to be *a judge*, the second, *an interpreter of the Holy Scriptures and of church law*. In the same book, in the form of ordaining a priest, his duties are stated to be, 1 *to offer*, *sacrifice*, 2 *to bless*, 3 *to preside over*, 4 *to preach*, and 5 *to baptize*, and in doing this he is *to be in aid to the Catholic bishops who were prefigured by Moses and the twelve Apostles;* and towards the close of the admonition, the person about to be ordained is addressed as one *chosen to be consecrated to the aid of the person who ordains*, who, of course, is a bishop. Thus, if law and custom were even silent upon the subject, the very forms testify the relative situations of the several parties. Still, the pamphleteer will not abide by the judgment or the interpretation of the bishop, and Mr. Hogan is to be the opponent and not the aid of the bishops, and the laity of St. Mary's Church are not to be governed by the established tribunals of the Roman Catholic Church, but are to sit in judgment upon its judges.

P. 30. "How have you made it appear, Right Reverend and aged Editor, that St. Mary's congregation is opposed to church discipline? If opposition to the unreasonable mandates of a bishop, if resisting the doctrine that he is to be obeyed 'right or wrong,' is a proof of their hostility to church discipline, I have no hesitation in believing them to be its avowed enemies, *and determined to overthrow it*. If blind obedience to episcopal mandates, whether just or unjust, be the only tenure by which they retain *a claim to Catholicity, I verily believe they have surrendered it*, and are satisfied to remain as they are, neither sacrificing their feelings to *episcopal vanity*, nor compromising their faith to support his despotic views, resting their belief on the Gospel of our Lord Jesus, as interpreted by the holy Roman Catholic Church, and not on the opinion of any *frail prelate* or any roving monk."

Now let us, for a moment, examine the principle of this paragraph. Suppose a person sentenced by a district judge of the United States, his case re-examined by another, and the sentence renewed: this person says all their acts are against law and justice, and states that he is convinced the superior court would reverse their decisions, yet does not appeal to that court, but proclaims that he is an injured man, and that "if opposition to the unreasonable mandate of a judge, if resisting the doctrine that he is to be obeyed 'right or wrong,' be a proof of his hostility to the constitution, he has no hesitation in believing his friends to be its avowed enemies, and determined *to overthrow it*." "If blind obedience to judicial mandates, whether just or unjust, be the only tenure by which they can retain a claim to the constitution, he verily believes they have surrendered it, and are satisfied to remain as they are, neither sacrificing their feelings to *judicial vanity*, nor compromising their principles to support his despotic views, resting their politics upon the laws of the country as interpreted by the nation, and not on the opinion of any *frail judge* or roving lawyer." Does this declaration contain the principles of the jurisprudence of any nation or society that ever had respectable existence?

It requires but a moment's examination to discover the several false insinuations clumsily wrought into this tirade. 1st. There is a gratuitous assumption that these were unreasonable mandates. 2d. That our doctrine was, that bishops were to be obeyed "right or wrong." 3d. That blind obedience to episcopal mandates, whether just or unjust, is the only tenure by which a claim to Catholicity can be retained. 4th. That the congregation of St. Mary's was required to sacrifice its feelings to episcopal vanity. 5th. That they were required to compromise their faith to support the despotic views of some undefined bishop. And 6th. That they were required to abandon the interpretations of the holy Roman Catholic Church, and to yield to the opinion

of a frail prelate or a roving monk. The whole sentence is then a blending of unfounded insinuation, untrue assertion, and principles opposed to those of the Roman Catholic Church.

But it is not only the archbishop, and you and I that are to be quenched from the *starry* firmament by the superior information of the self-taught canonist, but every other bishop in America. We are henceforward to be amenable to the tribunal of the laity.

P. 32. "If, sir, you imagine that *the people* of this country will surrender *the right* which they have purchased with their blood, *of judging of the conduct and actions* of those who are placed in public stations, and supported by their property, you are entirely out of your calculation. This is *a privilege* appertaining to all Americans, and a privilege which, I trust, they will never yield to a diadem or mitre."

I never imagined that the people of America were to surrender a right of which the veriest slave in the universe cannot be divested, of which he could not if he would divest himself—the right which is inseparable from the faculty of *judging of the conduct and actions*, not only of those who are placed in public stations, and supported by their property, but of the conduct and actions of every individual whose conduct may come under his observation. The wretched slave who, bound under the hands of the executioner, trembles on the verge of the grave, has the right of judging of the conduct and actions of the legislator who has prescribed his fate, of the judge who has passed his sentence, of the officer who superintends its execution; and neither he nor the free American has purchased this right by his blood—he has received it from the God who bestowed upon him the faculty of which he cannot be divested. The writer need not apprehend that a diadem or mitre can deprive the American of what the American could not bestow, nor the diadem or mitre could receive.

But if the pamphleteer means that every public officer in America must be guided in his actions and in his conduct by the decisions of those who are capable of passing that judgment, he asserts an absurdity, for he requires an impossibility. Because those judges do not agree, and no public officer can at the same moment obey those who tell him to do a particular act, and those who forbid his doing that act, he asserts what is contrary to the constitution, for the constitution tells the officer to obey the law, and not the dictate of any portion of the people: and for the explanation of that law, the constitution refers him to the judges and not to the people; but for the creation and formation and reformation of that law, it refers to the people through their representatives, and not to the people at large; and in this last point only does the Constitution of the Roman Catholic Church differ from that of the United States. The pamphleteer has been pleased to quote the saying of the Saviour who made the Constitution of the Roman Catholic Church, "regnum meum non est de hoc mundo—my kingdom is not of this world." Had the pamphleteer kept this principle in view, it would have saved him many mistakes, and saved me much trouble. The authority in the Roman Catholic Church is derived not from the people, who never framed its constitution, who never revealed its doctrines, who never instituted its sacraments, who never consecrated its bishops, who never ordained its priests, who never voted upon its decisions of faith, who never had any power to regulate its discipline; in a word, religion is not like civil government, a human invention—it is not the creature of man; it is an emanation from heaven, regulated by the institutions of Jesus Christ, and *those to whom he and not the people gave authority*, and not modelled upon the forms of earthly governments, nor specially fitted for monarchies or republics, but equally independent of each and incontrollable by either. Thus it does not follow, that because in republics the people, who are the source of civil power, do exercise an influence in legislation, the same people who are not the source of ecclesiastical power, should exercise an influence in ecclesiastical legislation; and although the people by their share in making the laws, have an indirect influence over the civil officers, yet those officers look to the judges, and not to the people for the explanation of those laws. Still the pamphleteer would argue, that where the people have no legislative right in ecclesiastical concerns, where they have by the constitution no controlling power, they and not the constitutional judges ought to be the interpreters of the law. Admirable logician!

The paragraph which I now quote, could not have been intended to mean what it conveys; or if it was, of course the whole question of the pamphleteer's religion is at an end. The assertion contained in it would certainly be a sufficient ground upon which to rest the last quoted, and several other passages of the pamphlet, viz.: "That laymen are not considered inferior to bishops in the hierarchy." The passage is this, p. 33: "Profit by the heavenly saying; learn that laymen are not your inferiors in society, nor perhaps in the order of Christianity, although not considered so in the hierarchy."

My impression is, that the last *not* has crept in by some mistake, for surely the pamphleteer could not have meant to consider laymen and bishops to be upon an equality in the hierarchy. I shall freely concede, that in society I know many laymen far my superiors; but other bishops must think for themselves. In the practice of religion, which is what I suppose is meant by "the order of Christianity," I know there have been, and there are very many holy priests and laymen, and there have been unfortunately some unholy bishops, and some unholy priests, and some unholy laymen. In claiming a precedence of ecclesiastical authority, by virtue of the divine commission, the Roman Catholic bishops do not claim a precedence in society, nor in virtue; and they agree with the pamphleteer, "that talents and elevated stations, unless supported by virtue and a strict regard for the rights of others, so far from conferring honour on him who possesses them, only render him an object of contempt;" but they also know and feel that it is equally incumbent upon them to preserve their own rights; and one of those rights of which they have no power to divest themselves, is that of being the sole judges in ecclesiastical causes, and the sole legislators of the church. This power and authority they believe to have been transmitted to them by Christ through the Apostles; and though the pamphleteer may ridicule their pretensions, he cannot destroy their convictions; and if he have not this conviction also, he is not a Roman Catholic.

Mark, however, the language which he uses, p. 32:

"Would it be presuming too much, nowadays, when the number of disciples *and apostolical successors* can be equalled only by the *number of their follies and excesses*, to judge of you and some of your brethren by the same divine test, 'by their fruits you shall know them?' And if on investigation the fruits should be found of a destructive quality, would it not be good economy, at least, in the people from whom you receive your support, to cut down the tree, or what would amount to the same, cease to cultivate it, and allow it to perish, or withdraw from you that support which they give you, and without which you must perish or seek for subsistence in some more congenial soil."

"This mode of procedure may not suit your views; it is not perhaps calculated to forward your domineering projects in this country; such language must be extremely unpalatable to you, but the sooner you are told the truth the better: benefit by it, limit your ideas, confine your views, reduce within a narrower compass your visionary projects."

In page 30, the Catholic who obeys a bishop is compared to the Tartar, and the Pope and bishops to the Grand Lama; and it is asserted, that I and every other *pompous or weak prelate*, looks upon himself as "the visible representative of the mighty Jehovah," who requires "the unhappy Roman Catholics of this country, under pain of damnation, to consider him as such," and "to bow with awe and Tartar subserviency to his decisions, just or unjust, reasonable or otherwise."

Can it be, that a person claiming to be a Roman Catholic, and still daring to officiate as a priest, penned those passages? How many false insinuations do they contain? How becoming in a man who upon his knees just after having received the holy sacrament of the Eucharist on the day of his ordination, solemnly swore that he would pay *obedience and reverence to his bishop?* This obedience is manifested by a direct and acknowledged opposition to their authority, and not to that of one, or two, or three, but of disobedience to every bishop under whom he lived, and in opposition to the decision of every bishop in America; and this reverence is exhibited by his comparing them to the Grand Lama, by his stating, in page 31, that by my "overacting a *farce*, I and my Right Reverend brethren will become the laughing stock of our *audience*." I do not profess to be as well acquainted with the theatre as is the pamphleteer; but if the Rev. William Hogan be of opinion, that *the discharge of the most solemn and awful duties of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy is acting a farce*, can he be considered a Roman Catholic? I may be *pompous*, I may be *weak;* but young as I am, in the eye of religion I am Mr. Hogan's father. He would have had compassion on my weakness, and cloaked my faults, were he animated by the spirit of filial obedience and reverence. Did I lie exposed in my tent, he should not have laughed at me, and exhibited me to his brethren; his piety, did he possess any, would have taught him to remember his oath; and though I shall not imitate the example of the patriarch in the treatment of his younger son, still the irreverence is not less.

Mr. Hogan knows, that neither the Pope nor the bishops of the Catholic Church lay claim to impeccability. Why then compare them to the Grand Lama, who he says is considered impeccable? I should hope that Mr. Hogan was not the writer. He knows that neither the Pope nor any individual bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, lays claim to infallibility. Why then compare them to the Grand Lama, who is considered by the Tartar to be infallible? He knows that Mr. Hogan was not required by

any bishop "to obey him right or wrong, whether his decisions were just or unjust, reasonable or otherwise:" but he was required to obey the bishop when he was right, when his decision was just and reasonable. But neither Mr. Hogan nor the congregation of St. Mary's, were to be allowed to decide upon the rectitude, the justice, or the reasonableness of the bishop's order or decision, because in the Roman Catholic Church there is a tribunal regularly established for revising those decisions; and the bishop's order and decision is, by the constant usage and law of the church, considered right, just, and reasonable, until cancelled by that tribunal upon proper application of the party considering it wrong, unjust, or unreasonable; and until Mr. Hogan procured that reversion, the order which he received, and the decisions which were given are considered right, just, and reasonable. Why then was the writer guilty of insinuating, that "the unhappy Roman Catholics of this country were in a state of Tartar subjection?" Such has always been the charge made by those who separated from the Roman Catholic Church upon its adherents. With the pamphleteer it has not the merit of novelty. It has been the language of every one who opposed the church, from Nicholas the deacon to Joanna Southcott. The fact which it assumes, is a gross misrepresentation; and the principle upon which it is founded, has been condemned as a heresy.

I have, from a sense of duty, been compelled to wade through many volumes of the reproaches and abusive language of the assailants of the church in every age; but never have I, in the most envenomed acrimony of its worst enemy, found anything to exceed the irreverent vituperation of Mr. Hogan, who still professes to be guided by the holy Gospel, as interpreted by the church, and still exhibits the persons solemnly recognised by that church, as the authorized interpreters of that Gospel, as "frail prelates," "pompous prelates," "weak prelates," "actors of a farce," "laughing stock of their audience," "a Grand Lama," "men whose number can be equalled only by their follies and excesses," "objects of contempt," "entitled only to the most sovereign indifference of the Reverend William Hogan," "Right Reverend Doctors of the law, having the devil for an imaginary monarch," "ready to inflict the vengeance of the whole mitred body upon any individual who wishes to oppose tyranny in any shape, or who expresses his displeasure or disapprobation of episcopal usurpations and local abuses," "numerous as the locusts of the summer, and proverbially relentless and unforgiving," "vain, pompous, and vindictive prelates," &c. &c. Does the pamphleteer imagine, that any man who is capable of reflection, will believe the person who styles the authorized interpreters of the Gospel thus, could seriously avow that he rests his belief on the Gospel as interpreted by them? Yet this is the only authority recognised in the Roman Catholic Church for its interpretation. The trick is now old. Though still it produces some effect, no innovator or opposer of the church ever commenced by saying, that the holy Roman Catholic Church was not the source of authority. Martin Luther, who was a man of an hundred times Mr. Hogan's talent, was the most obedient child of the Roman Catholic Church, if he was to be credited; he only was anxious for the purity of faith and the perfection of discipline; he only wished to assert the rights of the people in opposition to weak, pompous, and vindictive prelates, and roving monks. Did he mean to oppose the church? No, God forbid. The church was the pillar and ground of truth; Christ commanded obedience to her, and he would pay it. But it was not the church he disobeyed; it was only "a weak, pompous prelate who looked upon himself as the visible representative of the mighty Jehovah, and required the unhappy Roman Catholics of his day to bow with awe and Tartar subserviency to his decisions, just or unjust, reasonable or otherwise," that he opposed or resisted. When the Pope should speak he would obey. The Pope did speak, and in the courtly language of this gentlemanly reformer, "he was an ass," "a little ass;" but he would listen to a general council, because that indeed was a proper authority, and when a council did take place; it was not a proper council of bishops, such as would have been held in the good old times, but "the synagogue of Satan," the Rev. Wm. Hogan's "imaginary monarch." And Mr. Hogan is a man *who swore to obey and reverence his bishop!*

Anxious as I am, Right Reverend Sir, to close this disagreeable exposition, still I feel myself called upon by its nature and circumstances which have entangled me in its meshes, to continue the examination of the pamphlet.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir, your obedient, humble servant and brother in Christ,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, November 7th 1822.

SECTION XV.

LETTER XII.

To the Right Reverend Dr. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:—In this letter I shall make a few remarks upon some of the other topics of the pamphlet. for the purpose of exhibiting the doctrine of the writer.

In the appendix, p. 35, is found the following passage, after giving the form of excommunication, as published in the Miscellany:—

"We have never denied the above excommunication being *genuine;* and, if I mistake not, the papers to which he alludes never denied its authenticity. They have given to the public (as they could give no other) only the form of excommunication said to be pronounced by Dr. Conwell; nor has the editor of the Charleston Miscellany attempted to prove that they did not give it correctly."

There are here two statements, both put together with a wretched attempt of what was, I suppose, considered ingenuity. It is not true that the editor of the Miscellany charged those persons whom he exposed with denying the authenticity of a form which had not been before the public. But it is true that he did charge them with putting forth Sterne's vile fabrication of revolting blasphemy as a genuine document; and he has proved that they did not give the form which you did use correctly, for the form which you did use has been published in the Miscellany, and both in technical and critical composition it was not merely accurate, but creditable to its compiler. Mr. Hogan's employers. or those who aided them, could have given another form than what they did, viz., the true form instead of the forgery; and thus the second part of the paragraph is untrue. As to the flimsy mean quibble of playing upon words to endeavour to preserve actual truth, and to convey to the reader actual falsehood, by printing the passage, "the form of excommunication *said* to be," &c., it is only useful to prove the *dolus animi* of the compiler.

Never was there a more base, unprincipled, and irreligious, nor a more flagrant and unblushing attempt at deceit than in giving the blasphemy of Sterne to the people of America as a genuine document of the Roman Catholic Church, and that by men calling themselves Catholics, to a people whose former connexion with England rendered them easily deceived by any misrepresentation of our religion. I have never known so criminal a public forgery. And can it be possible that Mr. Hogan will avow himself a participator in this crime, and still complain of being treated harshly?

In the next page is the following sentence:

"Whether the excommunication pronounced by Doctor Conwell be the above. *that taken from Tristram Shandy*, or the 109th Psalm, which is used in *cases of necessity*, it was destitute of canonical form," &c.

This affectation of ignorance of the form, this pretence that he was in doubt, but that the form used by you was *taken from Tristram Shandy*, and this upon a solemn occasion, one of the most solemn and awful to a man possessing any sentiment befitting a Roman Catholic, not to say a *priest*—is it credible that a Roman Catholic could think thus—could write thus? As to the 109th Psalm, and Mr. Hogan's *cases of necessity*, if Mr. Hogan be the compiler of this pamphlet, why take the Protestant numeration of the Scriptures, if he be a Roman Catholic? Has he gone so far as to charge the church with corrupting the holy Scriptures? And if he have not, why abandon the Roman Catholic for the Protestant numeration, and division, and translation of the Psalms? But what has this to do with excommunication? The Catholic Church has not prescribed in his case, nor in any similar cases, such a form; the attempt at witticism is lost, but the evidence of levity and want of Catholic faith, and want of respect for ecclesiastical ordinances is apparent.

In the same page he complains that "you gave no previous admonition" before issuing the excommunication. In the 12th No. of the Miscellany, p. 95, I find inserted your notice and admonition, dated February 11th; and in No. 13, p. 102, is the form of excommunication, which was pronounced on the 27th of May, after a lapse of 106 days, and yet he states there were no admonitions!! But the truth is, he cared as little for the form as he did for the substance; and the manner in which the pamphleteer expresses himself, shows how little he values either, though he has endeavoured to shelter himself under alleged irregularities of form.

The value which the pamphleteer sets upon excommunication may be estimated from his own expressions, p. 4:

"It is true I may venture to oppose this gentleman, (who can consign to hell whole communities,) with less fear than others; for my body having been already disposed of by himself and his brother Henry, *for the good of my soul*, and feeling no inconvenience from it, on the contrary much more comfort than ever, I have nothing to apprehend from an opposition to him."

Excommunication has always been considered by Roman Catholics as one of the

heaviest misfortunes which could befall a man. This man feels much more comfortable than ever under an excommunication, not from one, but from two bishops. Has he the sentiments of a Roman Catholic?

Roman Catholics venerate the Apostles, and do not profanely jest with the expressions of the holy Scriptures. This man jests profanely and irreverently with the inspired writings of the Apostle St. Paul, (1 Cor. v. 5,) where on a most solemn occasion he found himself obliged to excommunicate an unfortunate young man, *by giving him up to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Can the man who thus profanely jests with this important passage of the inspired writer be a Christian? Thus it is that he talks of the power of assigning to hell whole communities. He continues:

"This business of giving *bodies to the devil for the good of the soul* is a bad traffic in this country."

Does this man believe the Bible to be the word of the eternal God? Does he believe St. Paul to have been the apostle of our blessed Redeemer? "And like every other *trade*, it is getting worse in all countries." Thus, the apostleship is a *trade;* and still simpletons are found to regard as a faithful priest the writer who thus openly avows himself ridiculing the doctrines of St. Paul, and the customs and institutions derived from the Saviour *as trades!!!* Do they think this man believes in any revealed doctrine? I unhesitatingly assert that, if his words have any meaning, he is the most decided infidel who ever committed his thoughts to paper.

"The right reverend doctors of the law must have recourse to some other means of keeping their cathedrals. If they would endeavour to reverse the proposition, *and persuade the people that it is the soul that is given to* THIS IMAGINARY MONARCH OF THEIRS, *I think it would answer their purposes better.*"

Then the writer looks upon *the devil to be only an imaginary being*, of whose power to take souls the right reverend doctors, whose monarch *this imaginary being* is, ought to endeavour *to persuade* the people. And this man says he is a Roman Catholic!!! Indeed, I should feel in no wise astonished, did he to-morrow publish that the all-wise Creator of the universe was *an imaginary being*, and still say he was a Roman Catholic for the purpose of keeping St. Mary's Church; and if the charter were changed, and the property given to Mahometans, I should expect to see him as willingly and as readily officiate in the mosque as he now usurps the ministry of a Roman Catholic priest.

I have done—my expectations of doing some good led me, at Mr. Hogan's request, and I hoped not without your concurrence, to interfere in the concerns of your diocese. I am still under the impression that in what I have done I did not exceed your commission; if I did, I regret it: it was on my part unintentional; I request your indulgence for my oversight. We have been misrepresented to each other. Under a pressure of extraordinary circumstances I have been led to speak without sufficient deliberation and caution, though I trust I have demonstrated that I have not used the vile language which the pamphleteer has attributed to me; still I was less careful than I ought in my expressions, and I regret it. In your letters to me since I thus publicly addressed you, your expressions have been more than kind, and I feel it therefore unnecessary to enter upon any recapitulation, to prove what you are already convinced of, that my sole object in the interference was to endeavour to procure peace for a distracted city—to aid in restoring union where irreligion had created schism—to try and convince men who professed to be Roman Catholics, that they were violating every Catholic principle—and the chief encouragement that I felt, was the hope that, as I had theretofore refrained from expressing a decided opinion, my arguments might have the more weight. But I left Philadelphia with the conviction, which every day has become stronger, that the schismatics cannot at present be pacified, but by your betraying your duty, by your sacrificing the interests of religion. They may perhaps succeed in depriving the Catholics of their church: a building, when compared with faith, is a trifle. Our predecessors in Ireland were despoiled of edifices and of income, because they would not betray their consciences and change their religion. I suspect in many instances similar sacrifices must be made in this country before long. The evil here is greater, as it is more disguised. But the principle of church government is equally a portion of our religion, as is the doctrine of the incarnation; and the one has been taught by our Lord equally as the other: it is therefore equally necessary to have it preserved.

In consequence of my having been publicly assailed by the pamphleteer for my conduct in Ireland and in Philadelphia, I felt that I owed it to my station to give to the public, as well as to you, the explanations which I did. I do not despise public opinion, but I shall do nothing, I trust, for the purpose of courting the praise of the people. I have entered perhaps too fully into detail, and perhaps not always suffi-

ciently restrained that involuntary feeling to which all men are subject, a desire to inform the public who that person is that has publicly assailed them. I set out with the determination of noticing the conduct of my assailant only as regards the church of Philadelphia and myself. If I have gone farther, it was from the impulse of the moment, in violation of my resolution. Be the number of my days many or few, be my sojourn in this country long or short, I have for ever closed upon those personal topics which I have been compelled to notice; but they have been forced upon me. I cherish the hope that, be my imperfections and faults what they may, the public will believe that the government of the Roman Catholic Church is not so weak or so corrupt as to permit one of its most important situations in this country to be occupied by such a criminal as was described by the pamphleteer.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir, your obedient, humble servant, and brother in Christ,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, November 22d, 1822.

SECTION XVI.

PHILADELPHIA.

THE late accounts which we have received from this city of the doctrines preached in St. Mary's Church, are conclusive evidence that no hope can be entertained of the return to Catholicity of its present occupants. There is not on the continent of America a body of persons professing Christianity, who are more palpably, and we fear more inexorably opposed to the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, than the congregation of that once Catholic church.

One of the topics which we understand has been urged in favour of their claims is, that the Roman Catholic Church of Charleston possesses the right of appointing its own pastor. The charter of incorporation of the church in Hassell Street gives such a right to the corporation; but surely no Roman Catholic believes that our Saviour gave the legislature of South Carolina a right to appoint pastors for the Roman Catholic Church; and if the legislature had no right to appoint them, it could not bestow this right upon others. This was never the intention of the legislature. This clause, as well as several others in the charter, must have been enacted by mistake, and are in direct opposition to the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church, and the attempt to act upon them has always been resisted. These attempts have been always the cause of the unfortunate schisms which have degraded and disgraced the Catholic religion in Charleston.

The clauses are at present inoperative, as the bishop holds the church by lease, and as those enactments are in direct opposition to his rights and to the discipline of the Catholic Church, he has given notice to the corporation, that unless the charter be revoked or amended before the expiration of his lease, he will not after that period permit any Roman Catholic clergyman to officiate therein. Thus the cases of Charleston and of Philadelphia are not parallel.

The case of Mr. Hogan has been decided at Rome, and he and his adherents have been condemned by a brief of the Pope. To him and to them this, we believe, is a matter of little concern. But to the Roman Catholics of the world it is matter of information. The congregation of St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia is no longer within the pale of Catholic communion.—*Cath. Misc. Dec.* 18, 1822.

SECTION XVII.

PHILADELPHIA.

THE brief of His Holiness, dated the 24th of August, condemning the schismatics of this city has been regularly published therein. The Rev. Mr. Hogan has, we are informed, pledged himself to the bishop to obey the decision of the Pope and to desist from his unauthorized ministry, and to leave Philadelphia. The bishop has received this pledge in writing. Still we understand the trustees have prevailed upon Mr. Hogan to break this pledge, and the extraordinary plea set up is that the document is a forgery!!! They ought to allege the true reason—why not be honest?—why not say —We will not obey, because we are not Roman Catholics!

In the *Democratic Press* of the 11th instant, published in Philadelphia, we read the following paragraph:

"COMMUNICATION.—We have the truest satisfaction in stating, that there is every reasonable prospect of the return of harmony and good feelings, and cordial union, to the congregation worshipping at St. Mary's Church. The rescript, brought to this country by the Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, under the hand and seal of Pope Pius VII., has had the happiest effect. It is hoped that very soon a paper will be published which will satisfy the public that the statements here made are predicated on the best authority."

This we are informed appeared in consequence of the Rev. Mr. Hogan having given his declaration of submission, &c., in writing. In the *Aurora*, published in the same city, on the 12th, we find the following paragraph:

"COMMUNICATION.—We are authorized to state, that the article in the Democratic Press of last evening, in reference to the differences in St. Mary's Church, is incorrect; and the '*late rescript*,' *said* to be 'brought to this country by the Archbishop of Baltimore,' so far from producing '*cordial union*,' is rather calculated to produce a contrary effect.

"The present worshippers of St. Mary's Church are determined to maintain their rights, and support their pastor with increased zeal and firmness. The trustees of the church, and a few of the pew-holders met on Tuesday evening last, for the purpose of taking into consideration the newly imported BULL, *said* to be sent from Rome. The result was, that the gentlemen present *voluntarily* subscribed *five* thousand dollars, to be appropriated in resisting this *foreign monster*."

The trustees of the church are not Roman Catholics, and there are many others in Philadelphia happening to be born of Catholic parents, and baptized in the Catholic Church, who have never professed any other faith, but are perfectly ignorant of the principles of all revealed religion, and actually disbelieve the principal doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith; never approach the sacraments, live in open violation of the discipline of the church, count the observance of those laws enjoining peculiar practices, weakness, ridicule the pious customs of the faithful, and still call themselves Roman Catholics. Those men are the fomenters of the mischiefs which have long existed in that city, they are the authors of all the calamities which have there befallen religion, and so long as they have the opportunity of *reforming the Church*, so long will it be disgraced, degraded, distracted, and afflicted. These men are not Roman Catholics. Let the test of Catholicity be applied to them. Let them be required to subscribe the authorized profession of Catholic faith, and the infidel will soon stand openly confessed. In every age, in every nation, the pretexts of error have been the same. The document now it seems is not genuine—it is a forgery. This is an old pretext which has been worn out. It has been used ever in this country. We have heard of orders from Rome being called in question as not having the Pope's signature and countersign. And suppose they had this signature, who was to prove it was the Pope's signature? The countersign. And who was to prove the secretary's countersign? The Archbishop of Baltimore is *said* to have brought this. Now is not this ridiculous? The archbishop is within twelve hours communication of Philadelphia—can there be any doubt that he brought it. But perhaps the archbishop forged it. Perhaps so, or perhaps he was imposed upon, deceived. But five thousand dollars were subscribed to resist the *foreign monster*. To resist a forgery. The truth is, the infidels who pretend to be Roman Catholics would subscribe voluntarily any sum to oppose the bishops, and nothing to support them. They are quite anxious to extol and to support the prerogatives of the Holy See when any blame can be thrown upon a bishop; but when the Holy See comes in aid of a bishop, then the foreign monster is to be resisted. The decline of the Roman Catholic religion in the United States may be dated from the day that such men as now distract the Church of Philadelphia shall be found approving the conduct of the bishops and priests; and the unfortunate clergyman who shall fall under their dominion will feel, as Mr. Hogan now does, that he is the slave of the most inexorable masters.—*Ibid.* Dec. 25th.

SECTION XVIII.

From the Philadelphia National Gazette.

TO THE PUBLIC.

THE sole object of my conferences and correspondence with the Rev. Wm. Hogan, was to restore peace to the Roman Catholic Church of this city. My efforts to effect that object having proved unavailing, I consider it my duty to the public, to lay before them a true account of what passed between that gentlemen and myself on that occasion. The original letters shall be exhibited, should any one express a wish to see them. This is rendered the more necessary, as a statement was made from the pulpit of St. Mary's Church last Sunday, which (if truly reported to me) was everything but correct. I give the *exeat* as I read it to the Rev. Mr. Hogan, in the Latin language. He never had it for a moment in his possession, nor has it been out of mine from the moment he saw it until this morning, when I placed it in the hands of the editor of the National Gazette, with a request to have it published. It will be seen, by any one in the least acquainted with the Latin language, that it could have been of no advantage to Mr. Hogan, until he should have fulfilled every part of his written submission. That document has not a single word in recommendation of Mr.

Hogan. It simply enables him to offer his services to any bishop who may please to employ him.

WM. V. HAROLD.

Philadelphia, Dec. 17, 1822.

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[No. 1.]

December 10, 1822.

REVEREND SIR:—I have considered the subject we had been speaking on, the other day, and if you have the kindness to call on me at 9 o'clock, five minutes shall arrange all matters. Respectfully, yours,

WILLIAM HOGAN.

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[No. 2.]

As the Court of Rome, the only competent tribunal, has deigned to take into consideration the difference between Dr. Conwell and myself, declaring his opinions and acts correct, and according to canon law, and feeling the most profound reverence for the decisions of that sacred tribunal, I do now implicitly submit to it, and shall retire from the diocess of Philadelphia.

WILLIAM HOGAN.

Dec. 10, 1822.

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[No. 3.]

HENRICUS CONWELL, Miseratione Divinâ et Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ Gratiâ Episcopus Philadelphiensis, etc., omnibus præsentes inspecturis Salutem et Benedictionem in Domino Jesu.

Cum Rev'dus Gulielmus Hogan suam submissionem jam, in scriptis rité attestatis, præstiterit judiciis et sententiis summi Pontificis Romæ prolatis die 24â mensis Augusti in festo Sti. Bartholomæi hujus anni, et cum pactâ fide, promissa dederit prorsus recedendi in posterum a diœcesi Philadelphiensi, his positis et habitâ ratione suæ sinceritatis et bonæ fidei super iisdem—

Nos igitur eumdem Gulielmum Hogan, virtute præsentium, absolvimus et absolutum declaramus in quantum ad nos attinet, ab omni censurâ ecclesiasticâ et uti talem annuntiamus quatenus suam obedientiam præstare queat cuicunque Episcopo communione et gratiâ sanctæ sedis fruenti et eum excipere volenti uti subditum.

Datum Philadelphiæ ex ædibus nostris apud ecclesiam Sti. Josephi, Anno Domini millesimo octigentesimo vigesimo secundo, die 10â Decembris, in quorum fidem propria manu subscripsimus et sigillum nostrum diœcesanum apponi jussimus, die et anno quibus supra.

† HENRICUS, Episcopus Philadelphiensis.
GULIELMUS VINCENTIUS HAROLD, Secretarius.

[No. 4.]

REV. SIR:—I have consulted my lawyer, and he thinks it would be imprudent in me to publish my submission unless you gave me my *exeat;* he thinks I am sufficiently committed, and that if you are sincere you cannot object to giving me the exeat. Send me the exeat and on to-morrow you shall have my resignation published.

WM. HOGAN.

December 10, 1822.

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[No. 5.]

REV. SIR:—I received your note of the 10th inst. this morning at nine o'clock, and, in a few minutes after, came to your house for the purpose of removing the only objection which your note expressed as to the immediate publication of your submission to the decision of the Holy See, and of your resignation. I felt no necessity for the precautionary step recommended by your lawyer. It may have been his duty so to advise you, but I never violate a promise. I mentioned to your housekeeper when I called this morning that I should return at eleven o'clock. I have been here since a quarter before eleven; and it is now past twelve o'clock. I am ready to perform all you require, even since your consultation with the lawyer. I have to request that you will inform me when and where I can see you. Your housekeeper told me you had been here since I called this morning.

I am your humble servant,

W. V. HAROLD.

To the Rev. Wm. Hogan.

Dec. 11, 1822.

Written at Mr. Hogan's lodgings.

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[No. 6.]

REV. SIR:—I have this instant received your note, but could not help being astonished at your not having left the exeat—you promised not only to give me an exeat, but to return my paper in the event of your not giving it, and you have done neither one nor the other, but circulated among your friends that a negotiation was concluded, when the premises of it were scarcely fixed upon; when I promised to submit to the Court of Rome, on condition that you would give me an exeat, I expected of course that you would give the exeat and the decision of this respectable tribunal, and unless you send me the original of *both* I cannot have the pleasure of an interview with you. Should you make any improper use of the paper I gave you, I shall be much disappointed in you. I fear you have not

been able to read my note of last evening, as I had written it almost in the dark.

Respectfully yours,
WM. HOGAN.

December 11, 1822.

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[No. 7.]

REV. SIR:—You will have seen, by the note which I left on your desk yesterday afternoon, that I have left nothing undone to bring the subject of our repeated conferences to a fair and honourable conclusion. I found your note, dated the 10th, at 9 o'clock the morning of the 11th, in our breakfast room, and not having the good fortune to meet you at your lodgings, I left the answer which it appeared to require. I was at dinner when your letter of the 11th was handed to me, and I feel a good deal disappointed after having perused its contents and reflected on the result to which they seem likely to lead. I think it right to remind you that I commenced this negotiation at your own request; the question between us was simply this—how to put an end to the unhappy contest which has so long divided St. Mary's Church. On our first meeting I gave you my opinion, frankly, that there was but one mode of settling it, and that was your submission to the decision of the highest tribunal known to Roman Catholics. I told you that tribunal had condemned your conduct, and approved the sentence pronounced against you by Dr. Conwell. I told you that the supreme judge of the Catholic Church having decided against you, it was not in the power of the Roman Catholic bishops in these states to readmit you to their communion on any other condition than that of submitting to his decision. You expressed a wish to be declared free of censures and permitted to depart, or, in other words, to have your *exeat*. I asked your submission in writing, and pledged you my honour to return it to you unless I succeeded in obtaining your *exeat* from the bishop. You observed that you did not doubt my honour as a gentleman, but remarked that I was a priest. There was a gentleman present who requested that his name should not be mentioned, and I promised that it never should by me, nor shall it without his consent, which I have no intention of asking. On making him that promise you asked me "*what if on some future trial the court should ask you for his name?*" I replied that I should in such case intreat the court not to press me for an answer, which would be a breach of confidence, and I felt no doubt they would indulge me, but at all events I should not reply to such a question. As a reason for refusing to give me a written declaration of your submission, you stated "that you could place no confidence in the clergymen opposed to you in this dispute, but that if your exeat was placed in the hands of Mr. Binney or Mr. Chauncey, with instructions to deliver it to you when you should have submitted to the decision of the Holy See, and ceased to officiate in this diocess, you would commit your written submission to either of these gentlemen." I asked you to commit that declaration to paper, but you declined giving me anything in writing. When parting with you I promised to submit your unwritten proposition to the bishop, and to give you his answer the following day at the alms house. We met there at nine o'clock on the morning of Saturday, the 7th of this month, and I communicated to you the bishop's determination not to give you an *exeat* until you should have regularly submitted to the decision from Rome, and ceased to officiate in his diocess. Our conference was short, and we parted, as I feared, to meet no more. You seemed to me so determined, that I considered the negotiation as finally broken off, but I was mistaken.

After having taken three days for deliberation, you wrote to me, on the 10th of December, soliciting an interview, and promising "*to arrange everything in five minutes.*" I waited on you immediately, and you then wrote in my presence, and signed with your own hand, *a clear and unconditional submission* to the decision which the first tribunal in our church had given against you. On receiving this paper from you, I renewed the promise I had given, either to obtain your *exeat* from the bishop, or return you the paper. I told the bishop I had promised to retain your written submission in my hands until he should have given me your *exeat;* and should he decide on refusing it, I told him I should feel myself bound to restore you the paper you had committed to me. The bishop called a meeting of the Roman Catholic clergy of the city, and in their presence delivered to me your *exeat*. They approved the determination I expressed, and the bishop's consent to abide by it. I proceeded immediately to your house at 2 o'clock that day, (the 10th,) and read the *exeat* for you. You declared you were perfectly satisfied with it. I told you I should hold your *exeat* in my possession until you should have published your submission to the Pope's decision; and I engaged, on your doing so, and abiding by the terms in your own written submission, to deliver you the *exeat*. You instantly promised to comply.

The question then was, how this submission should be made known to the public. I proposed to publish it from the pulpit of St. Mary's Church, on next Sunday, and that you might be present, as I should confine myself to such observations as an act so good on your part would naturally call forth. You observed that you would not like to be present on such an occasion. You offered to announce it yourself from the altar, and immediately added, "I shall not say mass." Being most desirous to avoid everything which might be in any way painful to you, I readily gave up my proposal of reading your submission from the pulpit, and apprehending the consequences of such a declaration by you from the altar, to a people whose passions are already too deeply committed in this unhappy division, I proposed to have the publication made in the newspapers, to which you instantly acceded. I mentioned the *National Gazette*, and you offered to give me the advertisement with your own signature. I said, no; I think you sincere, and shall leave it to yourself to give directions for the publication. You then said, "*I take the Aurora, and shall have it published to-morrow morning; and the evening papers can copy it from the Aurora.*" I do not know that I ever felt such satisfaction as at that moment. On leaving your room we shook hands; and these were my last words to you: "I thank God for this determination, as I believe it to be his work; and I thank you most sincerely for the confidence you have reposed in me."

This proceeding was, in my view of it, so much to your honour, that after I left you, I had no hesitation in telling the priests, who waited my return at St. Joseph's, that the negotiation was concluded; and surely you must have considered it concluded, when you agreed to publish it. That you agreed to publish it is evident, from your note received by me on the morning of the 11th, in which you state "*that you were prevented from doing so by the advice of your lawyer.*" The negotiation embraced but two points—your submission to the decision of the Holy See, and your retiring from this diocess, and to both of these you distinctly submit in the paper delivered to me for the purpose of obtaining your *exeat*. That you have not seen the decision of the Holy See published before this time, is chiefly to be attributed to myself. As you are there mentioned in terms which must give pain to you and your friends, I requested that the publication of that document should be suspended as soon as I found you disposed to do your duty. I informed the bishop that you told me it was your intention to leave Philadelphia about the middle of the ensuing week, and to return to Ireland by the first packet which should sail from New York, and that it would be well to spare you every unnecessary pain. It was then resolved, under these circumstances, and from this consideration alone, not to print the decision until you should have departed from the United States. You shall see it as soon as it can be printed, and you will find that it corresponds with the report I gave you of the severity of its expressions on you and your case. You did not question the fidelity of my report, when you gave me your written submission to the sentence pronounced on your acts in this diocess. You mention in your last letter that you must see the original *exeat*—you have seen it. The one I read for you, and with which you expressed yourself perfectly satisfied, was written and signed by the bishop, and by me as his secretary. It has not left my hands. You warn me against making an improper use of the paper you gave me; you may rely on it I shall not. But I fear we shall not agree as to the use which I may find it not merely proper, but necessary to make of that paper.

I promised to obtain from the bishop all that you required, and more than you appeared to hope. I pledged my honour to return you your written submission, if I did not succeed in obtaining your *exeat* from Dr. Conwell. I have obtained your *exeat*, and my pledge is redeemed. When you comply with the engagements contained in the paper which you deposited in my hands, for the purpose of obtaining your *exeat* from the bishop, you shall have that *exeat*. You offered to place it in the hands of Mr. Binney, or Mr. Chauncey, with directions to have it given to you as soon as you should have complied with the engagements you make in that paper. I am ready to place it in their hands under these conditions; I will go farther—I will place it, under these conditions, in the hands of your own lawyer, J. R. Ingersoll, Esq. Can truth and honour require more? Will the people, can yourself, can your warmest adherents require more than this?

I am, Reverend Sir, your obedient servant,

W. V. HAROLD.

Willing's Alley, Dec. 12th, 1822.

Sent by Mr. M'Guigan, at 2 o'clock.

P. S. Permit me to remind you once more, that it was at your own special request I waited on you to receive your submission to the authority of the Holy See. I am ready to fulfil, in every particular, the arrangement concluded between us. Should

you refuse to comply with engagements freely and deliberately made by you, it is impossible for you not to perceive how it must affect you before the world. But I trust you will reflect still more seriously on your responsibility to God, for the continuance of a schism so ruinous to peace and charity, and to the future welfare of our unhappy people. I have a copy of the Pope's decision, authenticated by the Archbishop of Baltimore, which you can see when you please. The original remains in his hands, and may be inspected by any one who may feel a wish to see it.

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[No. 8.]

REVEREND SIR:—I shall only say in reply to your long and interesting letter, that if you send me the rescript from Rome, and it proves to be authentic, I shall submit to it. You are aware that it cannot be binding on me under any other circumstances.

As to the use which you may find it necessary to make of my paper, you will be governed, I am sure, by the best principles, and you may also rest satisfied, that I shall make no improper use of Dr. Conwell's *exeat*, a correct copy of which I have taken after you left my room. However, should our private conversation or correspondence come before the public, depend on it, I shall not be the first to commence the publication. I lament the public should have seen so much of our proceedings already.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM HOGAN.

Dec. 12, 1822.

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[No. 9.]

Dec. 12, 1822.

REVEREND SIR:—The rescript purporting to be from Rome, which you had the kindness to allow me to peruse, has not a single mark of authenticity; and, therefore, in the language of the supposed rescript, "quo pacto," could it be required of me to submit to it. Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM HOGAN,
Pastor of St. Mary's Church.

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[No. 10.]

REVEREND SIR:—In my letter of the 12th instant, I informed you that I had a copy of the Pope's decision, authenticated by the Archbishop of Baltimore, which you might see when you pleased. Your letter in reply expressed a wish to see the rescript from Rome, and a determination to submit to it should it prove to be authentic. I went to your house in the hope of seeing you, but as you were not to be seen, I left you the copy authenticated by the declaration, seal, and signature of the archbishop. After having kept this document for some hours, you returned it with a letter, in which you say, that it has not a single mark of authenticity; and, therefore, that you cannot be required to submit to it. Will you have the politeness to say, whether by this declaration you mean to intimate that the authenticated copy sent you is a forgery by the archbishop, or that this paper is a forgery by me, who have transmitted it to you as a copy authenticated by the archbishop—or, if neither of these be meant to be intimated, please to say what is the precise meaning of your declaration.

I am, Reverend Sir, your obedient servant,

W. V. HAROLD.

December 13, 1822.

Sent to Reverend W. Hogan, by Mr. M'Guigan.

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[No. 11.]

REVEREND SIR:—I have received your letter of yesterday, in reply to my note of the 12th instant, the sense of which, it appears, has not been understood. The idea that yourself or the Archbishop of Baltimore could be guilty of forgery, never once entered my mind; still, I must repeat that in the document, a copy of which has been sent to me, I perceive no mark of authenticity, and I do not allude wholly to its external signs. When it was intimated to me, that the holy father had pronounced a decision on the controversy existing between the Right Rev. Bishop Conwell and myself, I expected a judgment, given at least in some judicial form, and on the exhibition of some canonical evidence. I was far from supposing that I might be condemned on mere hearsay and rumour, on the sole ground of *intelleximus et pervenit ad aures nostras*, and on reports also inconsistent with the truth of facts, as that the Bishop of Philadelphia has been expelled from St. Mary's Church, *expulso episcopo*.

I also considered and do still consider His Holiness as the fountain of Christian charity, whose usual language, in his patriarchal admonitions, is not that of harsh invective; can I believe, therefore, that such expressions as *insana arrogantia nefariisque ausis*, and other similar ones, have issued from his paternal lips, without a single word of tenderness to his supposed lost child to temper their effect—"*Non agnosco vestem patris mei.*"

Before I had seen this document, which might be called a pastoral letter, if it were couched in pastoral language, I had determined to sacrifice myself in order to restore

peace and tranquillity to our afflicted church, and therefore I wrote to you my note of the 11th inst. But since I have been apprised of its contents, I find that this sacrifice, great as it would have been, could not have produced the desired effect; on the contrary, it has become my duty to remain at the head of my congregation to soothe and moderate the passions which it is so unfortunately calculated to excite; while it professes, in one place, that spiritual things must not be confounded with temporal ones, *neque spiritualia cum temporalibus, sunt confundenda*, in another, it advances the contradictory proposition that the temporalities of the church are in the power of the clergy, in *ecclesiæ potestatem transierunt*, and that the trustees of churches are bound to render every year to their bishop an account of the disposition of their funds, *reddere ordinariis rationem eorum administrationis.*

These maxims may suit the meridian of the Roman State, but they will always meet with the decent but firm resistance of American Catholics—whose duty it was to have informed His Holiness of the constitutions, laws, and liberties of this country. It is not for me at present to point out, but I am forced to say, with heartfelt sorrow, that I foresee great evils to arise to the American churches from this rash attempt to establish here a monkish system of discipline, and to enforce antiquated pretensions in matters of church property; the consequence must fall on those who, having it in their power to give correct information to the court of Rome, have neglected so to do.

Had the Archbishop of Baltimore given me and the trustees of St. Mary's notice of his intention to go to Rome, and charitably offered, as the father of his flock, to take with him our representations and our proofs, there is little doubt that a different result would be produced than appears from this document, supposing it to be genuine; on the contrary, a system of ex parte accusation has been pursued, which will, I fear, be long a cause of grief to the true Catholics of this country; it is not as respects myself that I make this observation, but because I know that no establishment in which the principles of natural justice are disregarded can subsist long in the United States. The church, as the Scriptures assures us, will remain until the end of ages, but from this very assurance it results that the abuses, which from time to time may creep into it, can have but a temporary duration.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM HOGAN,

Pastor of St. Mary's Church.

Dec. 14, 1822.

[No. 12.]

REVEREND SIR:—Your letter of the 14th was handed to me at a moment when other engagements prevented me from attending to it; but I have availed myself of the first leisure hour to peruse it, and give you my opinion on such parts of that letter as seem to me to require particular notice. When you expressed your doubt as to the authenticity of a paper which the Archbishop has presented to the American church as sent by the Pope, and bearing his signature, you imposed on me the necessity of putting the questions which you have the politeness to answer in the letter now before me. Indeed the idea cannot be entertained for a moment, that any prelate in the Catholic Church could venture to give such a paper to the world, did he not know it to be genuine. The certain consequence of such an act would be his own ruin.

I think I shall be joined by every man capable of forming an opinion, when I assume it that the paper in question is what it purports to be, the decision of the Holy See, which the Archbishop of Baltimore was commissioned to present to the Roman Catholic Churches of the United States. It is a decision on the validity of Dr. Conwell's sentence of excommunication pronounced against you, and as the justice of that sentence is confirmed by the highest tribunal in the Roman Catholic Church, you can have no appeal from it. It is not usual, I believe, to question the validity or authenticity of a sentence because the judge, who is not bound to any set form of words, happens to use expressions not agreeable to the feelings of the party on whom it is pronounced. It may not appear to all as it does to yourself, that the terms used by the judge in this case are unnecessarily severe. If they are more than usually so, (and, considering the occasion, I do not think they are,) it is what we might expect from the zeal and apostolical solicitude which Pius VII. has uniformly evinced for every portion of the flock of Christ, of which he is the first pastor.

Do not believe that I mean to offend you when I offer a few observations in vindication of the language of our venerable judge. It appears by his decision that he regarded you as justly separated from the communion of our church—that he saw in your schismatical ministry nothing but a profanation of sacraments—that he held you guilty of receiving the body of the Lord unworthily, and to your own judgment. When you reflect on the well-known character of our Chief Bishop—his ardent zeal, his un-

bending fortitude, his holy life, you will not be surprised that he expressed with horror what such a man must have felt to be horrible. He judged you from your own writings which were before him, and the tenor of which he recites in the usual style of his court, *pervenit ad aures nostras*, as having been reported to him by those to whose office it belongs. The Pope does not understand the English language, but there are those in his court to whom that and every language is familiar; who convey to him all that it is necessary to be known of such writings as he thinks it necessary to have examined. This is not what we understand by hearsay, nor does that English word express the phrase in the Pope's decision. He judged you from such of your acts as are notorious to the world, and he notices these acts in his decision on your case. In the justice of such a mode of proceeding, he is supported by a precedent of good authority, which you will find in the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. 5th. "It is absolutely *heard* that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as the like is not among the heathens: that one should have his father's wife. I, indeed, absent in body but present in spirit, have already judged, as though I were present, him that hath so done. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to deliver such a one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ." To use the language of St. Paul is not unbecoming in the Bishop of the Apostolic See. As to the expulsion of Dr. Conwell from his cathedral it will surprise the city of Philadelphia to hear it questioned by you.

You profess to "consider His Holiness as the fountain of Christian charity." I would not dare to apply to this most exemplary bishop a title which does not belong to man, but we shall both be joined by all who know his history and have observed his life, in regarding him as one of the most pious and illustrious men that ever sat in the chair of Peter. But your opinion of his charity carries you too far, if you advance it as an argument against the authenticity of his judicial sentence, because some expressions in that instrument sound more harshly than you were prepared to expect. Take a moment to consider that he viewed you not only as a lost child, but a contumacious one. Read the expressions of that Divine Being who may be called the fountain of charity, and you will often find them far more harsh than those of his Vicar on earth; yet the Gospel is an authentic document. Peruse the writings of St. Paul, who does not yield to Pius VII. in charity, and you will find that his solicitude for the churches has drawn from him expressions more harsh than those applied by our spiritual chief to you; yet, the authenticity of St. Paul's Epistles is not rendered doubtful by those expressions. When you return to your father's house with the prodigal's wisdom and the prodigal's feelings, that will be the time to soothe and embrace you, and Pius VII., whose life is regulated by the Gospel, will emulate the tenderness of the prodigal's father.

When I acceded to the request which you made for an interview on the 10th inst., it was in the hope that I might be instrumental in reconciling you with the Roman Catholic Church, and thus restoring peace to a congregation to which I cannot be indifferent. The determination you express of remaining at the head of that congregation, in contempt of the decision of that tribunal, to which but a few days since, you submitted in terms which can neither be misunderstood nor forgotten, has drawn a line between us, which, if it continue, must separate us for ever. You have gone from amongst us, and we are no longer concerned in your opinions or proceedings. You will permit me to meet you as I do any other individual of my separated brethren. Our difference in religion shall make no difference in the ordinary intercourse of society. Our acquaintance was of short continuance, and neither commenced nor terminated by my choice. It is not my intention to write another word on the subject when I shall have closed this letter, unless you can point out to me some advantage likely to result from a continuance of our correspondence. Should I become a mark for the scurrility of bad men, in consequence of the part I have been induced to take in this business, I shall stand silently and fearlessly, nor shall I deign to inquire by whom the shaft is directed. If the passions of the people should be excited, it will be by misrepresenting to them the words which are addressed to the church of America, by the common father of the Christian world.

He tells us that property set apart for divine worship and the support of the ministers of the church, falls under the authority of the church. The proposition is true when applied to such appropriations. If any man give or bequeath property for the support of the pastors of St. Mary's, that property cannot be in justice or law diverted from that purpose. It would be diverted from the purpose intended by the donor or testator, were it given to any other than the pastors of St. Mary's. The pastors of St. Mary's can be designated by him only, from whom

they derive their pastoral power and appointment. They do not derive either from the people, if St. Mary's be a Roman Catholic Church. According to the doctrine of that church, the priest must derive his pastoral powers from the diocesan bishop. Hence it belongs to the bishop, to inform the administrators of such property, who are, or who are not entitled from their office to receive it: and if given to those who do not hold the office of pastors, the intention of the donor and the will of the testator are defeated. But I do not know that any part of the property of St. Mary's Church, or of any other church in these states, has been so given or bequeathed. I believe there is some part of the property of St. Mary's Church specially bequeathed to the free school, and some set apart for the purchase of books, but I have never heard that any donations or legacies have been made for the support of the pastors.

Hence the passions of the people may sleep, and they will sleep, if not roused by those who are ignorant of the obvious meaning of the Pope's expressions, or who hope to derive some advantage from misrepresenting them. You seem to think these maxims confined to the "meridian of the Roman states," but you will find they extend to every meridian where justice is fairly administered. There is a penal law, as yet in force in England, which prohibits and invalidates such appropriations; but I am not acquainted with any law in these states which would make void a donation or bequest for such a purpose. Whenever property so appropriated shall, in opposition to the will of donor or testator, be applied to any other than the purpose contemplated by the giver, a remedy will be sought and found too, not in the Pope's authority, to whom we deny any right to interfere in temporal matters, and in whom we acknowledge no other than a spiritual power over us, but in our courts and juries.

St. Mary's Church and the lot on which it stands are, by the acts of the original purchasers, specially reserved to Roman Catholics, and for Roman Catholic worship. This right is secured by the charter of incorporation, so that it never can be turned to any other purpose. If the bishop shall succeed in proving that St. Mary's is at this moment not a Roman Catholic Church, and that the rights of the original purchasers, recognised and secured by the charter of incorporation, are violated, he will find his remedy not in the power of the Pope, who has no temporal power out of his own states, but in the laws which are impartially administered to all who have the happiness to live under our admirable constitution. Should it be proved beyond all doubt, that you are not a minister of the Roman Catholic Church, the law of this country must pronounce you disqualified to hold St. Mary's Church, or to officiate in it. Hence, when the Pope says that property consecrated to divine worship, falls under the authority of the church, he speaks in accordance with the spirit and letter of our constitution. Were I to obtain possession, no matter by what means, of one of the churches belonging to the Protestant bishop of this city, and that he found me there in defiance of the constituted authorities of the Protestant Episcopal Church, violating its discipline and its tenets, would not the Right Rev. Dr. White, as the legal head of that church, and the proper organ of its religious tenets, declare that the purpose contemplated by the founders of that church was violated in this instance, and claim to have it restored to that religious worship to which it had been consecrated? The Pope's principle is applicable to every church, and is the foundation of their security. The constitution of this country sanctions the principle by protecting every religion, and holding that property inviolable which is devoted to such purposes.

You could not have read the Pope's brief with attention, when you fancied you had discovered contradictory propositions in that document. It would look like pedantry to take advantage of a mistake which may be attributed to a hasty perusal. When you read it again, you will find that the words you have unguardedly pronounced to be contradictory, do not regard the same things, and cannot consequently be brought in contradiction one to the other. In the one case he advances a principle which may be considered as the foundation of security in property of every description. In the other case he is reproving the trustees who presume to meddle in the spiritual government of the church, because they happen to be invested with a power to manage the temporalities of the church, and on this occasion he admonishes them not to confound spiritual things and temporal things. He had been well informed that these lay persons had assumed to themselves the right of appointing and removing pastors—of intruding into that office priests deprived of faculties, and actually under ecclesiastical censure. He pronounces such arrogance to be a violation not only of ecclesiastical, but also of the divine law. He condemns this usurpation on the part of laymen, and tells them the appointment of pastors is, by the divine law, reserved to the bishops, who de-

rive from the Holy Ghost, their right to rule the Church of God. That as, in temporal things, they must obey the civil power, so, in spiritual things, they must obey the laws of the universal church, if they wish to remain in the church.

You say in the conclusion of your letter, "had the Archbishop of Baltimore given me and the trustees of St. Mary's notice of his intention to go to Rome, and charitably offered, as the father of his flock, to take with him our representations and our proofs, there is little doubt but a different result would be produced, than appears from the document, supposing it to be genuine—a system of ex parte accusation has been pursued, which will I fear be long a cause of grief to the true Catholics of this country." I think I may hazard the assertion, that this reasoning will not appear very plausible to those who shall take the trouble to examine it. That the archbishop did not offer himself to be the bearer of your representations, and those of the trustees, may be easily accounted for by any who will recollect the terms on which that prelate stood with you and the trustees at the time of his departure from this country, nor do I think his paternal regard for the American church will be impeached because he did not volunteer his services as the bearer of your despatches to Rome. Had he hastened to that city, and, before you had time to counteract his supposed hostility, had he hurried back again with the sentence of your condemnation, there might, to those who do not know him to be an upright man and an exemplary bishop, be some reason to complain, and some shadow of doubt that justice had not been done. But the decision against you is dated nearly a year after his departure from the United States. Had there been no other medium by which to convey your representations to Rome than through the archbishop, your argument would still hold good. But the common post was always open to you. Ships were constantly departing from our ports for Italy. Some of your firmest adherents are merchants, and extensively acquainted with persons of that class both here and in Europe. You had it, then, always in your power to have letters forwarded where and when you pleased, and perhaps, after all, the public may not think that either the trustees or yourself would have selected the archbishop as the bearer of your remonstrance. That prelate, too, highly as he stands in public opinion, might have apprehended, that some of your very warm friends, (in the event of the decision going against you,) would say he had not dealt fairly with your proofs and representations, and this may have been another reason for not having offered his services. But your friends were at no loss to find a safe conveyance. The proofs and representations reached Rome, as I understand, through the agency of the Spanish consulate. I am well informed that your cause suffered nothing by the want of opportunity and importunity. As to the grief of the true Catholics, a long course of which your letter anticipates, I have only to say, that if they are true they will bear it well. If we are good men we will leave nothing undone to remove the cause of their grief, and if we cannot effect that, our next best duty is to afford them all the consolation in our power.

I am, Reverend Sir, your obed't servant,
W. V. HAROLD.

December 16, 1822.

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[*Translation of No.* 3.]

HENRY CONWELL, by divine permission, and by the approbation of the holy Apostolical See, Bishop of Philadelphia—To all those to whom these presents shall come, health and benediction in the Lord Jesus.

Whereas, the Rev. Wm. Hogan has declared his entire submission, by an instrument in his own handwriting, with his name affixed thereto, and duly witnessed, to the decrees and sentences of the sovereign pontiff, pronounced at Rome on the 24th day of August of this present year, being the festival of St. Bartholomew:

And whereas, he has entered into a strict agreement to retire for ever from the diocess of Philadelphia, of the fulfilment of which there is every reason to be well assured from the sincerity and the solemn pledge of his engagement to that effect:

Therefore, on these conditions being performed on his part, we, on our part, in that case, do by these presents absolve the said William Hogan, and declare him absolved, as far as it belongs to us so to do, from every ecclesiastical censure, and announce him accordingly so to be, in order that he may make a tender of his services to any bishop, in communion with the Holy See, who may be pleased to receive him as a subject.

Dated at Philadelphia, from our place of residence, near St. Joseph's Church, on the tenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two. In testimony of which, we have hereunto subscribed and desired the seal of our diocess to be affixed, the day and year as above.

† HENRY, *Bishop of Philadelphia.*
WILLIAM VINCENT HAROLD, Sec'ry.

The above is a true and literal translation from the Latin original, which precedes it.

H., B. of P.

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BRIEF.

To our venerable brothers, Ambrose Marechal, Archbishop of Baltimore, and his suffragan bishops; to our beloved children, administrators of the temporalities of churches, and to all the faithful of the United States of America.

PIUS P. P. VII.

Venerable brothers and beloved children, grace and apostolical benediction. It was not without great grief we understood that the church of Philadelphia has been for a long time so distracted by incessant discord and dissensions, that schisms have arisen, perverse doctrines have been diffused, and that the affairs of the whole church itself are thrown into the greatest confusion. These disorders have originated principally from two causes, namely, from the senseless arrogance, and nefarious attempts of the priest William Hogan, and also from an abuse of power in some who administer the temporal properties of the church. For it has reached our ears that this most abandoned priest, Hogan, despising and subverting the laws of the church, has constituted himself judge of his own prelate, that he has presumed to lacerate his reputation by many defamatory writings, to withdraw the faithful from their legitimate pastor, to call a council of bishops, for the purpose of deposing the same prelate, daring in his letters to that effect, like one possessed of superior power, to impart to them apostolical benediction, and finally to intrude himself into the possession of the cathedral church, from which he has expelled the bishop. Neither the complaints of the good, nor the withdrawing of his faculties, nor the sentence of excommunication *justly denounced against him by his bishop*, could deter him from pursuing the course he had commenced. On the contrary, regardless of all this, he does not blush to administer the sacraments, to perform all parochial functions, and daily to profane, by an impious and sacrilegious celebration, the most holy mysteries, rendering himself publicly guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord. These are certainly execrable deeds. But what strikes both us and the universal church, not only with the greatest astonishment, but also indignation, is doubtless, that this priest, in so manifest a contempt of all law, could find many followers, supporters, and defenders of his pride and contumacy, who, neglecting and despising the authority of the bishop, would rather adhere to him than to their lawful pastor, from whom they have not hesitated to withdraw even the means necessary for the sustenance of life. This, indeed, is a most serious injury offered not to the bishop only, but to us also, and to this Apostolical See, and a sign of defection from the unity of the Catholic Church; because, shamefully rejecting the pastor given to them by the Holy See, they impiously follow a wicked man, cut off from the communion of the church, without reflecting that not those only who do evil are to be considered and treated as guilty, but those who give their assent to them, and who are not afraid either by themselves or the agency of others, to procure them assistance, counsel, or protection. Are they ignorant that the Holy Ghost has placed the bishops to rule the church of God? Whence it follows that the bishops are the shepherds of the flock of Christ—and is it not sufficiently evident, that it is not the flock that leads the shepherd, but the shepherd the flock? Are they ignorant that the order of the hierarchy has been *so* established in the church, that priests must be subject to bishops, and bishops to the supreme Vicar of Christ; so the PRIEST is to be judged by the *bishop*, not the *bishop* by the *priest;* because, otherwise, the government and discipline of the whole church would be totally overturned? Are they ignorant that it belongs not to laymen to meddle with ecclesiastical judgments, which are reserved to the bishops, and therefore, that in the case of the priest Hogan, they should not by any means have interfered, but only have submitted to their bishop. Finally, are they ignorant, that all the acts he *sacrilegiously* and *daringly* performs, are entirely null and void? We hope, these things being duly considered, with the assistance of divine grace, that those who have adhered to him through ignorance or error, and have been seduced by his artifices, will, the truth being now known, hasten to return to the right path, and diligently beware for the future of this impious man, lest, following him, they be made partakers of his crimes, and they escape not the just judgment of God.

There is another circumstance which affords continual cause of discord and contention, not only in Philadelphia, but also in many other places of the United States of America; the immoderate and unlimited right which trustees, or the administrators of the temporal properties of churches, assume, independently of the diocesan bishops. Indeed, unless this be circumscribed by certain regulations, it may prove an

eternal source of abuses and dissensions. Trustees ought then to bear in mind, that the properties which have been consecrated for divine worship, for the support of the church, and for the maintenance of its ministers, fall under the power of the church; and since the bishops, by divine appointment, preside over their respective churches, they cannot by any means be excluded from the care, superintendence, and administration of these properties. Whence the holy Council of Trent, sess. 22, cap. 9, de Ref., after having established, that the administrators for the building of every church, even of a cathedral, and of all pious institutions, were bound every year to render to the ordinary an account of their administration, expressly ordered that, although, according to the particular usages of some countries, the account of the administration was to be rendered to other persons appointed for that purpose, nevertheless the ordinary must be called in, together with them. If the trustees, in conformity to this decree, were to administer the temporalities of the church in union of mind and heart with the bishop, everything would be performed peaceably, and according to order.

But that trustees and laymen should arrogate to themselves the right, as it has sometimes happened in these countries, of establishing for pastors priests destitute of legal faculties, and even not unfrequently bound by censures (as it appears was lately the case with regard to Hogan); and also of removing them at their pleasure, and of bestowing the revenues upon whom they please, is a practice *new* and *unheard of* in the church. And if these things have been performed in the manner in which it has been announced to us, how could so great a subversion of laws, not only ecclesiastical but divine also, be borne with? For in that case the church would be governed, not by *bishops* but by *laymen;* the *shepherd* would be made subject to his flock, and laymen would usurp that power which was given by Almighty God to bishops. But those who are desirous of remaining in the bosom of their mother, the Holy Catholic Church, and of providing for their eternal salvation, are bound religiously to observe the laws of the universal church; and as the civil authorities must be obeyed in those things which are temporal, so also in those which are spiritual must the faithful comply with the laws of the church, not confounding the spiritual with the temporal. In order, then, to avoid the dissensions and disturbances which frequently arise from the unbounded power of trustees, we have provided, venerable brothers, that certain regulations and instructions concerning the choice and direction of trustees should be transmitted to you, to which, we are confident, the trustees will thoroughly conform themselves. If these be observed, all things, we trust, will be settled rightly, and peace and tranquillity will again flourish in these regions. To this end we first exhort in the Lord, and entreat the pastors, whose solicitude is sufficiently known to us, that they employ their most diligent endeavours to root out abuses, and to establish ecclesiastical discipline,—*being instant in season and out of season, by reproving, entreating, rebuking, with all patience and doctrine.* We also admonish and exhort the trustees, and the rest of the faithful, through the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to behave towards the pastors sent by the Holy See with that respect, honour, and obedience which belongs to them; to receive them as their fathers, and the directors of their souls; to lend a willing ear to their admonitions; to supply them with the subsidies necessary for their support; to harbour no other ministers of the sanctuary but those who have been approved by them; finally, to embrace with pleasure, and with readiness, whatever they may judge conducive to establish regular order and discipline, and to rest in peace, that there may be no schisms; *that all be of one mind, having the same charity, being of one accord, agreeing in sentiment. Let nothing be done through strife, nor by vain glory, but in humility let each esteem others better than themselves.* (Phil. ii. 2.) And since, under the protection of your prosperous and happy government, Catholics enjoy the free exercise of their holy religion, let your faith and piety shine before all, in such a manner that you may be an example and an edification, not only to the faithful, but to those also who are *without,*—faithfully serving God and your country. And as we trust you will, with the assistance of divine grace, diligently and willingly perform this, we most lovingly impart to you in the Lord our apostolical benediction.

Given at Rome, in the church of St. Mary Major, on the 24th day of August, Anno 1822, and of our pontificate the twenty-third.

(Signed) Pius P. P. VII.

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(From the Catholic Miscellany, Dec. 31.)

PHILADELPHIA.

The articles upon the subject of the schism in this city, which fill our pages to-day, scarcely need a comment. The exertions

of the Rev. Mr. Harold have, like those of the Bishop of Charleston, and of others who have interfered for the same purpose, been ineffectual, and all from the same cause, viz., the nonfulfilment of his promises by the Rev. William Hogan. The truth is, Mr. Hogan is not the principal, he is the servant in this case. Mr. Hogan can scarcely be called a free agent. The governors are the trustees, and the gentlemen who are in that office are not Roman Catholics; their conduct is in direct opposition to the principles and laws of the Roman Catholic Church; and so long as they shall be continued in office, and can find a priest so forgetful of his duty as to serve under them, contrary to the rules of the church, and in direct violation of his bounden duty, so long will that church be schismatic.

If the law of the land be that a Roman Catholic church cannot be taken from Roman Catholics without their consent, we are at a loss to know upon what principle this church has been withheld from the Roman Catholics, and kept in possession of schismatics. The bishops of this country, the Pope, in fact the only authorities which are in such cases recognised by the Roman Catholics of the world, and the only authorities which they have since the days of the Apostles recognised in such cases, have decided that the occupiers of this church are not Roman Catholics; and yet the Roman Catholics are by those men deprived of their church, and when they complain of it to the court, they are told, "You had better go and settle it amongst yourselves." They did go and attempt to settle it amongst themselves in a very disgraceful manner; for when the court would not decide the question by law, the parties had recourse to war and to bloodshed to decide it. Now we ask, in the name of common sense, would the court have treated two individuals claiming any property so? And where is the difference? The court says, we have no doubt but the church belongs to the Roman Catholics, but we do not know which of you are the Roman Catholics. You both claim to be such. This is a religious question, a question of doctrine; we will not interfere. With all due submission to the court, it is not a question of doctrine, but a question of law and of fact. Of law, to know what description of persons possess the right; of fact, to ascertain which claimant answers the description. Of the law, we understand there is no question; of the fact, we know there can be none; and the court might receive evidence thereof as of any other fact. In countries where the prerogative of primogeniture exists, and where property descends entailed, there may be two claimants who might both exhibit such documents as would create a serious question as to the priority of right. Would the court, in such a case, tell the claimants, "Go settle it between you, we will not interfere?" Why, then, are courts established? To ascertain facts, to administer justice, to protect the honest against the rapacious, the designing, the powerful. The courts are bound to investigate the facts, and to administer the law, and the executive is bound to carry the legal decisions into effect. Let the court of Pennsylvania say that the law is that the Roman Catholics have an exclusive right to possess churches built and chartered as Roman Catholic churches; or let it say what proof it requires to distinguish who are, from those who are not, Roman Catholics. Or let it say that it cannot suffer any proof of such a discrimination to be given for the purpose of enabling it to ascertain a fact, upon which a law might be applied, and carried into effect. Or let it suffer evidence to be given, and let the decision be even against the fact; let it say, the schismatics are the Roman Catholics. This priest, who has no authority in the Roman Catholic Church, is the duly appointed Roman Catholic pastor. Those persons who disobey and counteract the judgment of the See of Rome, who are separated from the communion of the Roman Catholic Church, whom the head of the church declares officially to be disobedient usurpers, those persons are in communion with the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church, and as St. Mary's belongs to the Roman Catholics, let them be maintained in possession—for, as we understood Judge Duncan to say, the Pope ought to have no authority over an American Roman Catholic.

This will be intelligible. The Roman Catholics will then know how to act. But to say, "The law declares the church to belong to Roman Catholics; we would decide, if we knew who were Roman Catholics, but if we go into evidence to ascertain the fact, it will be a religious question; you had better settle it between yourselves." This is, we humbly think, to render the law null and void; and is a mode of administering justice which is new to us. But, of course, we must have very erroneous notions upon the subject.

But if ever a question could have been raised as to the Catholicity of the claimants, and as to the qualification of the clergyman, that time has gone by. So far as the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church is concerned, the question is now closed.

The final judgment has been given. St. Mary's Church and its worshippers are out of the pale of Roman Catholic communion.

Though we could not avoid making these remarks upon what we consider the strange line of conduct adopted by the state court in this case, we are very far from being advocates for claiming churches by law, and maintaining the rights of religion by litigation. On the contrary, we would recommend to make very great sacrifices rather than draw the concerns of religion in any way before the legal tribunals of the country; and we know that all the property necessary for the churches may be much better vested and preserved than it generally is at present, without its being necessary to have recourse to any legislature, or to any court of justice.

Now as to the canon law of the case. So long as the final decision had not been pronounced, we abstained from entering upon it, as it might have the appearance of our making an appeal for their decision upon the case to the public, instead of leaving it to the proper judicial tribunal of the church. That delicacy no longer exists, now that final judgment has been given; and for the information of our readers, we shall give them the facts and the law of the entire.

Mr. Harold's excellent letter No. 12 has spared us much of what we should have felt it our duty otherwise to remark, upon the total absence of any acquaintance with canon law in Mr. Hogan's quibbles contained in No. 11. We therefore refer our readers altogether to No. 12 for a sufficient answer, which is given in a style and manner highly creditable to the writer.

The Rev. William Hogan arrived in Philadelphia, and was by the Rev. Doctor Debarth, we will suppose, canonically and regularly admitted to full jurisdiction as a priest in St. Mary's Church. The first question which here presents itself is, What was his situation? Mr. Hogan claimed latterly that he was parish priest. This, if true, would be his strongest ground. Let us then allow this, though it be contrary to the fact. The Bishop of Philadelphia arrives in his diocess,—we here take the whole case upon Mr. Hogan's own statement. The bishop is informed, and believes Mr. Hogan to have been guilty of some occult crimes which in his conscience he thinks render him unfit for his situation; he advises Mr. Hogan to retire; and Mr. Hogan having refused to retire, the bishop suspends him, though he was a parish priest; and Mr. Hogan appeals to the archbishop to be restored to his parish or tried, after his bishop had refused him a trial, or even to mention the crimes with which he charged him; and the archbishop answered that he had no authority to interfere. Upon which Mr. Hogan sent the bishop notice that he would resume his parochial duties, unless he were either restored or regularly tried before a particular day. Upon which the bishop sent the said parish priest notice that if he did proceed to discharge his parochial duties he would excommunicate him the said parish priest. The day being arrived, the parish priest resumed his duties, and the bishop excommunicated him. Upon which the parish priest declared the bishop irregular and excommunicated, and called upon the provincial bishops to depose him for violating the canons of the church.

Now, though this be not the true but the assumed case of Mr. Hogan, we shall give him the full benefit thereof.

First, the Roman Catholic Church receives the Council of Trent as of the very highest authority, as being the last general council which has been held. Its canons concerning church discipline are universally binding, save in those cases where it has made exceptions.

In the fourteenth session, *de Reformatione*, the first chapter of this council repeats and recognises the authority of bishops over their clergy, and their solemn obligation to look closely after the morality of those persons, who ought to be to the flock examples of all virtue, and concludes in the following words: "That, therefore, bishops may be able the more freely to do so, and may not be prevented therefrom under any pretext, the same holy and Œcumenical Council of Trent, under the presidency of the same legate and nuncios of the Apostolic See, has judged right to enact and to decree these following canons."

The first canon is the following:

"As it is more becoming and safe for an inferior, by paying due obedience to his superior, to serve in a lower ministry, than with the scandal of his superiors to desire the dignity of higher orders,—let no license *granted against the will of his prelate*, either for promotion to higher orders, *or restoration to his former orders, degrees, and dignities or honours* avail for him who shall have been interdicted by his prelate from ascending to holy orders, from any cause, *even on account of a hidden crime*, in any manner, even *extrajudicially, or for him who shall have been suspended from his orders, or degrees, or ecclesiastical dignities.*"

There is no exception to this canon; it therefore binds everywhere in the church.

By the proper authority a congregation

was appointed to be special judges for the interpretation of the canons of this council. That is, the interpretation of the canons was not left to the whim and caprice, nor to the ignorance or self-sufficiency of individuals, but a supreme judicial court was established to give the special and proper application of the law in all cases.

We shall now confine ourselves to a very few out of a very considerable number of cases decided by this congregation, as to the meaning and the application of this canon.

First, the canon is divided into two parts: 1. As it regards a prohibition to ascend to higher orders. 2. As it regards a suspension from the exercise of orders already received, suspension from dignities, offices, honours, &c.

The first decision we shall notice was given February 3, 1593, in which it was declared, "1. That the canon applied to suspensions as well as prohibitions: 2. And to both as well perpetual as temporary: 3. And that, in acting under it, the prelate was not bound to use any special judicial form, and might act upon a conviction of his own mind, without having regard to the judicial forms to obtain such convictions." The congregation had previously declared the several previous canons which appeared to be in collision with the enactment of this, and which were formerly in force, to have been thereby repealed, though there was no special clause to that effect.

Pope Benedict XIV., in his famous work, *De Synodo Diocesana*, lib. xii. c. 8, n. 3, 4, and 5, quotes this canon, and gives the reasoning upon it thus: "From which words it is gathered that a bishop can on account of a hidden crime, even extrajudicially known, not only prohibit clergymen from ascending to higher orders, but also interdict them from the ministration of the orders they have already received. Although in the second part of the decree, where suspension is mentioned, there be no repetition of these words, *even on account of a hidden crime, in any manner, even extrajudicially*, nevertheless, the constant and perpetual opinion of the sacred congregation has been, that they are to be considered as repeated because of the continuity of the discourse, and that they therefore are applicable to each case."

He then quotes the decision of the congregation in the case of an application on behalf of the Bishop of Aleria, in Corsica, whether the clause above mentioned was of equal force in the second part regarding suspension, in which it was not repeated, as in the first part regarding prohibition in which it was read. "And the congregation having closely and carefully considered the case, was distinctly of opinion that there was no ground for departing from the decisions and declarations frequently theretofore given upon this question of doubt, and did therefore decide that the clause was of equal force in the case of suspensions, as in the case of prohibitions." 24th November, 1657. In the 21st book of decrees of this court, p. 134, on the 16th of December, 1730, the same opinion was confirmed in a decree in the cases of two priests suspended by the Bishop of Capri in the province of Melfi, in Naples. A similar decision was given on the 20th of August, 1735, in the case of the Archbishop of Otranto.

Thus it is plain that, by the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church, the Bishop of Philadelphia could, if he conscientiously believed a priest of his diocess guilty of any serious crime, without any form of trial, extrajudicially, in consequence of such conviction, suspend such priest, and the suspension would be good and valid. Nor would the circumstance of such person being a parish priest make any change,—for where the law, knowing the existence of the distinction between different classes of priests, makes no distinction of exception, no exception is to be allowed. And so far from making any exception in favour of any class of priests, this law has distinct terms to include them all—"orders," "degrees," "dignities," "honours."

Mr. Hogan acknowledges the fact, that Dr. Conwell was Bishop of Philadelphia, and the fact that he was himself a priest of the diocess,—the fact that Dr. Conwell suspended him for reasons which he, the bishop, thought in his conscience were sufficient, but extrajudicially, and without any particular form of trial. The admissions then go to prove that Dr. Conwell and Mr. Hogan were exactly in the case contemplated by the canon, and that Dr. Conwell acted as the canon empowered him to act.

But, besides our own general reasoning, which we consider to be conclusive upon the point, that there is no exception in the case of a parish priest, we find the particular case specially decided, taking one case from many—the decision of the sacred congregation on the 21st of January, 1625, lib. 24, *Positionum*, p. 1; and perhaps never was a case more analogous to that which Mr. Hogan would build up for himself than this very case, which we shall by and by notice more at length. The decision was given in favour of the Bishop of Sagona, in the island of Corsica, against one of his parish priests; which decision distinctly

stated "the parish priest, equally with the other clergy, to be under the view of the canon."

We next come to consider of the appeal to the Archbishop of Baltimore. Mr. Hogan being refused a trial, called upon the archbishop, and the archbishop stated that he had no authority to interfere; and the bishop refused to try Mr. Hogan, or to give him in writing the cause of his suspension.

Upon this we now say, the bishop was not required by the canon to give a trial; this we have already shown by the words of the canon, and by the judicial decisions. Next, as to giving the reasons in writing, we must premise a well-known canonical distinction. A bishop may proceed by way of trial in what is called the court of contention. Here he presides as judge to hear charges brought by one party against another, and to decide upon evidence as judges do in common courts of law; from this court there lies an appeal, and the sentence, and the cause of the sentence, must here be given in writing, by the judge in case of an appeal, that the judge of the superior court may be able to learn the propriety of confirming or reversing the sentence of the lower court. But the same bishop may also, as inspector of the morals and of the capacity of his clergy, act from his own observation and knowledge upon the responsibility of his own conscience,—and in this case there is no regular examination of witnesses, but a responsibility to God, and another remedy which we shall see in the sequel. By this canon the case of Mr. Hogan was brought under this last class of cases, in which there lies no appeal to the metropolitan, nor explanation to the individual himself, as was decided by the congregation in the case of the Bishop of Vercelli, in the province of Pavia, in Italy, on the 21st May, 1643: *but the person suspended has a recourse to the Apostolic See if he will.*

This particular point was also specially decided on the 20th of April, 1668, in the answer given by the congregation to Cardinal Anthony Barberini, Archbishop of Rhemes, in his visit to Rome, when he looked for a decision upon the case as to whether an appeal would lie to the archbishop or metropolitan from the act of the bishop under this canon, where he received for answer the decision of the congregation, quoting a former decision in a similar case, which decision was approved of by Pope Gregory XIII., that there lay no appeal.

Thus we have seen that if Mr. Hogan were even a parish priest, the suspension was legally good and valid, and that there was no necessity of a trial, and that the archbishop had no power to receive the appeal, and that the Bishop of Philadelphia did not act uncanonically, for he only used a right which was given to him by a general council, as has been frequently decided by one of the highest tribunals in the church.

We therefore have shown that the bishop's act was not uncanonical, that the archbishop's answer was correct. We now come to examine Mr. Hogan's conduct in resuming his ministry as he did, supposing him to have been regularly and canonically the parish priest of St. Mary's. He must have either resumed it by a general principle of law or by a special statute. Now every general principle of law leads inevitably to the conclusion that if the acts of the superior be canonically correct, the opposition of the inferior must be canonically incorrect. We have seen the bishop's conduct and the archbishop's conduct to have been canonically correct; the conclusion is inevitable, upon general principles, Mr. Hogan's opposition was canonically incorrect. Mr. Hogan has quoted no special statute or decision upon the case, and indeed he could not, unless he should quote against himself, and from what we have seen of his productions we have no doubt upon our minds that if even there were special statutes upon the case in his favour, he knew not how to find them.

Had he then no remedy? What if the bishop had been deceived, or mistook, or was unjust or malicious, has the clergyman no remedy? He has a remedy at equity, to use phraseology which will be better understood by most of our readers than the canonical phrases, but no remedy at law. The decision of the congregation pointed out the remedy in the case of the Bishop of Vercelli, of the Archbishop of Rhemes, and of several others—*by recourse.* And Mr. Hogan was advised by the Bishop of Charleston to take this step. We shall explain it. Suppose the bishop to have been ignorant or malicious. The person injured has *recourse* to Rome. The Pope by reason of his supreme jurisdiction requires the cause from the bishop: the bishop is bound to make it known in detail to the Pope, who himself examines the truth and the sufficiency thereof, or as more generally is the case, commissions some neighbouring bishops to examine and report the facts and their opinion. He then, if he sees cause to reverse the decision of the prelate, advises him thereof, and advises the person injured to apply to his own prelate for reconsideration and for redress; but if the inferior be too proud and obstinate to make this application, he is left

without remedy, and if he make it and the prelate grant it, justice is done, and the due subordination is preserved. But if the prelate be obstinate and unjust, the Pope by his supreme authority interferes and gives redress whether the prelate will or not. If Mr. Hogan were injured, his remedy lay *in recourse;* he had no remedy at law, for there was no special remedying canon or statute.

In place of having *recourse*, Mr. Hogan decided his own case, and tells the bishop, "unless you restore me before such a day, I will officiate, because you have acted uncanonically, and I am an innocent and an injured man;" and he accordingly does officiate notwithstanding the bishop's admonition to the contrary.

We mentioned a case of a parish priest of the diocess of Sagona, in Corsica, the decision of which was given by the Sacred Congregation on the 21st of January, 1625. The note of the case is the following: "The Bishop of Sagona by virtue of the power given him by the decree of the council, cap. 1, sess. 14, for causes to himself known, suspended a parish priest from his cure; but the priest appealed, and, contemning the order of his bishop, celebrated and exercised the duties of his cure. It was asked, whether an appeal was allowed from the said suspension. Also, whether the parish priest notwithstanding this appeal, became irregular by the exercise of his cure? The Sacred Congregation was of opinion that no appeal was allowed from a suspension of this sort, and moreover that the parish priest who administered sacraments as above stated did contract an irregularity."

This is precisely what Mr. Hogan claims to be his case, though in truth Mr. Hogan's case is by no means so good; hence, upon his own show of facts the law is all against him.

We have now to view the subject in another light. The Rev. Wm. Hogan rests his whole case upon the ground of his being parish priest of St. Mary's parish, in Philadelphia. There is no such parish. The whole case, then, fails. But, we will suppose there was. By the canon law, Mr. Hogan would be bound to prove his title thereto. He states that he was appointed *parish priest* by the Rev. Dr. Debarth. Suppose this respectable gentleman were to join Mr. Hogan in the assertion, we would prove in opposition to both, that Mr. Hogan *never was parish priest* of St. Mary's, for Dr. Debarth had no power to appoint a parish priest of St. Mary's. Dr. Debarth was at one period bishop elect of Philadelphia, but he never accepted of the appointment, and even if he did, he could not have appointed a parish priest of St. Mary's, even if that were a parochial church. Dr. Egan, the first Bishop of Philadelphia, was in possession of this church at the time of his death; this is not the place for us to remark upon the cruel treatment which that good man received. If St. Mary's were a parish it was his, and he as bishop of the diocess held it as his mensal, or the means of his support. He could not alienate it from his successor. Such alienation would be in direct violation of his oath on the day of his consecration. *Mensam non alienabo, neque de novo infeudabo*, &c. This mensal could not, therefore, be alienated from Dr. Egan's successor by him, nor is it pretended that he did alienate it; and if he did, the alienation would be invalid. It was decided in the case of the last Bishop of Cloyne, in Ireland, that a bishop whose mensal consisted of one or more parishes, could not during his lifetime demit them, nor any of them, so as that being thus vacant he might bestow them upon another, for this would be to injure his successor; and many subsequent cases were regulated by this decision. Hence, if we suppose Dr. Debarth were even bishop in possession, he could not confer his parish on Mr. Hogan. He never was bishop in possession, but he was bishop elect. A bishop elect could formerly confer vacant benefices before he took possession, but the evils which resulted from this were found to be so many and so great, as mentioned in Rota. in *Cordov. Benef.*, 3 *Dec.*, 1696, that Boniface VIII., *in Extrav. Injuncto de Elect.*, decreed that this power should not exist until after possession was taken; thus Dr. Debarth never having taken possession, never could have bestowed even a free and vacant parish, as bishop. His rights and his acts were merely similar to those of a vicar-capitular. He could not, as such, confer a benefice, unless it were one of which the bishop and chapter were joint patrons. There was no chapter in Philadelphia, therefore there was no such benefice, therefore he could not bestow it.

We shall here adduce a very few decisions of the proper courts upon cases which bear strongly upon this. June 8, 1626, in the case of the diocess of Lipari, the Sacred Congregation of immunities decreed, that during the vacancy of the see, the vicar-capitular was bound *to preserve the fruits of the bishop's mensal.* Yet, Mr. Hogan tells us the vicar-capitular could bestow them upon him. Suppose this to be a free parish, not a mensal, Dr. Debarth could not fill it.

Ferrarius, who is of the highest authority, under the head *Vicarius. Capit.*, Art. II., No. 14, quotes the Council of Trent, sess. 23, cap. 18, de Reform., to show that the vicar's

power extends in cases of vacant parishes during the vacancy of the see, only to the examination of persons qualified to fill them, and then quotes the doctrine of the Sacred Congregation to show that in place of filling the vacancy himself, he must send the name of the best person to the See of Rome for appointment. Mr. Hogan was not appointed thus, or if he was, he is bound to produce the certificate of confirmation and appointment from Rome, otherwise his claim is unavailing. No. 17. The same author says, upon the authority of the Congregation of the Council and two authoritative canonists whom he quotes, "The vicar has power to depute fit vicars to vacant parishes, *until* a proper parish priest shall be appointed," and then refers to No. 14, above quoted, to show how such are to be appointed, viz.: by the See of Rome, in those cases which are not otherwise provided for, which cases are only where there is a right of patronage, and where by devolution it falls from the patron to the bishop, then the vicar fills by devolved right, and where it is jointly in the bishop and in the chapter, then the vicar fills by common right unrepealed. No. 26 regards the only act that could be done by Dr. Debarth. Four canonists are quoted to show that "the vicar can give parishes *in commendam*," that is *temporarily* until provision shall be made; but to all those there is this clause, "provided the right of the bishop be not thereby injured;" and by the old and unrepealed law, *ne sede vacante*, quoted under the same head, No. 56, it is specially declared, "the vicar cannot confer benefices which are in the sole collation of the bishop," and of this nature would be every benefice in Philadelphia if there were therein a benefice. No. 54. The same law is quoted to prove that he could do nothing to the prejudice of the bishop; and nothing could be more to his prejudice than to bestow upon another the means of the bishop's support. There are very many other cases which it is quite unnecessary to enumerate, in which the vicar could not interfere in the bestowing of parishes. In fact, he has no power to promote any person but one who by the law rises to fill a vacancy by his own right, and not the vicar's choice. The vicar only has power to recognise existing rights, and to give them effect, he cannot create new ones.

By a decision of the Congregation of the Council, 8th April, 1595, the bishop is declared bound by chap. 16, sess. 24, of the Council of Trent, to require and to receive an account of the administration of the vicar-capitular, and to punish him if guilty, and to confirm those acts which are good, and to annul and regulate the others; and thus it is plain that although the vicar be made the *temporary administrator* of the diocess, he could not have, to the prejudice of the bishop, bestowed his mensal parish upon a young man whom he could receive into the diocess only subject to the subsequent approval or disapproval of the bishop, and who, upon the bishop's merely signifying a wish that he should not continue in the diocess, so far from being a parish priest, was not even a child of the diocess, because the canon law gives the vicar no right to receive a strange priest permanently, much less to place him parish priest of the mensal parish; the receiving of a person is a right reserved solely to the bishop, and hence, the Pope used only the exact canonical term in styling Mr. Hogan *an intruder*.

It would be folly to waste more time with proof now, that we can show that St. Mary's is no parish. In canon law it has not a single requisite of a parish. There is not, that we can discover, a parish nor a parish priest in the United States.

Then Mr. Hogan was not a parish priest, and even if he were, he was canonically suspended, upon his own showing.

But the bishop proceeded, according to the "Catholic Layman" and others of Mr. Hogan's advocates, upon plain open grounds, and not upon the canon of the Council of Trent that we quoted. Mr. Hogan was petulant, and in the pulpit made use of the most indecorous language, and this not once, nor at different times on the same day, but twice with the lapse of a week intervening, thus deliberately and with reflection; for this he was suspended. This suspension was canonical. He was then canonically suspended, whether we take his own account or the account of the "Catholic Layman." For deliberately and sacrilegiously, in the estimation of the Church, officiating under this suspension he was excommunicated, after having received several notices, and the lapse of more than 100 days having intervened between the first notice and the act. Nothing could be more canonical; and yet Mr. Hogan complains of the violation of canon law!!! He declares his bishop excommunicated, irregular, a ruffian of the worst description; he continues to keep the church by usurpation, by the force of laymen who are not Roman Catholics, and he not only deprives the lawful pastors of the church and of the income, but he pretends to administer sacraments, and he either publishes or suffers to be published in his name the most barefaced untruths and scandalous falsehoods, and the most gross burlesques upon the ad-

ministration of the Catholic religion in this and in other countries; and this man complains that the Pope does not write affectionate letters to him!!!

We have seen an assertion that Archbishop Carroll informed the people of Philadelphia upon the death of Bishop Egan, that *all the authority* of the bishop vested after his death in his vicar-general. What was the archbishop's object? To show who was to govern the diocess *ad interim;* that it was the vicar, not the archbishop.

The object was not to teach the distinctions of canon law to the laity of Philadelphia, but to give them official knowledge of who was to be their guide and governor, *until* they should receive a bishop. We assent to all the archbishop's doctrine, that "the vicar is commanded to exercise *all the authority* of the deceased," (bishop.) But the authority and the privilege are two very distinct powers, which, if Mr. Hogan knew a particle of law, he would not have confounded. Authority relates to government, privilege to appointments and such like. A deputy possesses authority, but not privilege; the ordinary possesses both. Thus a sheriff or other executive officer may appoint a deputy, who having been appointed has *authority* to execute, but has not the *privilege* of deputing another with the same authority. The very name of *vicar*, as Ferratius remarks, *Parochus*, Art. II. cap. v. n. 30, shows him to be only a deputy *quia vices alterius gerit, et nomen alterius, non nomen ejus gerit, deputatus non est ordinarius;* and an ordinary only can use the privilege, though the deputy may exercise the authority. Collation to a benefice is the act of the ordinary, not of the deputy, except in the special cases we have mentioned. Dr. Debarth was not an ordinary, he was a deputy; he could give temporary jurisdiction, he could not bestow a parish. And even if could bestow other parishes, he could not bestow the mensal, which St. Mary's would have been.

But in fact St. Mary's was not a parish, neither did Dr. Debarth pretend to bestow it upon Mr. Hogan, neither had Mr. Hogan what would make even a *coloured title*, that is a plausible *prima facie* case.

Besides being confined within reasonable and defined limits, easily and exactly ascertained, the place must be under the *single* jurisdiction of an individual, who exercises all power in his own name, and not by deputation, and to whom all the others commissioned to aid him owe obedience, and he must have such exclusive jurisdiction as that no person belonging to that district can lawfully go to the Easter communion in any other place, nor receive it from any other person, without his special leave, and that of his own right he solely regulates the claim for interment and the attendance at funerals; and that all the faithful must look to him only for the regulation of the time and place for receiving the sacraments.

These are some of the points which the tribunal of the *Rota* decided to be of absolute necessity to prove for establishing parochial rights. Mr. Hogan will not pretend to say that he was the *only* priest who had those in St. Mary's. Nor will he pretend to say that it was in *subordinate capacities to him* the other gentleman discharged the duties. Nor that a person holding a pew in St. Mary's Church would have been liable to excommunication for non-observance of the Easter duty, if in place of receiving the holy communion in St. Mary's he had received it in St. Augustine's, or St. Joseph's, or the Church of the Holy Trinity. If Mr. Hogan wished for instruction, and were disposed to learn, we could give him several instances of where two gentlemen were jointly appointed to the administration of one or more parishes, and still could not plead parochial rights by prescription after fourteen years, or twenty or thirty years' possession, because of the *joint* authority; whereas, were they *severally* appointed to separate portions, each might have pleaded it after three years, could he prove the portion to have been a parish.

Never was a case so defective even in appearance as Mr. Hogan's. And yet the gentleman has set about quoting canon law to support it. We stated in a former number that we did know how to argue canon law with him; we now repeat the statement. Mr. Hogan knows not even the first principles of the science; he has got together a number of quotations of general maxims, repealed laws, and inapplicable statutes; he has misstated, perhaps mistaken, the facts of his own case; he finds every ecclesiastical tribunal decide, as it must necessarily, against him, but he says they are all ignorant or malicious, and that by the law of the land and the aid of his friends and the help of God he will withstand them; and yet he is a Roman Catholic. From such good Catholics may we long be preserved. If any person in Philadelphia still can be weak enough to imagine an adherence to Mr. Hogan and to the Roman Catholic Church compatible, we can only regret such delusion.

SECTION XIX.

PHILADELPHIA.

We have to regret the continuance of the schism in this city. The Rev. Mr. Hogan has left the United States, whether finally or for a time we know not. The schismatics have employed in his stead a Mr. Thaddeus J. O'Meally; as to whether he be a priest or not, we are ignorant. We know nothing more of him, than that we have been informed that he officiates at St. Mary's. Of course we should wish to know more of him.

One of the principal leaders of this party, Mr. Augustine Fagan, was found dead at the place of his residence in Philadelphia, on the morning of Sunday, the 11th instant. An inquest was, we understand, immediately held upon the view of the body. We should be happy to learn that the verdict was not given correctly to us. We shall not, therefore, give it until we have more certainty. Mr. Fagan had, we understand, just finished a pamphlet, addressed to Governor Shultze, of Pennsylvania, who exerted himself lately in the legislature of that state, against the rights of his Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. This pamphlet is, we understand, now in progress towards publication.

We have lying by us a large stock of extraordinary productions upon the subject of canon law, and all the *et ceteras* from this party, but Mr. Fagan's posthumous work on the right of presentation will be a very acceptable addition.

We are at present about to lay before our readers a series of essays upon the subject, and shall make copious extracts from the Philadelphia files, with which our shelves are loaded.

SECTION XX.

During a long time past, we have been altogether silent upon the subject of the schism in the church of Philadelphia. Had this unfortunate contest between the bishop and the trustees continued unchanged, we would still continue silent; but two very serious changes have taken place:

1. The person whose misconduct originally caused the schism, has formally renounced the communion of that church from which he had been so long in reality separated; and his conduct has given as much disgust to the trustees, whose *beloved pastor* he had been, as it gave pain and offence to the opponents of those same *lovers* of Mr. Hogan, who now has quietly settled down into the sober cares of matrimony—or at least what he calls matrimony.

2. After the publication of a few reams of the most ridiculous semblance of disquisitions upon church discipline, which served to show how much nonsense might be written by men of sense upon subjects whose bearings they did not know, a pamphlet, reprehensible in many respects, but bringing the points of difference to something like shape and form, and proposing something like a feasible remedy, has been printed by the Rev. Mr. O'Meally, who has succeeded Mr. Hogan; and the whole question between the bishop and the trustees appears to be reduced to this single point, "whether the trustees possess the right of presentation?" And the proper tribunal for the decision of the question is recognised.

In all this there is much to console, because it affords a prospect of union. If the trustees and their adherents are sincere, as we should hope and believe they are, in their promises to abide by the decision of the proper tribunal, there is of course an end to the schism: and although they may appear to be at variance with, and in opposition to, their ordinary, still it will not be as schismatics, but as litigants, if they really mean to abide by the decision of the higher tribunals. For our own part we have no doubt, upon the merits of the question, as to what the decision will be; but, should the trustees have no right of presentation, there are still many ways in which, consistently with the principles of our religion, they may procure all that they could reasonably seek to secure by the right of presentation: so that we trust they will adopt the principle of not quarrelling to obtain, by a particular mode, what would be substantially the same under a different modification.

It is not our province to advise the bishop, nor to point out for him the manner in which he ought to discharge his duty: but we should hope and reasonably believe, that what he seeks is not the triumph of victory, nor the honour of vanquishing his opponents, or the opponents of any individuals, but that his sole object is the benefit of religion, and the good of his people. Doctor Conwell must know many facts of which we are ignorant; and, latterly, the conductors of the Miscellany have, we believe, fallen under the suspicions of both parties in this dispute, we trust we may cease to call it schism; and we have therefore not been let into the confidence of either. But if the facts be as we have stated, and that this article be correct, we

cannot see how the bishop or the trustees can contrive to prolong the quarrel.

From a Philadelphia paper, Nov. 25.

[*Communicated.*]

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—I think the interests of good sense and good feeling require the publication of the following. I have not seen the minutes, and am not therefore certain as to words and form, but vouch for the sense and the substance:

Abstract of the proceedings of a general meeting of the congregation now worshipping at St. Mary's Church, held at their school-room, on Wednesday evening, the 24th instant.

Mr. B. M'Cready being called to the chair, and Joseph M. Doran, Esq., appointed secretary—

Mr. R. W. Meade stated. that in consequence of the Rev. Mr. Richards (now in nomination for the new bishopric of Detroit, Michigan) having offered himself as the bearer of any message of peace the trustees of St. Mary's may be disposed to send to Dr. Conwell, a meeting of the board was convened on Monday, the 21st, when a proposition for a reconciliation was agreed upon and regularly submitted. The trustees, he said, invited their constituents for the purpose of laying before them that proposition, and to ascertain whether, in the event of its rejection, they were resolved to continue in the struggle in which they were engaged against an unreasonable and insupportable arbitrary power, until the question should be brought to an honourable termination. The proposition for peace which the trustees had submitted to Dr. Conwell, through the Rev. Mr. Richards, was then read by the chairman, and was in substance in the following words.

That the right and claims of the clergymen officiating at St. Joseph's, and of the clergyman officiating at St. Mary's, to the pastorship of the latter church, shall be suspended; and that the Rev. Mr. Hayden, or any other clergyman to whom neither party will object, be appointed by Dr. Conwell, as pastor pro tem., until the principle upon which the bishop and the congregation at St. Mary's are at issue shall be decided on by the competent tribunal; that all the pews that have been forfeited, and that remain unsold, shall be restored to their owners, upon payment of arrears; and as to the rest, every practicable compromise shall be resorted to. Whereupon it was, after a free interchange of sentiment, and an animated discussion, with the utmost unanimity—

Resolved, That this meeting approve of the efforts of their representatives to put an end to the dissensions which have so long distracted the congregation.

Resolved, That although this meeting is desirous of peace, upon such terms as will cordially unite them to those of their brethren, from whom they are mischievously and unnecessarily sundered; yet they are fully and firmly determined not to sacrifice to that desire their rights as freemen, and their privileges as Catholics. On the contrary, they are resolved to use every honourable means, in asserting and maintaining the principle for which they contend, namely, that the congregation shall have some control in the selection of those clergymen whom they are called upon to support, and in whom, as their pastors, they are called upon to repose an unlimited and a sacred confidence.

I congratulate my fellow-citizens upon the very pleasing circumstance, that this unfortunate controversy which has been so productive of various unhappy consequences during the last four years, is at length on the point of being brought to a close.

To the proposition submitted by the trustees, Dr. Conwell will, I make no doubt, cheerfully accede. The Rev. Mr. Hayden (the gentleman named in it) is a clergyman now exercising the ministry in this diocess, in full communion, and with the entire approbation of the bishop. To him, therefore, there can be no objection. The reverend gentlemen of St. Joseph's will not be disposed to resist an arrangement which will peaceably establish their claims, if those claims are just, and which leaves them for the interim precisely as they are; and the congregation of St. Joseph's will be reluctant to reject an accommodation which will enable them, upon unobjectionable terms, to join their strength to that of their opponents, in establishing a principle which is confessedly equally precious to them all. There are strong grounds to hope that an end is about to be put to this unhappy affair; and indeed it would be a matter of regret, that the spirit of reconciliation which is now so generally diffused, should be counteracted or prostrated. I sincerely hope that an overture, which to my mind presents no obstacles, may have the success it justly merits; that we may again behold one of the largest and most respectable congregations in our city united in fellowship and brotherly love.

SPECTATOR.

SECTION XXI.

We are happy to learn the return from Europe of the Right Rev. Dr. Edward Fenwick, Bishop of Cincinnati. We have not been put in possession of the particulars, nor been directly informed of his arrival, but letters brought by him to the bishop of this diocese, have been received through the post-office of New York; and we have learned that he has been charitably engaged in endeavouring to reconcile the differences between the Bishop of Philadelphia and the trustees of St. Mary's Church in that city.

PHILADELPHIA.

In our last number we stated our hopes of speedily learning the termination of the schism which has now during nearly four years ravaged the church of this city. We laid before our readers the foundation of those hopes. The effort then made has been unsuccessful, and to us we must confess there appears to be some difficulty in knowing the wherefore. But so it is. We have had no direct communication upon the subject, but a long letter from the Rev. Mr. O'Meally appears upon the "American Sentinel" of the 10th inst., which letter seems to have been copied from the "Democratic Press," and our information is obtained only from that document. It purports to be in answer to a letter of the Bishop of Philadelphia, which had been published in that paper: and as far as we can understand the facts, the bishop's letter was an answer to a statement of Mr. Meade, and we should suppose this statement regarded the meeting of which we gave an account in our last number. It turns out that the Rev. Dr. Richard was completely unsuccessful, in his attempt at reconciliation; indeed the attempt was only a repetition of what the Bishop of Charleston failed in effecting three years before. He then prevailed upon Mr. Hogan to resign the place, and, at the suggestion of the committee of the trustees, proposed to the bishop to place a clergyman to whom neither party would object in the charge, until a final adjustment would take place; the bishop was then so little disposed to accede to this regulation, that it was whispered that he had given to the Rev. Mr. Kummiskey, of whom we know very little, a written authority to suspend Dr. England. Of course, neither the Bishop of Charleston nor any person of common sense, could believe such a ridiculous tale; the general impression, however, was, that the Bishop of Philadelphia would not accede to the proposal; and in fact he did not. Dr. Richard appears to be accused by the bishop with having unauthorizedly interposed, and thus involved Mr. Meade and others in mistakes, and of having unaccountably interfered when he had been warned by the bishop not to do so. When Dr. England offered an opinion to the bishop at an early period of the year, he was warned by the Bishop of Philadelphia not to interfere, and if we are rightly informed, the communication added that Dr. Conwell was able to manage his own concerns without any aid; since then, we believe the Bishop of Charleston has not offered anything either in the shape of kind advice nor of humble suggestion to the Bishop of Philadelphia, and we suppose Dr. Richard will be disposed to act upon the same principle in future. With those facts we have been acquainted during many months, and have never brought them before the public; nor would we now, but that they are no longer private, Mr. O'Meally, who was the applicant to Dr. England, having some time since given them sufficient publicity, which, we understand, he was left at full liberty to do, when he might think proper. But the Bishop of Charleston has also considered that gentleman as occupying his place irregularly, and officiating without jurisdiction, and Dr. Conwell's censures to be canonically valid. Mr. O'Meally quotes from a letter of Dr. England, the following passage, respecting the schism:

"I do not hesitate to say, that for all the parties in the unhappy contests which have disgraced our church in these states, there is still open an honourable, and a pleasing mode of adjusting every difference *without hurting the feelings* of the well-disposed who might have unintentionally erred; but, I fear, too many who have become warm, seek not so much for peace as they do for *victory*, where none should seek to conquer."

Mr. O'Meally quotes the following passage from Dr. Conwell's letter, and his own words will best show the result:

Dr. Conwell promises—"Whenever this impediment shall be removed, peace and harmony will soon follow by *co-operation* and *mutual* kind offices."

The "impediment" here meant is myself.

"I would blush, so help me God, even in the loneliness of my chamber, and amid the darkness of midnight, could I accuse myself of keeping for a single day the Catholic family of this city in their present fitful and fretful condition; (would to God that other folks were as disinterested in this matter, as I am.) So anxious am I to put an end to the schism, and so firmly resolved to adopt every measure that holds out any chance of success, that I will even venture

to take Dr. Conwell at his word. In the face of that public before which Dr. Conwell and I now stand, I will do that to him for the sake of others, which for myself I scorn to do to any man that breathes; I bow my head in token of submission, where I am conscious of no wrong. I now pledge myself to suspend the exercise of my ministry, from the date of the publication of this letter; and to obviate any objections arising from a desire to uphold the purity and honour of the episcopal authority, upon which I am far from being disposed to encroach, I now stand out of the way, leaving Dr. Conwell free and uncontrolled to restore of his own motion that 'peace and harmony' which he promises, and to bring back once more (in 'co-operation' with the trustees) the exercise of those '*mutual* kind offices' which walk in their train. I will only remind Dr. Conwell as I retire, that the eyes of a free-thinking, independent public are now upon him, and that if he stops short of his given pledge, they will not fail to countenance me in withdrawing mine. I invite and meet this eventful crisis with the most perfect confidence that reason will be heard, and truth will prevail, and I build this confidence upon the strength of the public opinion, upon the manliness of the American character, and last, not least, upon the generous sympathy of our opponents themselves, upon whose honour I thus fearlessly throw myself.

"THADDEUS J. O'MEALLY."

We understand that the venerable Bishop of Cincinnati has arrived in Philadelphia, and whether authorized or "unauthorized," we know not, has interposed. As yet we are ignorant of the result; but we hope for the best.

This is not the time to make any comments. We shall then confine ourselves to an expression of our hope that all may tend to peace and edification; and to the unfeigned declaration that to us it will be matter of pure satisfaction and joy, to see peace and union in the church of Philadelphia—whether it be produced by the unaided efforts of Doctor Conwell, or by this prelate aided by some of his brethren, or by his or their assistants. We have no doubt their object is the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, not the miserable vanity of personal triumph.

As regards Mr. O'Meally, we have been opposed to him upon principle; but, God forbid, that we should class all transgressions upon the same line of criminality. His conduct cannot be justified. But, from the passage of his letter which we have given, we are interested for his feelings, and whilst we maintain our principle, we must make due allowance for our common nature.—Mr. O'Meally had done wrong, but he has nobly made progress towards doing right. To a mind like his we would suggest the adage, *humanum est errare*. And he will forgive us when we add one other, *Sapientis est mutare aliquando consilium, stulti nunquam*.

SECTION XXII.

PHILADELPHIA.

WE have been informed that the bishop refuses to accept the church of St. Mary's, which is tendered to him by the trustees, as that establishment is by them subjected to a very enormous debt illegally incurred by them in opposing him. We must remark that we are by no means sufficiently informed upon the subject to give any opinion upon the correctness or incorrectness of the proceedings lately had. The following document has been forwarded to us:

To the Congregation of St. Mary's.

MY DEAR BRETHREN:—In consequence of Dr. Conwell having publicly declared that I was the only impediment by which the restoration of "peace and harmony" to the Congregation of St. Mary's was prevented, I have suspended the exercise of my ministry. I have forborne from officiating last Sunday, and I forbear for this Sunday also. By thus withdrawing myself, I have left, and I still leave Dr. Conwell perfectly free to carry into effect those peaceful intentions, with respect to St. Mary's, which he has avowed himself to entertain.

I could never pardon myself for suffering the present unhappy state of things to continue for one hour *on my account;* and if a total and unconditional abandonment of any claims I may have to the pastorship of St. Mary's, should be deemed a necessary peace-offering, I am prepared to make it, and I shall be happy in so doing. I would sacrifice much, and so ought you, for the blessed purpose of peace. I would sacrifice my interests; I have repeatedly offered to do so. I would sacrifice my feelings, a far more costly sacrifice, which I have already and not unfrequently offered. In a word, I would sacrifice everything but my honour, and your principle.

If the parties now at variance would but give themselves an opportunity to understand each other, I am persuaded that every well-meaning man on either side, would readily confess that there is no sufficient cause why they should not *now* unite as

friends and brethren. But unfortunately, the evil spirit which the controversy has conjured up, is not yet entirely laid; and, in consequence, although the deep importance of the occasion loudly demands a frank, and calm, and liberal interchange of sentiments and opinions, we behold nothing in its stead but accidental whisperings, and a captious correspondence.

The congregation now worshipping at St. Mary's, do not require Dr. Conwell to recognise the right of presentation as vested in the trustees; they are willing to waive every question of right or of principle, that may rise up between him and them to keep them asunder; they are willing to refer all such questions to a superior tribunal, whose competency to decide is confessed on all hands; and they only ask Dr. Conwell to appoint to St. Mary's, *until* that decision is obtained, any clergyman he pleases, who has no interest in the question to be decided upon.

I am not aware of any principle that could prevent Dr. Conwell from acceding to this arrangement—and I am very clearly of opinion that nothing short of principle should stand in the way to prevent the return of peace.

This case, however, is not so desperate, nay, it is one which can be easily shown to require no sacrifice at all! Excepting only the change of pastors, and the superseding of one disapproved and ignored by Dr. Conwell, by the peaceable introduction of another *to be appointed by himself;* the trustees can insure that every other thing connected with St. Mary's shall remain precisely as it is. Thus while the moral condition of both parties will be improved, the temporal condition of neither will be impaired. Nay more, by the appropriation to be made to the bishop out of the revenues of St. Mary's, which will be the immediate consequence of an arrangement, the burden now resting on St. Joseph's will be considerably relieved. And thus peace will be restored, this melancholy schism will be at an end, there will be no sacrifice of principle on either side, and I will be myself the *only* sufferer. Nay further, I am convinced that the exercise of mutual kind offices between the parties for a few weeks under this arrangement, would bring about a more complete and definitive accommodation, by which the wishes of all would be gratified, by which those talents which the church of Philadelphia could badly dispense with, would be secured to it, and by which the ties of reunion would be drawn still tighter together, never, I fervently hope, to be loosened again.

'Twould be a pity indeed, if, after things had arrived at such a crisis as this, no good should follow; it seems to me as if it would be the commencement of a new schism, as if it would be the occasion of a new formation of parties, and the signal of a renewed warfare of angry looks and hateful wishes, and bitter remembrances, and vindictive recrimination—but no! this must not happen—the voice of reason speaking with calmness the sober sense of truth must prevail; the approaching anniversary too, of that blessed coming which gave peace to the world, makes it peculiarly malignant at this time, to harbour any other thoughts than thoughts of peace.

All Christian people are now preparing to re-echo with gladness the angels' sweet-toned song, "Glory to God on high, and on earth peace to men of *good will;*" and shall we only, my dear brethren, perversely close our hearts to the melody, and our minds to the meaning of the heavenly minstrelsy? And shall we madly resolve to drown them both in the unhallowed discordance of hatred and of strife? I call upon every pious Christian, into whose hand this letter may fall, to offer up his prayers to heaven that this may not be. I call upon every dispassionate man, on either side, to lend his influence that this may not be. And I call upon Dr. Conwell himself—I call upon him respectfully and confidingly—I call upon him in the name of religion, in the name of charity, in the name of peace, in the name of God, to insure to his people that this shall not be.

I remain, my dear brethren, (forgetful, indeed, of your hasty wishes, but careful of your truest interests,) your steady and affectionate friend,

THADDEUS J. O'MEALLY.

Sunday, December 19th, 1824.

The following notice accompanies the above letter:

"Mr. O'Meally requests a full attendance of the Congregation at St. Mary's Church, on Thursday evening, when he will explain to them Dr. Conwell's intentions, should he be pleased to notify any; if not, he will unfold to them his own, and the grounds upon which they are formed."

SECTION XXIII.

PHILADELPHIA.

WE have not learned the result of the meeting which was called by the Rev. T. J. O'Meally, of his adherents in St. Mary's Church, beyond the following very extraor-

dinary statement, which we understand has been received from good authority, that Mr. O'Meally, after having boasted of his having refused to make acknowledgment and atonement for his doings—declared, that he should in future consider the see of Philadelphia, vacant. This certainly, if a correct statement, and if it came from the source which we are led to believe it came from it must be correct, is to us one of the most curious facts which has yet been exhibited. And it at once terminates all the hopes of peace. which we had so fondly cherished. We have not learned that Dr. Conwell has died, nor have we been told of his deposition, nor of his resignation. How then, in the name of wonder, is his place empty? But this is not all: we have further heard, that the Bishop of Charleston was quoted as having written to Mr. O'Meally a letter, which Mr. O'Meally asserted, warranted him and his associates in the principles [with] which they heretofore maintained their cause. This is to us the most extraordinary part of the account. We have frequently been authorized by the Bishop of Charleston to state, in any way that we thought proper, that Mr. O'Meally was not by him looked upon, as having either jurisdiction, or a right to jurisdiction, in the diocess of Philadelphia. That he did not believe the trustees of St. Mary had any right of presentation, and that their resistance to the bishop was altogether improper in its principle and in its mode. How then Mr. O'Meally could continue to imagine Dr. England warranting what he condemned, we are at a loss to know!

We heard many good men and well-instructed Catholics frequently lament that there was too much obstinacy on each side. It was not our province to determine whether they were correct or mistaken. But we have frequently known a man who held the right side of a debated question to be wrong in the mode of supporting that right. And we have known persons who held the wrong side frequently contrive, by their right mode (if we may use the expression) of doing wrong, [to] defeat their opponents. Whether Doctor England may not think that they who are right in Philadelphia take a wrong way of doing right is too abstruse a question for us just now to solve. And it is equally out of our power to determine what is really the question in debate between the bishop and the trustees. We could easily tell what it was heretofore, but we really do not know what it now is. We shall be obliged to any person who will take the trouble of informing us.

In the sincerity of our hearts we lament and deplore this infatuation, we know not at which side it exists. The trustees, if we understand the English language, ask peace, and to have Rome decide upon whether they have a certain right, which we believe they have not, but which we believe would be of no use to them, though of injury to religion. However, Rome is the proper tribunal, and they profess their readiness to go thither. Of course we know the bishop is too well acquainted with his duty to question their right of application to the Holy See. But they in the mean time object to receiving a pastor upon a right which they question. We believe them to be wrong, for we believe the bishop is in possession of the exclusive right of appointment. But they say, if it shall be decided so—we will acquiesce. Meantime let us be served by some person whom you will appoint, and to whom we will not object. And many such may be found. If we know anything of what we have read, this is what the persons in possession of the church have said. We believe the bishop is right in saying that the trustees have no right of presentation. But his case cannot be prejudiced either by permitting Rome to decide or by yielding to the advice of an old maxim, which of course he knows where to find. *Quem multa plebs odit*, &c. We did hope for peace.

SECTION XXIV.

LETTER OF BISHOP ENGLAND TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF THE DIOCESS OF PHILADELPHIA.

My Brethren:—I have received a letter from your bishop, in which are the following passages:

"Great scandal has been taken in my diocess from the encouragement you are thought to afford the excommunicated and usurping priest, O'Meally."

After describing Mr. O'Meally's address to some persons in St. Mary's Church:

"He then assured his hearers that they might put their confidence in you, and that you were the only bishop from whom they could expect countenance and support, and closed by lamenting that some favourable wind had not blown you more northwardly."

Again:

"The schismatics are animated by the persuasion that the letter or letters to which I allude are genuine, whilst the Catholics are deeply scandalized, not only at their import, but at your correspondence at all with a notoriously excommunicated priest,

who is daily profaning the body and blood of the Lord, and glorying in the deed."

The above passages have greatly afflicted me, as they convey, from the best authority, an assurance that what I believe to have been only the correct discharge of my duty has been greatly misunderstood. And though I am convinced that I have done only what I ought to do under the circumstances, yet I also feel convinced that it is my duty, not through any human motive, I trust, but upon a principle of natural and divine law, to give you such explanation as may take away any just cause of scandal from my conduct.

To enter into detail upon the subject would be tedious, useless, and unpleasant. In Dr. Conwell's diocess I have no jurisdiction, nor any claim thereto. In its administration I have no concern; upon his administration I have never, that I recollect, given an opinion; upon his conduct towards Mr. Hogan I have never, since I have been in Philadelphia, which was in 1821, had to hesitate as to what judgment I would pronounce. It was canonical and correct. Upon Mr. O'Meally's claim to be pastor of St. Mary's, upon his right to do any clerical duty in Dr. Conwell's diocess, I never entertained a doubt. His claim is unfounded; he has no right. As to the validity of his acts, for whose value jurisdiction would be required, no person can raise a question; they are all invalid. As to the validity and legality of the bishop's censures of that gentleman, there can be no question; they are legal and valid. As to the right of presentation being in the trustees of St. Mary's Church: there is not even the semblance of a canonical ground upon which it could rest. As to the manner in which the opposition to Dr. Conwell has been conducted: it has been worse than injudicious and unwarrantable. Of course it is now unnecessary for me to add, that with all or any of the acts or principles here described or alluded to, I had not, I have not, and will not have any connexion. It is also unnecessary for me to add, that it would be very extraordinary if I have written anything inconsistent with those declarations. I have now lying before me, after my perusal, copies of my letters upon these subjects. The bishop, Mr. O'Meally, every person to whom I have written a syllable regarding the disturbances and disunion of your church, have my full leave to publish, or use in any other way, the entire, or any fair extract. And if there be found a single passage inconsistent with the above declarations, I shall retract it and express my regret, and thus remove scandal if I have given it.

But why correspond at all with a notoriously excommunicated priest? My friends, the church permits it in several cases; this I looked upon to be one of those which was most plainly designated. A charitable interference for his good, and perhaps for the good of others: I wrote under circumstances which not only permitted, but which compelled me, as I thought then, and still believe, to write. Mr. O'Meally wrote to me a respectful letter, stating his case, and asking my advice and opinion. I knew he had done wrong. I knew he had been excommunicated. But many worse men than I look upon Mr. O'Meally to be, have, after doing wrong, done right. Was I to refuse advice to those who applied to me because they were guilty? I knew that the duties of my place were not domination and harshness, but to give counsel, and to procure reconciliation, and when I should find my efforts fail, then steadily to resist those who continued obstinately wrong; being, however, always ready to lay aside resistance when they would relax from their obstinacy. Never to sacrifice principle; but to be ready to sacrifice myself. These are the lessons which I was taught; those are the principles of administration which the church entrusted to my keeping, and to preserve which I bound myself by the most solemn pledges. I thought, although Mr. O'Meally was not in my diocess, still that he had a claim upon me, if not for justice, at least for charitable counsel. My letter might do good, it could do no harm; I therefore thought myself not only at liberty to answer, but under an obligation of answering his application. In precise, decisive, unequivocal terms, I informed him that his conduct was incorrect, and I advised him to desist from a ministry which he had no right to exercise. He answered my letter; and upon one occasion, during a correspondence which ensued, he requested my interference upon such grounds as I thought would lay the basis of a reconciliation between the bishop and the trustees, though I distinctly informed Mr. O'Meally that in the event of a reconciliation, his claims could not be considered; he pressed me to make the effort, pledging himself that his individual interest should be no obstacle. I wrote to Dr. Conwell for the purpose of having his consent to mediate, stating my hope that a ground was laid for making an experiment. His answer was substantially, that my former interference had been mischievous, and that any repetition of intermeddling in the affairs of his diocess, was contrary to his wish. To the pressing entreaties of Mr. O'Meally, subsequently repeated, my uniform answer

was, that the Bishop of Philadelphia would not allow my mediation. After Mr. O'Meally published an address upon the subject, he wrote to me for the purpose of learning whether I would, on behalf of the laity, if requested by them, represent them to the Holy See. I felt it to be prudent on my part to decline the contemplated appointment, and to accompany the expression of my disinclination with such reasons and statements as, whilst they distinctly marked my condemnation of what was wrong, exhibited an opinion and a hope which I still entertain, that if Mr. O'Meally did withdraw from the church of St. Mary's, the difference between Dr. Conwell and the trustees could be so adjusted, that principle could be saved on one side, and feelings on the other, whilst the interests of religion would be upheld and peace and union restored to your afflicted church. I deeply lament the disappointment of this hope, though I still entertain the opinion. However, this I am free to avow, not only is it possible, but it is probable I am in error. Your bishop knows all the facts of the case; I do not: with his administration I have no concern, with my own conduct as regards scandalising you I have much. To afford you this explanation became a duty. You will confer a favour by allowing it to remove from your minds any erroneous opinion that I consider the trustees to be right and the bishop to be wrong. As regards the ministry of Mr. O'Meally, my declaration is distinct. As regards the opposition to the bishop, upon that ground, and respecting the right of patronage, it is equally so. If the trustees complain of other grievances, if they feel other inconvenience, with this I have no concern. I can neither examine as to their existence, nor could I afford a remedy if they do exist. I have, therefore, avoided inquiring as to the truth or falsehood of several allegations which were made to me in their respect.

I trust I have now discharged my obligations to your bishop and to you; I still owe to my episcopal brethren and to the Holy See, if they shall require it, a more full explanation. To them I am ready to answer; and should they take up my scandals for examination, to their judgment I shall bow. And I trust that should their sentence reach to my right eye, or to my right hand, I shall recollect the injunction of our blessed Lord. I might have erred, but I shall not be obstinate. I am not the superior of my brother of Philadelphia, neither is he my judge. To the Synod of the United States, consisting of the Archbishop of Baltimore and his suffragans, or to the Holy See, or to both, I am ready and willing to account. To any individual bishop I shall cheerfully give any farther explanation for which he may seek. But the Bishop of Philadelphia must be aware that I owe no more to him than what he has already received.

My brethren, these are extremely unpleasant appeals; but I trust I shall stand excused for the explanation, when I was given, by your bishop, to understand that I was an abetter of schism. Do, my brethren, bear with my weakness—my heart is full—many accusations have been heaped upon me before—but never until now was I charged with endeavouring to rend that unity, which, if I know myself, I would sacrifice my life to preserve and to defend.

May God grant to you the perfection of charity and the fulness of every grace. May he make and preserve you one fold under one shepherd, with all humility and mildness, with patience, supporting one another in charity, careful to keep the unity of spirit in the bond of peace, one body and one spirit: as you are called in the hope of your vocation. Your bishop in the church, and your church in the bishop, is the prayer of him who feels afflicted at the charge of scandalising you; when he only intended to advise a brother who was misled, and bring harmony among you.

Yours, with respect and sincerity,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, Jan. 6, 1825.

SECTION XXV.

PHILADELPHIA.

WE some time in last month inserted a few statements and remarks respecting the old schism in this city. In doing so we only discharged what we conceived to be our duty. "To give our readers as early and as accurate information as we could obtain, regarding events interesting to our church." During a very long period we had been silent. We were frequently asked why we gave no information upon the affairs of St. Mary's Church—"that its concerns were matters of common and of general interest." We knew nothing more than that the schism continued—therefore we had no news to give. This was our answer. Latterly, however, overtures were made to the bishop—the substance of what "they were stated to be" was printed and was widely disseminated. The intruded priest was stated to have offered to retire—the trustees were stated to have offered to submit, with two salvos: one, that they should have their claim to the right of presentation,

tried at Rome; the other, a hope that the bishop would not, in the interim, appoint to the church some one or two gentlemen to whom there were, what we conceived to be, unreasonable objections. We were farther led to believe that the trustees were so anxious to have those terms ratified, that they requested some most respectable clergyman to interfere. If Mr. O'Meally retired, there could be no difficulty as to him. As to the right of presentation, we did not believe it existed, and we were of opinion that it would facilitate reconciliation to permit a suit to be spoken of, which we believed would never be brought to trial—or, if brought, must be decided in favour of the bishop. We imagined the whole question was narrowed to the temporary absence of the clergymen, perhaps best qualified, from the church, and we did think that it would be less evil to have a priest or priests, perhaps less useful than others, but having jurisdiction in the church for a time, instead of a priest without jurisdiction and under censures. We thought this would be preferable to occasioning others to continue the schism for the purpose of keeping out those best qualified. We were under the impression that the whole case had been reduced to that point, and we did express our hope that there would be an end to the schism.

However, it seems we were wrong, because, in the first place, the facts were not as we were led to think they were. And next, we ought not to have written upon the subject even if they were. To the first, we answer, we used the best sources of information that we possessed. We sought for the best, we used the best that we obtained. The fault was not ours if we had not better information. We own that we are frequently ashamed to see papers inimical to our religion, and papers at the other side of the Atlantic, possess the information of which we ought to have a preference. We wrote hoping our information was correct, ready and prepared to turn the misstatement to the advantage of truth, if we had been deceived. As to the second remark, that we should not have written at all, we must beg leave to dissent. We have nothing of which we are ashamed in our creed, or in the discipline of our church. We are proud of what unfledged witlings sneer at, and solemn ignorance condemns. Thank God, this feeling is general through our body. This is our explanation: now for the result.

We have received from Georgetown, D. C., the letter of "An Episcopalian;" to him we feel greatly obliged; we think as he does. We always did, but our object was to make our ground good, and we shall probably ere long show him that we have succeeded beyond our expectations. His letter to us was kind, it was reasonable; we wish him to feel that his communications shall be welcome.

We have received letters from Philadelphia, anonymous and otherwise. We admit the orthodoxy of the writers, but we find in the uncharitableness of the style of those which are anonymous, all the exhibition of that slaughtering party spirit which is too often mistaken for zeal. From Philadelphia we have also received from our respected agent a letter, couched in language which calls for our esteem and thanks. He may feel quite certain that our conviction and his are alike, but he has given us facts of which we were previously uninformed, and the knowledge of which is highly useful.

His letter also contains a list of thirty-five subscribers who have withdrawn, all laymembers. To them, should they vouchsafe to look at our paper, we would suggest that a little prudence would be useful with their zeal. They are not known to the public, and we may therefore address them freely. Some of them were formerly as warm against a good bishop as they are now in favour of a bishop, in respect for whom we do not yield to them, nor to his greatest sycophants. We not only respect his order, but we sympathize with him for his sufferings; and though we may respectfully differ with him in some *modes* of proceeding, we are convinced that there is not in America a bishop more ardently attached to the interests of the church than is Doctor Conwell. Do the good Catholics who have withdrawn their names, think that $140 a year will cause us to change our principle? They do not know the conductors of this paper. Do they desire to put it down? To us it would be a serious relief. But it neither depends upon Philadelphia, nor upon Charleston, nor upon any one city, nor upon any one state, nor upon any one diocess of the Union, to extinguish or to maintain it. The Miscellany is the paper of the Catholics of America—it is not the tool of any division of that now uniting phalanx.

One circumstance, in letters to the Bishop of Charleston, has given us pain. The anonymous advocates of episcopacy, have been worse than insulting, more gross than scurrilous to that bishop. He is also styled the conductor of this paper; it is called *his Miscellany*. We thought it was *the Miscellany of the United States*. We heretofore considered it the Miscellany of the archbishop and of every bishop of the Union. Any

article sent by a prelate for insertion, we looked upon as under no control, and we have still the same impression of duty. Whatever the judgment of the Bishop of Charleston, or that of the other editors, (for he is one who has given his labour, together with others, to its pages,) may be, he has no control, and we claim no control, over any article sent for insertion by a bishop. Thus, it is Dr. Conwell's Miscellany just as much as it is Dr. England's. 'Tis true, the archbishop and a most respectable priest of his diocess, and many respectable laymen of his city and its vicinity, have advanced money to support it. But Dr. England has certainly whatever claim the expenditure of $300 or $400 can bestow, together with a very ample contribution to its contents; yet, if he to-morrow swerved from Catholic discipline. he would find the Miscellany secured from his domination, and at the service of the hierarchy of America.

Whether the statements of the Miscellany, respecting the schism at Philadelphia, are accurate or not; whether the opinions expressed are correct or otherwise; of one principle the readers of this publication may rest assured: no patronage shall corrupt, no secession shall dismay, its conductors. They desire to publish for general instruction, not for the gratification of party. They bow to the authority of the church in all matters of faith and of discipline—to every bishop of that church, to the Bishop of Philadelphia as well as to the Bishop of Charleston, they bow with respect, and they hold in communion; but, whilst they disclaim all or any connexion with the authors and the abetters of schism in the city of Philadelphia, they will entertain and express, with that freedom which is their right, and that deference which is their duty, those opinions which it is their privilege to form and to publish. The good people of Philadelphia who have seceded from us have probably, ere now, discovered their mistake. But if our agents and friends continue to act as they now do, the Miscellany can spare ten times thirty-five subscribers and still continue to publish.

SECTION XXVI.

PHILADELPHIA.

We have received several letters from many correspondents upon the concerns of this church, and in reviewing them, we have come to the following conclusion:—There are now two parties in the city, one unquestionably schismatic. We were about to state, at their head—but this would be an incorrect expression—employed by them is the Rev. Thaddeus J. O'Meally, who is out of the communion of the church. This party has possession of St. Mary's Church, which it has kept by force. The other party is unquestionably Catholic; it is united to the bishop and his clergy—that portion of it which used to belong to St. Mary's Church, and which, in the eye of the canon law, and of the whole Catholic world, is entitled to the possession and use of that church, now uses the Church of St. Joseph, having been reduced to the dilemma of either abetting schism by attending St. Mary's, in which an excommunicated and schismatical priest officiated, or of absenting themselves from their own church, in which this clergyman is kept for their own purposes by the schismatics.

The origin of the schism was the refusal of the bishop, which events have fully proved to have been quite correct, to continue in the ministry a clergyman who now is publicly known to have been unfit. The bishop remonstrated with the party which insisted upon his betraying his conscience to their predilections; he was properly inexorable. They, in a manner which we are convinced they would now blush to recollect, if they have any feeling, violently and outrageously flung out the bishop, and installed, by their own authority, the very person to whom he properly refused jurisdiction. To justify his usurpation, this person published a series of pamphlets, which we do not wish to designate. The seizure of the church and the usurpation of jurisdiction naturally excited the feelings of the injured party; the consequence was a most distressing and disgusting succession of charges, in which each division accused the other of calumny and worse. With all this we have no concern. The holders of the church, to vindicate their conduct, put forward publications which we cannot designate with milder phrases, than compilations of acrimonious, unproved charges, miserable deficiency of argument, gross misapprehensions of canon law and ecclesiastical discipline, and the exhibition, as of authority, of the opinion of every censured clergyman who could be induced to put his name to any document however ridiculous, purporting that they were right; everything was ransacked, and everybody examined, from Adam and Eve in Paradise, down to the Spanish Cortes and the Consul of Sardinia, and all this to prove an impossibility, viz., that a right of patronage existed where it never had been created, and in the midst of a chaos which did not contain even the materials from which it could be formed. All this, together with the exhibitions in the

courts, and the conspiracies, and the suborningS, are described in piles of papers which we shudder at touching. All this provoked, for it was provoking. All were Catholics, as they asserted. The Pope sent his judgment and exhortation. This was to have been final. It ought. Was it? We now, once for all, state our impression. At this period, as well as at several previous times, the clergyman who was then employed would have acted as he ought to have done, but his employers would not permit him. He did make advances towards the performance of his duty. We have reason to believe that he was withheld by the interference of the same individuals who, on previous occasions, used their influence but too successfully for a like purpose.

We now come to his successor. We pass over the various insidious attempts of the celebrated abbé—the renowned gentleman who collected such solid fame in Europe, and who acted so well in Canada. All this, and more than this, we blot out. It was necessary to have a successor, because the then occupant was to go away. Mr. O'Meally came—upon our minds, there is no doubt but this gentleman knew why he came, whither he was coming, and was instructed how to act. But suppose, against the fact, that he did not, no clergyman could be in Philadelphia two days without knowing that there was a schism, and knowing also which was the schismatical church. This gentleman presents himself to the bishop; the bishop knew who he was, why he came, and what manner of device was to be used. How could he have acted? Suppose he knew none of those circumstances. Suppose a good and pious clergyman presented himself to Dr. Conwell. He was placed in a most delicate situation; one which required the utmost vigilance. Prudence required that he should be more cautious than bishops usually are; yet, upon the common usage, he ought to have treated Mr. O'Meally as he did, for Mr. O'Meally was to him a stranger, and though he brought papers from a bishop, they were not papers from *the last bishop under whom he served.* He might have been censured by that last. Why not produce his papers? Why not give the *usual evidence?* Dr. Conwell had not even the usual evidence—could he then, under very suspicious and delicate circumstances, be required to act in the *usual manner?* Mr. O'Meally soon proved the bishop's suspicions to have been well founded, even if his information had not been correct. He joined the schismatics—he *preached* for them. If we were sometimes in the midst of our melancholy, amused with the quibbles of the former canonists, we were now fully convinced of the propriety of Pope's lines:

"A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not, the Pierian spring.
Those shallow draughts intoxicate the brain;
But drinking largely, sobers us again."

The new canonist informs us that he knew Dr. Conwell to be the Bishop of Philadelphia; that he was forbidden by him to perform any PRIESTLY duty, under pain of censures, but he *only preached*, and as this was not the peculiar duty of *priests*, but might be discharged by DEACONS, he only did a *deacon's* duty, and fell under no censure!! He forgot, for, we presume, there was a time when he knew, that neither a priest or deacon can preach until he shall have received a mission. Of course, he read the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, and he found it asked, "How can they preach unless they be sent?" Before he could then do the duty of a priest or of a deacon, he ought to have been sent either by the Bishop of Philadelphia or by the Pope. The whole body of the American prelates could not give him authority to preach within the diocess of Philadelphia, against the will of its bishop. He never received jurisdiction or mission. If the bishop never saw him, never knew him, never admonished him, he would have become irregular for having presumed to preach without being sent. Why did the bishop send the notice? To warn him that not only would he incur the irregularity, but would also be excommunicated. But, he says, the warning only regarded a priestly act, and he only preached. How often since has he celebrated Mass? Deacons do not perform this duty. Suppose the bishop erred in excommunicating him after a defective notice—the bishop's mistake would only render the first excommunication void—it would not make the irregularity void. The first priestly act would have then subjected him to the censure of excommunication which he had not before incurred. He has since incurred it often. But, was the notice defective? By no means. In every instrument there is a technical style, and the meaning is that which is technical, not that which might be common. In all such notices as the above, the phrase *priestly duty*, or such like, means *an act of ministry usually performed by a priest*, though it might also be in some cases performed by another person. Mr. O'Meally came in irregularly, continues irregularly, and attempts to justify his usurpation, for he pretended that the trustees had a right of

presentation. He accepted of their nomination, and presented himself to the bishop thereupon for jurisdiction. He might just as well present himself upon the same document to the chief justice to be sworn into office as President of the United States, on the 4th of next March, because the trustees have just as little right, by the discipline of the Catholic Church, to elect a pastor for St. Mary's, as they have by the American Constitution to elect the President of the United States; and the bishop would betray his duty as much by inducting upon their presentation, as the chief justice would in swearing in a President upon it.

This foolish and unfounded claim is, we understand, now given up. We did believe Mr. O'Meally had the good sense to determine upon retiring. Thus we did believe that, with the exception of two points, all the obstacles to peace and union had been removed. Those two were—the ill-will and hostility which the weakness of our nature preserves, after every sharp contest, and the unreasonable objection which the persons who continued at St. Mary's had to one or two particular clergymen. Upon this view, we did hope that, as the principle had been yielded upon one side, no triumph should be looked for at the other. The bishop has been the greatest sufferer, in his feelings, in his income, and, under God, he may thank his virtue alone that he has not been in his character. That, however, has been but burnished in the collision; was he a hypocrite, the thin washing would have long since been rubbed away, for, indeed, the applications have been roughly used. What do the Catholics of Philadelphia desire better, than a bishop whose character will outlive the test of four years' assailing, such as his has met with, and whose firmness for the preservation of principle has been tested as his has been? These are qualities not to be every day, nor easily, found. His wish must be, as it is, to see his flock united. But union, with the loss of principle, would be defection. Of a disposition to that, Dr. Conwell cannot be even suspected. Mr. O'Meally has disappointed our hopes. He retired. Such a retreat would be no discredit. It is no discredit to the man who discovers that he has been in possession of what he has no title to keep—to restore it to him whose right is to possess it. Mr. O'Meally has come back, because, forsooth, the bishop would not make a particular bargain with the trustees! But will this give Mr. O'Meally jurisdiction? When we found him on the way to do right, we stood by him; had he continued as he began, we would have continued by his side, though a storm should rage around us. He has turned back, we must leave him. We must condemn his folly, to call it by its mildest name. In his presence, we now see a permanent obstacle to peace, because, consistently with the discipline of the Catholic Church, the bishop cannot recognise him, and no proposition of adjustment can be received, which has not for its basis his previous retirement.

Having thus given our view of this unfortunate schism, we feel called upon to comply with a request from Mr. O'Meally. We have received a letter from him dated January 22d, intended for publication; with this request we cannot comply, for the same reason that we have declined publishing papers sent to us against him, viz.: that we will not take up as questionable positions which we know have been decided upon by competent authority, and that we will not permit the publication of the Catholics of America, of which we are the guardians, to exhibit documents which would place us under the necessity of having the principal part of our columns occupied, during an indefinite time, by a controversy which would inevitably ensue; we shall, however, do what justice requires, give his correction of what he calls misstatements in our publication.

1st. He asserts that we were misinformed when it was stated to us, as we published, upon what we called good authority, on the 5th of January, "that Mr. O'Meally, after having boasted of his having refused to make acknowledgment and atonement for his doings, declared that he should in future consider the see of Philadelphia vacant." And again, "that the Bishop of Charleston was quoted as having written a letter, which Mr. O'Meally asserted warranted him and his associates in the principles with which they heretofore maintained their cause."

2d. He denies his having used expressions equivalent to the above.

3d. He states that so far from boasting, as there stated, he enumerated the humiliations which he endured for the sake of peace.

4th. That he stated his opinion that the bishop was not acting freely from his own conviction, but under the influence of others, who usurped his name to sanction their own acts.

5th. That he could not in truth quote the Bishop of Charleston, as warranting him and his associates, as there stated.

6th. That he did not so quote him.

7th. But that he did quote from a letter (a copy of which we have now before us) of that prelate, a passage which, relating to

a different subject altogether, stated that it was a principle of canon law, that no person to whom a congregation had an unconquerable aversion, should be placed over them, and that he did in his argument apply this as suited his purpose.

This is what Mr. O'Meally asserts respecting the incorrectness of our information. Upon this we shall make a few remarks. As to the 3d: It certainly was very kind in Mr. O'Meally to endure such humiliations as no principle of law, justice, charity, religion, or humanity that we know of, required him to endure. The Catholic Church committed to Doctor Conwell the charge of Philadelphia, and Mr. O'Meally kindly volunteered to endure humiliation for the purpose of procuring peace, which his absence, without any humiliation, would have greatly facilitated. As to the 4th: Such has, during eighteen centuries, been the common cry of almost every one who disliked what a bishop did. As to the 7th: The passage is, in the letter and the principle, in the law; but the party which holds St. Mary's is not the congregation, nor does it consist, if we are rightly informed, of the representatives of the original founders. Of those facts, however, the Bishop of Philadelphia is the canonical judge. It is not our province to dictate to him how to do his duty.

Now, we would, in the spirit merely of fraternal charity, entreat the Catholic party of Philadelphia, as men, as Christians, as brethren, for the public good, to be always ready to sacrifice their feelings to the public peace, and the welfare of the church. God forbid that we should insinuate the sacrifice of principle; but men engaged in a contest are always warm, and they need some restraint. We do venture to hope, and we shall not easily relinquish that hope, that if the feelings of past injuries were laid aside, and if the uncanonical and schismatical principles were cast away, and if Mr. O'Meally would now, as he ought, retire, the Bishop of Philadelphia himself could easily reunite his flock.

In giving our opinion, and expressing our hope, we do express what we know to be the wish of a vast portion of our fellow Catholics, who, whilst they would prefer the continuance of schism to the destruction of principle, would also gladly hail as the angels of peace, even those who having erred for a time, would begin to make sacrifices which must one time be made, unless the division is to be eternal. They who have first erred ought to commence; and if the prodigal child rose to return in sincerity, we have no doubt from what we know, but his father would weep for joy as he would fall upon his neck to embrace him, and at his invitation all his neighbours would rejoice.

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Since writing the above article, we have been handed the Columbian Observer, of the 2d instant, published in Philadelphia, containing the following article:

For the Columbian Observer.

To the members of the congregation worshipping at St. Mary's Church, and to all others professing *liberal* principles.

The weekly paper edited by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Charleston, S. C., in conjunction with other enlightened men, has been assailed merely because of the liberality of principle which it adopted of late.

Bishop England has divested himself of much bigotry, and espoused the cause of the trustees of St. Mary's and of the minister of their appointment—the people's appointment—in opposition to the tyranny of antiquated abuse, and the narrow views and violent clamour of the sticklers for that tyranny.

For this exertion of mind over slavery to traditionary authority—an exertion resembling in its principle our own glorious Revolution, and likely (if supported) to assist the march of evangelical liberty: his reward has been the *secession* of thirty-five of his subscribers in one day, in this enlightened city!

In his last number, issued January 19th, the intrepid prelate discloses this fact (as explicitly as his peculiarly embarrassing circumstances would permit) to you, for support.

You will not, you must not disappoint him; for you have too much sagacity not to perceive how much may be effected by fostering what is yet only a spark, but may yet be kindled to a bright and steady light.

America will not coerce; but is she not bound to enlighten? Only suffer the journal now claiming your help, to become the victim of that tyranny which smothered the intellect of Europe for fifteen ages, and has since impeded its progress to the fulness of reanimation, and you will have sacrificed the surest means which Providence has yet offered in our day, to give success to a cause embracing the universal improvement of man.

To add anything more, might seem to imply a diffidence of your claim to the character of the first of nations.

COLUMBUS.

What the party of the writer may be, we know not, and we care not; but we take

the first opportunity of distinctly avowing, that he has been guilty of a gross misrepresentation of the bishop of this diocess, and of the editors of this paper. If we could indulge in conjecture, we would *not*, at once and unhesitatingly, attribute to a partisan of the schismatical party, this libellous production. If it was written by an opponent of that party, it was an indiscreet and criminal effort to malign us for not going the full length which he would desire. If it was written by an advocate of the schismatical party, it was a vain and foolish effort to draw us by our passions into a dereliction of our principles. We may desire to repress the warmth of the partisan who espouses the cause of truth, but we trust we shall never be found ranged on the side of infidelity, which is miscalled liberality, ignorance which profanes history, and the lawlessness of congregated despotism, which, in destroying order, boasts that its licentiousness is but the legitimate exercise of liberty. We neither seek nor desire the support of those who would support schism; and we love and respect America too much, to aid in tarnishing her glories, by veiling that truth which the writer assails.

SECTION XXVII.

PHILADELPHIA.

We have received a letter from the Rev. T. J. O'Meally, which we must decline publishing, for the same reason that we have refused to insert articles against him. We have no doubt whatever, upon Mr. O'Meally's own showing, that there never was a worse case of flagrant, unwarrantable usurpation, and plain clear schism than his. We shall not waste our paper with his semblance of pleading, until he can destroy the records of eighteen centuries, and obliterate from the minds of all canonists every trace of law: it would be worse than folly to put his compilations before even tyros for examination. If we should make slight concessions for his integrity, it must necessarily be at a price which it would mortify his vanity to pay. We are unable to say to what his deviations are attributable; but that he has widely erred, we know.

He calls upon us to correct misstatements in our article of the 16th ult.

This is the passage of which he complains: "There is no doubt upon our minds, but this gentleman (Mr. O'Meally) knew why he came, whither he was coming, and was instructed how to act." Mr. O'Meally complains of us for having herein "flatly contradicted him." Really we must beg his pardon; we were not before aware of his having asserted that there was any doubt upon *our minds* respecting those three subjects, or either of them. And we are *ungenerous* enough still to think that there is no contradiction, either flat or sharp. Mr. O'Meally's "honour has been unnecessarily wounded," by our "directly calling his veracity into question." This HONOUR is a very delicate sort of thing, and very easily wounded, and wounded even by a word; yet we suspect a word that wounds must be a little sharp. To people who look more to honour than to religion, it is a very *ungentlemanly* sort of thing to "call veracity into question." Now suppose we took it into our heads to imagine ourselves to be gentlemen, and to get angry at having *our veracity* called into question. What would our friend Thaddeus?

We said *we had no doubt upon our minds*. Will Mr. O'Meally presume to call our veracity into question, and say we had a doubt? What will *our honour* say to this? Flat contradiction! Round contradiction! Square contradiction! No—we must avow that, like Autolycus, rogue as he was, we are quite ready to concede to the clown who asks, "Give me the lie, do; and try whether I am not now a gentleman born." We know Mr. O'Meally is a gentleman born; we might have been under a mistake. Mr. O'Meally might not have known *why he came*, though he publishes in his last pamphlet, p. 15, a letter of Messrs. Ashley and Leamy, two *very great* men, to the bishop, in which they state, "Mr. O'Meally has come from Europe upon our invitation; you want us to make it seem as if we invited him to a strange and distant land, only in order to abandon and betray him: he is the *only barrier* between us and that arbitrary power against which we are struggling." Now this gentleman born ought to make Messrs. Ashley and Leamy retract this letter, lest it might mislead others as it misled us. Again, we thought Mr. O'Meally knew whither he was coming, viz., to Philadelphia. As to his having been *instructed*, it was a mere inference of our own. The letter of the very great men, dated December 15, 1824, continues: "We have formally recognised Mr. O'Meally as pastor of St. Mary's Church, and cannot, without a cause, REMOVE him from a station to which we have *presented him*." Mr. O'Meally must excuse us if, after connecting his asking and claiming from the bishop a right of pastorship upon the presentation of the trustees, we were of opinion that he was instructed by them what to do. Now that

we have exhibited the grounds of our opinion, Mr. O'Meally must be satisfied.

Another misstatement of ours, which he wishes us to correct, is our assertion that he did not produce his papers from his last bishop. He states that, when he waited on Doctor Conwell, he held in his hand a letter dated Taunton, July 31, 1823, from Doctor Collingridge, (the last bishop under whom he served,) which not only shows that he was *not* censured by that prelate, but which further contains evidence of his regard, and his reluctance to part with him. This is to us a new fact; and we only have to regret that the gentleman did not remain with Doctor Collingridge, who could have given him jurisdiction, in preference to serving under Doctors Ashley and Leamy, who, though they may have other good things, have no spiritual jurisdiction to give or to withhold.

Bishops Ashley, Leamy, Meade, or Necessity do not appear upon the Roman almanac. Mr. O'Meally derives his jurisdiction from them; they are not in our communion. Mr. O'Meally is a priest without any jurisdiction. That he is a gentleman born, we have never denied. That he can procure plasters enough in Philadelphia for his wounded honour, we are certain. That we contradicted him, we plead non constat. That he is in the communion of the Roman Catholic Church, even Mr. O'Meally himself will not venture to assert. Let him name one bishop in the whole world who holds communion with him. Mr. Hogan says he placed him in St. Mary's; Messrs. Ashley and Leamy say they were the persons who placed him there. What says his honour to this?

SECTION XXVIII.

ROME.—REV. T. J. O'MEALLY.

We have known, during a considerable period, that this unfortunate young man, under a false notion that his conduct in coming to Philadelphia and usurping the church of St. Mary's, and continuing in that usurpation, was not so completely wrong and unjustifiable as he was repeatedly assured it was, went to Rome for the purpose of vindicating his acts. We had some hopes that he had not, like his predecessor, lost every feeling of a Catholic priest, and abandoned every principle of his church. We now learn that in the holy city he has discovered his error, and retired to a monastery for the purpose of repentance. The special facts have not reached us in that shape that would enable us to give them in detail and with the precision that we could wish. We however have hope that Mr. O'Meally will not only by true repentance seek reconcilement with heaven, but use such means as might be in his power to bring back his unfortunate companions in schism and guilt.

PHILADELPHIA.

The official document regarding the Rev. Mr. O'Meally, late of St. Mary's, has come to hand. We hope that those who deluded this mistaken clergyman, or those whom he might have deceived, will imitate him in his repentance as they have done in his schismatical proceedings.

Most Reverend Sir:—I hope you have learned by the despatch of the 16th of July, that the priest Thaddeus Joseph O'Meally, of Limerick, had arrived in Rome, and that the Sacred Congregation had refused to have any correspondence with him on the subject of the schism in Philadelphia. But to give you further information, and to prove that he has for ever renounced his connexion with the schismatics in St. Mary's Church, I send you enclosed, a copy of the *formula* approved by His Holiness for his signature, which, after his having taken the case into mature deliberation, he, the said priest O'Meally, subscribed in due form on the 25th of July, in presence of the secretary of the Sacred Congregation, with two Roman priests as witnesses, and a notary public to attest the fact. The original *autograph*, with the signatures of the above mentioned respectively, is carefully preserved in the tabulary and archives of the Propaganda.

May God long preserve your lordship; and I remain yours, as a brother, with studious consideration,

Julius Maria,
Cardinal Prefect of Ostia de Somalia,
Pro-Prefect of the Sacred Congregation.

Petrus Caprano,
Archbishop of Iconium, Secretary.

Dated from the College de Propaganda Fide, Rome, the 30th July, 1825.

To the Right Reverend Henry Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

DECLARATION.

I, the undersigned, Thaddeus Joseph O'Meally, priest of the diocess of Limerick, in Ireland, residing for some time past in Philadelphia, North America, understanding the perversity of my conduct, by joining to support the schismatical faction of certain trustees of St. Mary's Church, the cathedral of that city, in usurping the prerogatives of

a pastor of said church, in defiance of the bishop's mandate to the contrary, to the great scandal of the surrounding nations, especially to that of America, and sincerely lamenting my misconduct on that occasion; and, truly penitent for the scandals originating from that source, I am now anxious to repair the evils I have committed, as much as lies in my power; for which purpose I now publicly profess and proclaim to the world, that I have renounced for ever the said faction, and their schismatical proceedings, and that I have abdicated accordingly the usurped right of pastorship in St. Mary's, conformably to the apostolical instructions contained in the *brief* of His Holiness, Pope Pius the Seventh, of sanctified memory, dated the 24th of August, 1822, and imploring pardon and forgiveness from the Most Reverend Father in God, Henry Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia, for all the transgressions which I have committed against his authority, begging at the same time from him, or from the Holy See, to be absolved from the major excommunication which the bishop had inflicted on me with every degree of justice on his part. And I hereby solemnly swear to abide for ever by the profession which I now make; and that I shall never, upon any account whatsoever, return again into the diocess of Philadelphia; and that a perpetual monument of this, my steadfast resolution and purpose, may for ever exist and be recorded, I have subscribed my name to this declaration, anxious that it be printed, in order that the knowledge of it may be diffused and universally published to the world.

THADDEUS JOSEPH O'MEALLY.

Rome, 25 July, 1825.

SECTION XXIX.

PHILADELPHIA.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.—The unfortunate dispute of this church appears, at length, to have terminated. We copy the following from the Baltimore Gazette of the 13th. The National Gazette of the 12th, is the latest Philadelphia paper which we have received. No private account has, as yet, reached us upon the subject. Nor do we find it upon the National Gazette.

"All causes of difference being adjusted between the Bishop of Philadelphia and the trustees of St. Mary's Church, the local and personal interdicts have been removed, and the church is opened accordingly for divine worship under the sanction and authority of the bishop, who has appointed the Rev. Wm. Vincent Harold and the Rev. Thomas Heyden his assisting pastors.

"The trustees are to manage the temporalities according to the act of incorporation, and the spiritual concerns shall remain under the care and government of the bishop, to whom the *deposit* of the *faith* and the general discipline of the Roman Catholic Church are entrusted in the diocess of Philadelphia. In consequence of this agreement, a general amnesty, which is to be published in all Catholic churches of the city, is hereby declared and promulgated.

"Given under my hand, this 11th day of October, 1826.

"† HENRY CONWELL,
Bishop of Philadelphia."

By the act of incorporation of St. Mary's Church the trustees consist of *three clergymen*, who officiate in the church, or if there be a greater number than three officiating, the *clergy elect the three* who are to be members of the board of trustees; and the lay-members elect, we believe, eight lay-trustees, and the board consists of those eleven members, of which the *senior clergyman present is always the president.*

It is to us matter of sincere gratification to find the schism, which has now continued nearly six years, so happily terminated, and we are fully confident that the afflictions which have troubled the church of Philadelphia, will not be without their beneficial consequences. When we look back to the origin, the progress, and the exhibitions which were made towards its conclusion, rarely, very rarely, has such a development been made. But we cease to look back.

SECTION XXX.

PHILADELPHIA.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.—We had hoped that this church was in peace, but we regret to find that such is not the case. We know nothing more of the facts than what is contained in the following notice which is copied from the National Gazette of the 26th April.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

At a respectable and numerous meeting of the pewholders of St. Mary's Church, and other Roman Catholics, opposed to the late arbitrary proceedings in relation to the Rev. William Vincent Harold, held at the United States Hotel, pursuant to public notice—Matthew Carey, Esq., was called to the chair, and John Carrell and Daniel J. Desmond were appointed secretaries, when the

following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, on the 3d day of this month, the Right Rev. Dr. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia, served a written notice of suspension from all jurisdiction and sacred functions, on the Rev. William Vincent Harold, Pastor of St. Mary's Church in this city, which instrument does not recite any cause whatever for a proceeding so grave from its nature and institution, as this spiritual penalty; and so injurious to the reputation of any individual on whom it may be inflicted:

And whereas, the Rev. William Vincent Harold has been known to this congregation for a period now approaching twenty years; and during a great part of this time in the relation of an officiating Roman Catholic clergyman in the church or district of St. Mary's, and has always been esteemed, not only by the congregation, but by the citizens of Philadelphia of every religious persuasion, as a clergyman of the most irreproachable morals, of eminent zeal in the discharge of his pastoral functions, and of talents which have reflected singular honour on our church:

And whereas, although we are informed but too well of the fact, that in the church of America, a Roman Catholic bishop may deprive any of his clergy of their functions, and subject them to all the injurious effects of suspension or deprivation, without regular process, and of mere arbitrary motion; yet, we are also aware, that such a practice is an abuse, being contrary to the fundamental principles of justice, and subversive of the rights of clergymen, whom it subjects to the mere caprice of an individual:

And whereas, the necessary consequence of the repeated occurrence of this harsh measure in the church of Philadelphia, has affected, in the opinion of our fellow-Christians of other denominations, the reputation of the Roman Catholic Church, by presenting in its hierarchy, a dangerous and revolting example of arbitrary power; whilst the rising generation of our own communion, being accustomed to hear such reproaches against the church of their fathers, already exhibit in too many instances, an indifference to the Catholic faith of the most pernicious tendency:

Resolved, That it appears to us to belong to the peculiar temperament of our bishop to deal in spiritual censures in such a way as must bring them into disrepute; and that we look to the head of the Catholic Church for redress, under the evils which this system is inflicting upon the Roman Catholics of the church of Philadelphia, and we owe it to our children, to our future peace, and to the honour of our faith, to pledge ourselves, AS WE DO HEREBY, that we will have recourse to all lawful means to obtain from Rome a speedy and permanent remedy against the abuse of which we complain, by the establishment of the canonical rights of our clergy.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be a general committee; and that they are hereby authorized to select an acting committee of three out of their number, to whom the charge of opening and conducting a correspondence with the proper authorities in the Catholic Church shall be entrusted on behalf of this meeting; so that the object avowed in the above resolutions, and all things connected with the same, may be attained in a manner the most consistent with the reputation of the church and its ministers.

Matthew Carey,	John Diamond,
Richard W. Meade,	Joseph Donath,
Lewis Clapier,	William Myers,
Jerome Keating,	James Henderson,
Edward Barry,	Lewis Ryan,
John Borie,	Charles Johnson,
John Keating,	Bernard McCredy,
Morgan Carr,	John T. Sullivan,
John Carrell,	John Maitland,
Dennis McCredy,	James Eneu,
Joseph Snyder,	Patrick Hayes,
Cornelius Tiers,	Jos. Nancrede, M. D.,
Joseph Dugan,	Hugh Cavenaugh,
Peter Scravendyke,	James Brady,
Joseph Blame,	Timothy Desmond.

And, Resolved, That the acting committee shall have authority to assemble the general committee from time to time, when its advice or assistance may be essential.

MATTHEW CAREY, Chairman.

JOHN CARRELL, DANIEL J. DESMOND, } Secretaries.

Philadelphia, April 24th, 1827.

SECTION XXXI.

PHILADELPHIA.

THE unfortunate situation of this city, so far as concerns our religion, has been during a long time, in a variety of respects, most afflicting. We do not recollect a single moment, during upwards of six years, that there was peace in the diocess; but we have been generally silent, because we found that our interference was not useful, and that whilst we knew our intentions to have been correct, we were misconceived, misrepresented, and seriously injured, not by one side only, but by both; for we joined with neither. The object sought by one party was perfectly lawful, necessary, and

beneficial; but we never observed what we considered the proper means used to attain what ought never to have been placed in jeopardy: and because we expressed our doubts of the wisdom of the course which had been pursued, we were represented as hostile to a principle in support of which we have made the most serious sacrifices: the angry feelings of the contending parties were directed even against our subscription list, because we would not belie our judgment. Could our publications of opinion or of argument, however, have availed anything, we should have continued to publish: but we found obstacles which time alone could remove, and until after their removal, writing would only augment the evil: we were therefore silent, or we gave merely a passing and slight observation, or placed a fact upon record.

The American documents which we now publish, have been in our possession during many months, and we then as clearly saw, as we now do, their utter incompatibility with the doctrine and discipline of our church, and we of course knew what must ultimately be their fate.

The bishop, we believe, with the best intentions, exceeded his powers with them: the covenant in the concessions made to the trustees on that score was always void. The constitution and laws of the Roman Catholic Church are as well defined, and as precisely limiting in their regulations, as are those of our civil government. A governor of a state cannot make a bargain to violate his public rights, or not to perform his public duty. Such a bargain would be unconstitutional and void. A state legislature cannot grant a charter, or become party to a contract which would be incompatible with the provisions of our federal constitution. Neither can a bishop, or the whole body of the clergy of a diocess, or the synod of a province grant to a vestry rights or powers incompatible with the doctrine or the general discipline of the church; and indeed, it required but a glance from any person who was in the least degree conversant with either, as regarded the points in question, to see that the document which Dr. Conwell was induced to subscribe, was perfectly incompatible with one if not with both. The gentlemen who subscribed the protest are not theologians, nor do we suppose they aspire to the title; for one of them we entertain sentiments of kind esteem, and believe his object is to do good: but to mean well is not enough, people should besides know how to act properly and effectually: we should hope his companions are equally well disposed as is this gentleman; we can overlook much in persons circumstanced as they were; and this alone prevents our describing their protest as its terms would deserve. We always considered the making of it to be on their part as unaccountable an oversight, as was the subscribing to the document of concord an oversight on the part of Doctor Conwell.

We have in our possession histories of the negotiations from opposed parties, and we have from them formed an opinion, which it is unnecessary at present to publish. We give the documents:

The following is a copy of the agreement:

"Whereas, for some years past, unhappy differences have existed between the Bishop of Philadelphia and the congregation of St. Mary's Church, in the said city: And whereas, the parties have agreed, amicably, to settle all their disputes, and to restore harmony and union to the Roman Catholic Church, in the said city:

"Now know ye, that the following articles are mutually agreed upon, settled, and determined, between the Right Reverend Henry Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia, of the one part, and 'the trustees of the Roman Catholic Society, worshipping at the Church of St. Mary's, in the city of Philadelphia,' of the other part, as the terms and conditions upon which the reconciliation and union shall be effected.

"First. The faith and doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church shall remain sacred and inviolate; and in accordance with these principles, the spiritual concerns of the said church shall be committed to the care and government of the bishop, and the temporal concerns to the Board of Trustees.

"Second. So far as the parties hereto have power and authority so to do, all indictments, prosecutions, actions and causes of action, suits, damages, and trespasses, shall be, and they are hereby, mutually released and abandoned: a general amnesty to be published in the churches of this city; and if any deeds, books, papers, or documents, belonging to the corporation, are now in the possession of the bishop, they are to be delivered to the present Board of Trustees, the second party hereto.

Third. The Right Reverend Henry Conwell is hereby recognised as bishop and senior pastor of St. Mary's Church, in the same manner as he was at the commencement of the late disputes in St. Mary's Church; but the bishop voluntarily relinquishes all claim for arrears of salary and emoluments attached to the said office.

"Fourth. The bishop acknowledges the right of the trustees to recommend suitable

persons as pastors of St. Mary's Church, on the following terms and conditions:

"A. The bishop shall appoint the clergy and notify the same to the trustees.

"B. Should the trustees consider any one, or, each of the pastors thus appointed, disqualified for discharging the duties of his situation, they, the lay-trustees, shall be at liberty to meet and state their objections to the bishop.

"C. Such statement, in order to merit the investigation of the bishop, shall have signatures of at least a majority of the lay-trustees.

"D. Should the bishop please to persist in the appointment of such priest or pastors, so objected against, he will do so in the following manner, viz.: He, the bishop, shall appoint, together with himself, any two Catholic clergymen not connected with the church of St. Mary, who shall meet a committee of three, lawfully appointed by the Board of Trustees, in order to consider the objections made against the pastor or pastors, appointed by the bishop.

"E. A majority of votes on either side, shall be respected by the bishop, if in favour of the trustees, as cause for the withdrawal of his appointment; if in his own favour, a submission to the appointment.

"F. Should the number of votes be equal, (the bishop voting as an individual,) the parties shall cast lots for a fourth person, whose vote shall determine the bishop.

"G. In these proceedings secrecy shall be regarded as inviolable.

"Fifth. The bishop shall appoint two persons as pastors, who shall forthwith, with him, officiate in St. Mary's Church.

"Sixth. The salary of the bishop, as such, shall be permanent, and not decreased, without his consent, during his continuance in office. The salaries of the pastors shall be determined by the Board of Trustees; care being taken that, as far as the resources of the church will permit, a suitable provision shall be made for them.

"Seventh. The small tenement in Willing's Alley, belonging to the corporation, shall be furnished and appropriated for the use of the two assisting pastors for the time being of St. Mary's Church.

"Eighth. The bishop leaves the fixing of the salary for himself and the assisting clergy to the liberality and discretion of the trustees.

"Ninth. As soon as these articles have been mutually executed and exchanged between the parties, they shall be entered upon the minutes of the Board of Trustees; and in pursuance of public notice, previously given, St. Mary's Church shall be opened, under the sanction and authority of the Bishop of Philadelphia.

"In witness whereof, the parties have hereunto irrevocably set their hands and seals, the 9th day of October, 1826.

"HENRY CONWELL, [L.S.]
"Bishop of Philadelphia.
"R. W. MEADE, [L.S.]
"JOHN ASHLEY, [L.S.]
"ARCHIBALD RANDALL, [L.S.]
"Committee of Trustees of St. Mary's Church.

"Signed, sealed, and delivered, in the presence of us:

"MICHAEL HURLEY,
"JOSIAH RANDALL.

"At the time of entering the above contract on the minutes of the corporation, the annexed protest was offered to the bishop by the trustees, which was admitted and accepted by him.

"The trustees of St. Mary's Church do hereby declare that nothing in the preceding agreement shall be construed or intended to mean, under any shape or form, a relinquishment or abandonment by them, of what they consider their *inherent* right of presentation; on the contrary, they declare that the preceding agreement has been entered into by them solely to restore peace, and with a view to enable them to prosecute more efficaciously their claim to the right of PRESENTATION, as practised in all other countries. The trustees consider this right as important to the spiritual as it is to the temporal authorities of the church, and that peace and harmony can never thoroughly exist till the right is acknowledged and practised in these United States.

"Further, The trustees declare that nothing contained in the preceding agreement shall be construed as admitting or confirming the principle that the Bishop of Philadelphia, in his own right, is, or can name himself, a pastor of St. Mary's Church; for the sake of peace, the trustees have consented that Doctor Conwell should, from this date, be a pastor; but this act, done under peculiar circumstances, they declare is not to be considered as forming a precedent.

"Third, and lastly, the trustees profit of this opportunity, to declare that they will, with all their energy, prosecute their claim to the See of Rome to allow a bull or decree against any future bishop being appointed, unless his appointment shall have been made with the approbation and at the recommendation of the Catholic clergy of the diocess.

[Signed] "R. W. MEADE,
"JOHN ASHLEY,
"ARCHIBALD RANDALL,
"Committee of Trustees.

"Oct. 9, 1826."

The above were transmitted to Rome by some persons who believed them to be incompatible with the doctrine and general discipline of the Roman Catholic Church; and we should suppose that every American prelate has received a similar letter to that which has been received by the bishop of this diocess, and which he has given to us for publication in conformity with the desire expressed in the letter itself, of which the following is an exact copy:

R. P. D. Joanni England, Episcopo Carolopolitano, Carolopolim.

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine:—Quam graviter Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide tulerit ea, quæ Philadelphiæ die 9, Octobris, anno 1826, R. P. D. Henricum Conwell, Episcopum Philadelphiensem, inter et Aedituos Ecclesiæ S. Mariæ Cathedralis suæ contigerunt, Amplitudo Tua facile intelliget, cui exploratum est summum Sacræ ipsius Congregationis studium, ut Catholica de Ecclesiastica jurisdictione Doctrina, et Disciplina Ecclesiæ Sanctissima, ubique sarta tectaque custodiatur. Ea enim Episcopum Philadelphiensem inter et Aedituos est inita Conventio memorata die, ea ab Aedituis facta declaratio, ut spectet utraque ad Episcopalem potestatem, et Ecclesiasticam de ea potestate Disciplinam, in Diœcesi Philadelphiensi, evertendam. Persuasum quidem est Sacræ Congregationi, Episcopum non satis accurata rei consideratione adductum esse ad assensum suum in eo negotio præbendum. Verum muneris esse sui prorsus Sacra Congregatio intelligit omnibus ostendere, quæ sua sit de Conventione illa ac declaratione sententia: Quare Amplitudini Tuæ significat, idque cupit a Te palam manifestari, Eminentissimos Cardinales, in Generali Conventu ad rem ipsam judicandam habito die 30 Aprilis, communi suffragio censuisse: *Conventionem et Declarationem, de qua sermo est, omnino esse reprobandam.* Ut vero quisque intelligat quanta sit rei, de qua agitur, gravitas, et quantopere in istis præcipue Regionibus Religionis intersit notum omnibus esse Conventionem illam declarationemque reprobandam esse, illud etiam Amplitudini Tuæ Sacra Congregatio communicandum habet *Petrum per Leonem hac in re loquutum esse.* Nam Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo XII. re mature perpensa, die Maji 6, superius relatum Sacræ Congregationis responsum confirmavit, suamque mentem esse expresse manifestavit, Catholicos omnes in istis Regionibus commorantes admonere, se ipsum quoque decernere Conventionem et Declarationem illam reprobandam omnino esse.

Confido futurum, ut cum in America innotuerit, quæ sit Sedis Apostolicæ hac de re sententia omnes pareant, resque Ecclesiasticæ in legitimo ordine contineantur, ac precor Deum, ut Amplitudinem Tuam diu sospitem ac felicem servet.

Amplitudinis Tuæ

Romæ ex Aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide die 19 Maji, 1827.

Uti Frater Studiossissimus,

D. Maurus, Card. Cappellari, Prefectus.

Petrus Caprano, Archiepiscopus Iconion. S. Cong. de Prop. fid. Secretarius.

TRANSLATION.

To the Right Reverend Father John England, Bishop of Charleston, Charleston, U. S. A.

Right Reverend and Most Illustrious Sir:—You, who so well know that the first object of the Sacred Congregation of the *Propaganda fide* is, that the most holy Catholic doctrine and discipline of the church concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be everywhere preserved in order and under protection, will easily understand how grievously that Sacred Congregation was affected by what occurred in Philadelphia, on the 9th of October, 1826, between the Right Reverend Father, Henry Conwell, the Bishop of Philadelphia, and the trustees of the Cathedral Church of St. Mary's. For on that day such an agreement was entered into between the Bishop of Philadelphia and the trustees, and such a declaration made by the trustees, as that each of them was calculated to overthrow the episcopal authority, and the ecclesiastical discipline regarding that authority, in the diocess of Philadelphia. The Sacred Congregation is indeed persuaded that the bishop was brought to give his assent in that case without having given the matter sufficiently accurate consideration; but the Sacred Congregation feels it to be its duty to make its opinion of that agreement and declaration known to all persons. Wherefore, it communicates that opinion to you, and desires it to be openly made known by you, that the most eminent cardinals, in a general assembly held to judge of this subject upon the 30th of April, by their common suffrage have given as their judgment, *that the said agreement and declaration, which were the subjects of debate, were to be altogether reprobated.* Moreover, that it might be well understood of how great importance is the subject matter, and how much the interests of religion require the reprobation of that agreement and declaration to be known to all, especially in that country, the Sacred Congregation has to communicate to you *that in this*

matter Peter hath spoken through Leo. For our most holy Lord Leo XII., having maturely considered the affair, did, on the 6th of May, confirm the aforesaid aaswer of the Sacred Congregation; and did expressly manifest his desire to admonish all the Catholics dwelling in those regions, that he also decreed that the specified agreement and declaration were by all means to be reprobated.

I trust, therefore, that when the opinion of the Apostolic See upon this subject shall have been known in America, all will obey, and that the concerns of the church will be preserved in their lawful order; and I beseech God long to preserve you safe and happy.

Rome, from the buildings of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda fide, May 19, 1827.

Your most obsequious brother,
D. Maurus, Cardinal Cappellari,
Prefect.

Peter Caprano, Archbishop of Iconium,
Secretary of the Sacred Cong. de Prop. fide.

To these documents we shall add little, and that principally the statement of facts. We know that the greater number of the American bishops, if not all of them, immediately upon learning the tenor of the agreement, distinctly and unequivocally declared it incompatible with the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, and the principles contained in it contrary to her doctrine; but they then, and now, we believe, were of opinion that the Bishop of Philadelphia intended well; hence, though they were aware that he exceeded his powers, and acted incompatibly with the constitution of the church, they did not believe that he was himself conscious of having so done. We also know that the bishop was advised by several of his clergy to give this assent; and that they represented to him that if he then, after so much dissension and ill-will, created a difficulty in the way of peace and reconciliation, he would have to answer for all the unhappy consequences of a protracted and perhaps interminable schism. But we are of opinion that the capital error which was committed lay, if we are rightly informed, in the employing as mediator and umpire of the differences, not a person who knew the constitution of the Roman Catholic Church, but a gentleman who, however estimable and learned he otherwise might be, knows as little of the true character of that church as gentlemen of the Protestant denominations usually do. Whatsoever their dispositions and other acquirements might be, we must declare, that, after extensive and ample opportunity frequently used to test our opinion, we never yet met a Protestant gentleman who had even a tolerably accurate notion of the outline of our form of church government, or anything like a correct view of our doctrine: and the misfortune is, that they are generally positive of their being well informed upon the subjects in the ratio of the misconceptions which they have collected from hostile writers. We believe the Philadelphia agreement was framed by a gentleman of this description, who, with the best intentions, was as unfit for the task as a merely skilful surgeon would be to draft deeds and statutes for the regulations of contingencies, descents, and remainders. This decision in Rome, which could not have been of any other tenor, does little to remove the evils which at present afflict the church of Philadelphia. We trust, however, that it will produce at least the effect of teaching lessons of prudence, moderation, forbearance, and the inability of endeavouring to reconcile a profession of Catholic doctrine with a violation of the constitution of the Catholic Church. The evils are serious, but the remedy is not so difficult as is generally imagined. The canons of the church and her spirit are in favour of an administration of known law by a recognised tribunal. The laws are in existence, and so are the tribunals; and so is the authority empowered to construct those local regulations which would make the law efficient. There have been, it is true, many wild theories set afloat, there has been great jealousy, perhaps a great portion of it unfounded; but we cannot help indulging the hope, that order will arise out of the unfortunate chaos which has too long continued. We have been frequently amazed at how the discord could have been perpetuated. We do trust it will speedily vanish. Let the principles of church discipline, and a serious intention in all parties to adopt them, be brought to bear upon the case, and there can be no doubt as to the result; mutual confidence will succeed to jealousy, and harmony to confusion; instead of debating what ought to be enacted, the inquiry will be, how shall they carry into execution what has been proved good by the experience of ages and of nations. The Roman Catholic religion is not a subject for experiment. It is a system which has been given by God to man, not to improve upon its construction, but for man to improve himself by its practice.

SECTION XXXII.

PHILADELPHIA.

SINCE our last publication we have been favoured by the Bishop of Philadelphia with a number of documents and statements concerning the late transactions of his church. We shall publish what he has desired, and we shall use the discretion which he has left us respecting other parts of his communications; as we are of opinion that it is better to avoid any unnecessary or premature agitation of some of the topics, we shall not at present publish all that we have received.

We must premise that whatever our opinion might be as to the prudence of some of his acts, this afflicted prelate has, throughout the whole series of his trials, been proved unimpeachable in his moral conduct, and sound in his faith; and seldom, indeed, has it fallen to the lot of a bishop to have been placed in more perplexing difficulties. His conduct, in this last instance, ought to raise him in the esteem of his friends; for he has manifested a proper and edifying respect for the superior tribunal by which his own public act has been declared irregular and void. The sacrifice of pride upon the altar of duty is not easily made, and especially under such circumstances as those in which he was placed. His conduct has edified us; and will be doubtless beneficial in its results. We are happy in having grounds to indulge the hope that all others concerned will, in this respect, imitate Dr. Conwell.

The following preamble appeared by way of introduction to the history of the agreement which was given in our last, and of some facts which succeeded its execution, in a pamphlet which was published in Philadelphia on the 25th of April, 1827.

An Address to the Pewholders and Congregation of St. Mary's Church.

"The congregation of St. Mary's Church had been, for a length of time, the victim of an unfortunate schism, which cast so much opprobrium on the Roman Catholic religion, and excited the angry passions to a degree unheard of in this country, in similar controversies. It is a melancholy reflection to revert to that period, to remember that the father was arrayed in hostility against the son—the brother against the brother—the social bonds of relationship were rent asunder—families disunited, and an animosity existed between the parties, which time, instead of diminishing, seemed only to increase. During this period, the trustees of St. Mary's Church made various, but unfortunately fruitless attempts to restore tranquillity to the congregation. An agreement was at length entered into between the Right Rev. Doctor Conwell, and a Committee of the Board of Trustees, for the purpose of settling all differences; as the terms and conditions of this agreement are not generally known, a copy is subjoined herewith."

In the copy of the agreement which has been sent to us by the bishop, in the sixth article, the following correction is marked, "a suitable *and equal* provision shall be made for them."—The words *and equal* are not in the copy which we have published, nor are they in any of the two different printed copies which we have seen.

In the publication sent to us, the history of the declaration of the trustees is the following:—

"The trustees, anxious to uphold what they considered the rights and prerogatives of their constituents, and wishing that no possible misunderstanding should take place as to their views, in the final arrangement of their disputes with the bishop, presented to him, at the time of entering the contract on the minutes of the corporation, the annexed protest, which was *admitted* and *accepted* by him."

The bishop has written on the margin the following words:

"The bishop denies having received or seen this *declaration*, until he saw it by accident some time after the settlement."

The following is the next document upon our list:—

"The undersigned Roman Catholics, trustees of St. Mary's Church (incorporated), in Philadelphia, having appointed a committee to confer with the Right Rev. Dr. Conwell on the subject of the *schism*, with instructions, '*that the terms of admission into the church*' should be made as easy as possible —and that no priest should be appointed as pastor in said church against whom the congregation, represented by the trustees, had any reasonable cause of objection, and the Right Rev. Bishop having agreed to these measures, according to an *understanding* on that subject by the parties—and which *imported* that nothing should be done in that cause in violation of the Catholic principles, of which the *Holy See is the judge:*

Therefore, the above act of settlement is humbly submitted to the Sacred College of the Propaganda, for its decision on the points in this instrument which may affect the canons and general discipline of the Roman Catholic Church.

"Done at Philadelphia, Nov. 4th, 1826.—Witness the seal of the corporation.

"Begging from His Holiness his paternal benediction, we subscribe ourselves most respectfully,

JOHN LEAMY,
JOHN ASHLEY,
EDWARD BARRY,
BERNARD GALLAGHER,
PATRICK O'CONNELL,
JOHN O'KEEFE,
R. W. MEADE, *Absent*,
ARCH'D RANDALL.

"Attest. (SEAL.)
ARCH'D RANDALL, *Secretary.*
"This is a true copy,
† HENRY, *Bishop of Philadelphia.*"

The next document is the answer of the Cardinal Prefect to the Bishop of Philadelphia.

Illustrissimo ac Reverendissimo Domino Henrico Conwell, Episcopo Philadelphiæ, Philadelphiam.

ILLUSTRISSIME AC REVERENDISSIME DOMINE:—Amplitudinis Tuæ litteræ die 20 Octobris, ac 20 Novembris, anni 1826, scriptæ ad nos pervenerunt, quibus nuntiabatur Conventionem quandam Amplitudinem tuam inter ac Ædituos Ecclesiæ St. Mariæ Cathedralis tuæ initam esse: Itemque a R. P. Antonio Kohlmann Soc. Jesu. accepimus epistolam a P. Michaele Hurley Ordinis St. Augustini ad eundem die 22 Januarii, 1827 scriptam, in qua, quemadmodum Amplitudinis Tuæ litteris die 1a Februarii continetur, *Pacti initi cum ædituis* summa; refertur ut ab ipso P. Kohlmann versa in Italicum sermonem, Sacræ Congregationi exhiberetur. Allatæ denique nobis sunt Amplitudinis Tuæ litteræ die 20 Martii ad nos Philadelphia missæ, quibus authenticum memoratæ conventionis die 9 Octobris, anno 1826, ab Amplitudine Tua cum ædituis St. Mariæ initæ exemplum adjectum est, una cum aliquorum illius Ecclesiæ edituorum epistola die 4 Novembris, ejusdem anni data, quæ conventio ipsa Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide judicio subjicitur. Profecto in summo dolore, quo affecti sumus cum conventionem illam considerare cœperimus cumque declarationem eam vidimus quæ die quo pactum initum fuit, ab ædituis facta est, aliquantum sumus recreati ob consilium ab ædituis susceptum de Conventione ipsa Sacræ Congregationis sententiæ subjicienda, nam cum intelligeremus Amplitudinem Tuam certe Sacræ Congregationis ac Sedis Apostolicæ judicio libenter obtemperaturam ac persuasum etiam haberemus te nonnisi ex rei parum considerata natura adduci potuisse ad conventionem illam ineundam ac declarationem recipiendam, nos consolandi rationem suscepimus cum ex epistola ædituorum diei 4, Novembris, argumentum desumere potuimus eos etiam qua necesse est observantia Sacræ Congregationis et Sedis Apostolicæ responsum esse suscepturos.

Itaque significandum Amplitudini Tuæ habemus. Eminentissimos Cardinales in generali Conventu ad totam hanc rem judicandam die 30 Aprilis, habito facile intelligentes conventionem ac declarationem illam spectare ad Episcopalem Potestatem et Ecclesiasticam de ea potestate disciplinam in diœcesi ista evertendam, communi suffragio censuisse *Conventionem ac Declarationem*, de qua sermo est, *omnino esse improbandam*, eosdemque cupere id a te palam manifestari.—Ut vero Amplitudo Tua ceterique sibi persuadeant summam prorsus esse rei de qua agitur gravitatem, et in istis præsertim regionibus summopere Religionis interesse omnibus notum fieri conventionem illam ac declarationem esse reprobandam, illud etiam tibi communicandum habemus *Petrum per Leonem hac in re esse locutum.* Nam Sanctissimus Dominus noster Leo P. P. XII. re accurate perpensa die 6, Maii, superius relatum Sac. Congregationis responsum confirmavit, suamque mentem esse expresse manifestavit Catholicos omnes in istis regionibus commorantes admoneri, Se ipsum quoque decernere conventionem et declarationem illam omnino reprobandam esse.

Confidimus futurum ut quemadmodum Sedis Apostolicæ judicium hac de re ab ædituis requisitum est, ita omnes sententiæ pareant quæ a Sede ipsa Apostolica profecta est, resque Ecclesiæ ad legitimum ordinem isthic revertantur in eoque in posterum contineantur. Precamur Deum interea, ut Amplitudinem Tuam diu sospitem ac felicem servet.

Amplitudinis Tuæ

Romæ ex Ædibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide die 19, Maii 1827.

Uti Fratrer Studiosissimus,
D. MAURUS, CARD. CAPPELLARI,
Prefectus.

PETRUS CAPRANO, Archiepiscopus Iconicen.
S. Cong. de Prop. fid., Secretarius.

A true copy.
† HENRY, *Bishop of Philadelphia.*

TRANSLATION.

To the Right Reverend and most Illustrious Henry Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, U. S. A.

RIGHT REVEREND AND MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR:—Your letters of the 20th of October and of the 20th of November, of the year 1826, in which you inform us of a certain agreement entered into between you and the trustees of your cathedral church of St.

Mary's, have reached us; also, we have received from the Reverend Father Anthony Kohlmann, of the Society of Jesus, a letter written to him by the Reverend Father Michael Hurley, of the Augustinian Order, on the 22d of January, 1827; in which, as also in your letter of the 1st of February, is contained the substance of *the agreement made with the trustees*, translated into Italian for the cardinals by Father Kohlmann himself, that it might be exhibited to the Sacred Congregation. Finally we have received your letter of the 20th of March from Philadelphia, and to which was joined an authentic copy of the aforesaid agreement entered into on the 9th of October, 1826, between you and the trustees of St. Mary's: together with the letter of some of the trustees of that church, dated on the 4th of November of the said year, which convention itself is submitted to the judgment of the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda fide*. Truly, when we observed the counsel taken by the trustees of submitting the agreement itself to the opinion of the Sacred Congregation, we have been somewhat relieved from the great affliction into which we were cast, when we began to consider that agreement, and when we saw the declaration which was made by the trustees on the day of entering into the agreement. And because we understood that you would, certainly, with good will obey the judgment of the Sacred Congregation, and of the Apostolic See; and were also persuaded that you could not have been induced, except from want of duly considering the nature of the transaction, to have entered into that agreement and receive that declaration: we took argument of consolation, when from the letter of the trustees, dated the 4th of November, we could see ground of hope for their receiving with the proper respect the answer of the Sacred Congregation.

Wherefore we have to signify to you that the most eminent cardinals being in general assembly to pass judgment upon this whole case, on the 30th of April: easily seeing that this agreement and declaration were calculated to overthrow the episcopal power, and the discipline concerning that power in that diocess, judged by common suffrage, *that the agreement and declaration, concerning which there is question, are to be entirely reprobated*, and that they desired the same to be openly made known by you. And that you and others might be convinced of the very great importance of the affair under consideration, and especially how necessary it is for the interests of religion that it should be known to all persons, that the said agreement and declaration are to be reprobated, we have also to communicate to you *that Peter hath in this case spoken through Leo*. For our most holy Lord Pope Leo XII., having accurately weighed the case, did, on the 6th day of May, confirm the aforesaid answer of the Sacred Congregation; and expressly manifested his desire that all the Catholics dwelling in that country should be admonished, that he did also decree that the said agreement and declaration were to be altogether reprobated.

We therefore are confident that since the trustees have sought the judgment of the Apostolic See in this case, so all will obey that sentence which has gone forth from the Apostolic See itself; and that church matters will henceforth return to their lawful order, and be in future preserved within the same.

We pray God, meantime, long to preserve you safe and happy.

Rome, from the buildings of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda fide, May 19, 1827.

Your most obsequious brother,
D. MAURUS, CARDINAL CAPPELLARI,
Prefect.

PETER CAPRANO, Archbishop of Iconium,
Secretary of the Sacred Cong. de Prop. fide.

A true copy.
† HENRY, *Bishop of Philadelphia.*

The next document is the form of publication of the above decision made by the Right Reverend Doctor Conwell in St. Mary's Church, in Philadelphia.

Bishop Conwell's annunciation of the decision of Rome, by His Holiness, Pope Leo XII., and the Sacred College de Propaganda, to the congregation of St. Mary's Church, on Sunday, July 22d, on the subject of the agreement made between the Bishop and the Trustees, which had been submitted to the judgment of the Holy See, by the parties in that cause:

Gentlemen, take notice—I have received official information from Rome, dated on the 19th of May, that on the 30th of April was held a full meeting of the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda fide, convened for the purpose of examining whether the articles of agreement between the Bishop of Philadelphia and the trustees of St. Mary's Church, on the 9th of October, 1826, accorded with the canons of the church or not, when it had been decreed and declared, after due deliberation, that the said articles were uncatholic and uncanonical, and consequently null and void—and on the 6th day of May, His Holiness Pope Leo XII. attended a meeting on the same occasion in

propria persona, when the said decision of the cardinals was taken into consideration and *confirmed* by His Holiness in due form.

Therefore, in obedience to this decree, I do hereby declare and publish that the said articles of this agreement are not in accordance with the doctrines and canons of the Catholic Church, having been repealed and abrogated by the supreme tribunal of the church, and therefore to be declared no longer obligatory, and that, being bound in conscience to obey this decision, I do most willingly submit, and engage to act on that full canonical power, claimed and exercised universally by bishops of every nation in the world, as well as by my more immediate brethren, the bishops of the United States, whose favour and indulgence I crave on this occasion.

In conclusion, I must observe that, as the agreement of which there is question, has been pronounced null and void, the appointments and arrangements made under it are null and void also. Published, *ore proprio*, in the cathedral of the diocess, *inter Missarum Solemnia*, on Sunday, the 22d day of July, 1827. By me,

† HENRY CONWELL,
Bishop of Philadelphia.

We shall conclude our publication of these documents by remarking that hitherto the great error on the part of the trustees has been, first, in abetting and instigating clergymen to act against the laws of the church; and secondly, in endeavouring to prevail upon the bishop to act against the general discipline. We are fully convinced there is no danger of their attempting at present to relapse into the first fault; and the result of their late effort must convince them of the folly of attempting the second. A bishop must administer his diocess according to the universal law of the church; and if he should combine with his flock in violating that law, and persist in its violation, it will only expose him and them to be cut off from Catholic communion. We repeat it. The government of the Catholic Church is one of law, and not of arbitrary despotism. Where causes of complaint do exist, there are laws and tribunals by which they can be removed. To attempt their removal otherwise, will only add to the evils. We are led to believe that in Philadelphia the proper mode will be henceforth followed.

SECTION XXXIII.

PHILADELPHIA.

We perceive by the following letter, which we copy from the National Gazette, that the affairs of St. Mary's Church in that city appear to be at length likely to settle down in peace.

(COMMUNICATION.)

Philadelphia, Oct. 17, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—I have authorized the Rev. William Vincent Harold and the Rev. John Ryan to undertake the pastoral functions, and to officiate in St. Mary's Church without delay, having conferred on them the necessary faculties for that purpose; and request you will have the goodness to communicate this intelligence to the board of trustees and the congregation at large, with my best compliments.

I have the honour to be, with respect and regard, dear sir, your faithful friend and servant in Christ,

† HENRY CONWELL,
Bishop of Philadelphia.

Archibald Randall, Esq., Secretary of the Board of Trustees of St. Mary's Church.

SECTION XXXIV.

PASTORAL ADDRESS.

FRANCIS PATRICK, by the Grace of God, and appointment of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Arath, and coadjutor of the Bishop of Philadelphia, to the members of the Roman Catholic Congregation worshipping in St. Mary's, in the city of Philadelphia.

BELOVED CHILDREN IN CHRIST:—With much anguish of heart, we have, through the deepest sense of duty, ordered *the cessation from all sacred functions* in the church and cemeteries of St. Mary's, under penalty of the ecclesiastical censure of suspension, to be incurred by any clergyman attempting the exercise of any such function. Of the cause which led to the adoption of this painful measure, you are already apprised; yet we deem it expedient to state the events that led to it, clearly and distinctly, lest any amongst you should imagine that we had in any degree ceased to cherish that tender affection and zeal for your happiness and salvation, which from our first coming amongst you, we invariably manifested. Though discharging the duties of the sublime office originally committed to the apostles of Christ, we became little ones in the midst of you, as if a nurse should cherish her children. So desirous of you, we would gladly have imparted to you not only the Gospel of God, but also our own souls; because you were become most dear to us.

2. At an early period after we had made the episcopal visitation of the diocess, and promulgated the jubilee throughout the churches of the city, namely, on the 27th

day of December last, we resolved to devote ourselves to the discharge of the pastoral duties amongst you, and we officially communicated to the board of trustees our determination, which sprang only from the sincerest zeal for your spiritual welfare. To our astonishment and affliction the lay-trustees made the communication a matter of deliberation, instead of simply recording it on their books, and even expressed to us their dissatisfaction, though the charter of incorporation gives them no right whatever of interference under any shape or form in pastoral appointments, and though the discipline of the Catholic Church does not allow such interference. Having complained in a paternal and solemn manner, nowise unworthy the sanctity of the pulpit, or the meekness of the prelacy, of this attempt to impede the conscientious exercise of our episcopal authority, we received from the lay-trustees a letter dated the 12th of January, wherein, in terms not usually employed by the faithful to the bishops of the church, they expressed their determination to persevere in their resistance. We patiently bore their opposition, in the hope that our untiring efforts for the instruction and sanctification of our flock would convince them of the justice of our views, and induce them spontaneously to desist from a course directly opposed to the principles of church government, and the provisions of the charter; and we carefully abstained from all attempts to influence the election, avowing nevertheless publicly in our pastoral address our unchangeable resolution to maintain, at every risk and sacrifice, the spiritual rights with whose guardianship we have been entrusted. More than three months having passed, and the lay-trustees, after their re-election, having proved their determination to persist in disregarding our corporate rights as chief pastor, by assembling a board without our participation, though the charter declares the three pastors of St. Mary's members of the board by their office, we could no longer tolerate this violation of our chartered rights, which implied manifestly the denial of our pastoral office. We, therefore, in a circular letter of the 12th April, apprised the pewholders of the illegal course of the lay-trustees, and of the penalty decreed by the Provincial Council and Apostolic See, against such interference in pastoral appointments. On the 15th, we received a letter signed by seven of their number, the other having refused to persevere with them in their resistance to the episcopal authority. In this communication they denied having assumed or asserted the right of choosing their own pastors; but they did not venture to deny that they had *indirectly*, (as we had charged them in our circular,) asserted and assumed it, by rejecting the pastors duly appointed, and especially by violating our corporate rights as chief pastor. We called on them for a formal and explicit disclaimer of all right of interfering directly or indirectly, in the appointment, rejecting, or dismissal of pastors, and for a pledge that they would henceforward act according to the provisions of the charter; but they explicitly declined that disclaimer and pledge, and six of them merely offered to subscribe a memorandum declaring that they agreed to recognise us, and the Rev. Jeremiah Kelly, as clerical members of the board of trustees. Such an agreement, so far from being a practical proof of their adherence to the Catholic principles of church government, and of their respect for the provisions of the charter, was a measure calculated to confirm and establish the assumed right of agreeing to or dissenting from the episcopal appointments. The letter which accompanied the memorandum contained still further evidence, that the lay-trustees claimed and attempted to exercise in our regard this power, since they grounded their assent to our future exercise of the pastoral office, on the actual want of another pastor: thereby intimating, that though we had since the 27th of December, declared our determination to act thenceforward as chief pastor of St. Mary's, and though we had since that time constantly performed all the duties of that office, yet we were not in reality chief pastor hitherto, because the lay-trustees had withheld their assent and approbation.

Under such circumstances we could not consistently with our attachment to Catholic principles and the rights of our office, recall the order for the *cessation from sacred functions* in St. Mary's Church and cemeteries, which we had on the preceding evening issued, when the receipt of the letter of the seven trustees had convinced us of their determination to persevere in eluding episcopal authority. We did indeed abstain from issuing the more solemn sentence of *interdict*, which the Provincial Council authorizes us to pronounce, though we well knew that the evil which called for this severity was not of recent growth, but had originated and been matured in times of schism and confusion, and had long since defied every mild remedy.

We still hope that the speedy acknowledgment of the Catholic principles of church government, may enable us not only to abstain from any more painful exercise of authority, but even to restore to our beloved

children in Christ, the consolation of worshipping in the splendid edifice in which you and your fathers worshipped, and which your and their generous piety erected, and the legislative authority of this state secured for the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion. We willingly persuade ourselves, that those who have hitherto resisted the conscientious and mild exercise of episcopal authority, acted under misconception; and we indulge the hope that they will soon render us that rational and Christian obedience and subjection, which the Apostle requires of the faithful to the prelates of the church, whom the Holy Ghost has placed bishops to rule the Church of God purchased with his blood. We shall hail with joy and thanksgiving to God, their return to duty, and endeavour by all the exhibitions of paternal tenderness and affection, to obliterate from their minds, and from yours, the remembrance of these days of affliction, wherein the church sits solitary that was full of people.

May the God of peace crush Satan speedily under your feet. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

Given at Philadelphia, this 22d day of April, 1831, in the first year of our Episcopacy.

† FRANCIS PATRICK,
Bishop of Arath, and Coadj. Phil.

By order.

JOHN HUGHES, Sec'ry.

[It was ascertained, soon after the events noticed in the foregoing documents took place, that Bishop Conwell's judgment respecting the private morals of the unhappy Hogan, was correct. It is not known that he ever formally declared himself an apostate from the Catholic faith, or professed any other religion. After discontinuing his schismatical ministrations at St. Mary's, he practised law, living in the semblance of matrimony, and died a few months ago, at Lowell, Mass., without receiving the last sacraments; another example, like the wretched Blanco White, of the dreadful judgments of God upon faithless priests.]

HAROLD CORRESPONDENCE.

[The following, taken from the "United States Catholic Miscellany," of August 14, 1830, sufficiently explains the character of this extraordinary correspondence.]

OUR readers will find upon our fourth and fifth pages to-day, the first five numbers of a series of documents, which are altogether of a novel character. They have been furnished to us by the Bishop of Charleston, who has procured the principal portion of those papers, by the order of President Jackson, from the office of the Secretary of State. We shall make very few remarks upon them, as we understand the respected prelate himself intends to follow up their publication with his own comments. Neither Mr. Harold nor Mr. Ryan is now in the United States, those gentlemen having departed for Europe; and at present, we understand, both reside in Ireland.

The object of thus publishing the very extraordinary documents, then, is not to combat gentlemen who have no further concern with the American church than they have with the church of Antioch, or of Jerusalem, but to show as matter of history, the incipient efforts of clergymen of our church, and of statesmen, under the pretext of guarding civil and personal liberty, to produce such an interference on the part of the general government in our ecclesiastical concerns, as must necessarily, if followed up, result in a union of church and state.

Mr. Harold complains that Rome has threatened to inflict undefined punishment unless he should obey a mandate which he asserts to have been issued without authority. He states that Rome is not even in this country without the means of inflicting punishment of a civil or political nature, and requests that the President will interfere to show that our government will regard with dissatisfaction any attempt to abridge Mr. Harold's liberty, though it should operate only in his official (that is clerical) capacity.

Mr. Ryan, though not a citizen, states that Rome, in telling him to go to Cincinnati, to serve there upon the mission, interferes with his civil rights, and with the institutions of the United States, because, forsooth, the period for his being admitted to citizenship would be thus deferred for a short time.

The reverend gentleman omitted altogether to state that they were Dominican

friars, (order of preachers,) and not secular priests of the diocess of Philadelphia, that they were in a great measure exempt from the jurisdiction of the local bishop, by reason of the privileges of their order; and that they were bound by a special vow to a particular and very extended obedience beyond that of secular priests; that the proper officer through whom the order of the Pope should come, was the Most Reverend Father Velzi, their ordinary superior, who was called upon by the Pope, at the request of the Propaganda, to issue that same order; they also omitted to mention that the Pope, their immediate superior, to whose protection they had privileged recourse from the usual episcopal authority had, as Father Velzi informs them, reasons of such wisdom and necessity, as satisfied him of the propriety of issuing that order; they also forgot to mention that their constitution specified certain penalties for the disobedience to such an order, and that when Father Velzi used the words "si non recté saperes, vides quæ consecutura forent," they were referred to the constitutional provisions and penalties, the observance of the former, and the submission to the latter of which they had voluntarily and solemnly vowed. The reverend gentlemen then ought to have known, if they did not, that the general canons regarding mere secular priests, and the special rules for Dominican friars, are not exactly the same; and that Father Velzi's threat extended not to indefinite penalties, but to those defined in the constitution, rules, statutes, and decisions of the Dominican order; as they must have seen in the letter of Cardinal Cappellari the declaration of the Pope's requiring their compliance with his wish, "as evidence of their regard for the obedience due to him" from these Dominican friars.

But that which most astonishes us, in the document No. 5, is the statement attributed to Mr. Horace Binney, that the enforcement, by the denunciation of ecclesiastical disabilities or censures, of an order from his proper and acknowledged ecclesiastical superior, to proceed from one missionary station to another within the United States, would be a violation of the rights and privileges of the citizen to whom such order was issued.

We cannot see upon what ground Mr. Brent makes this assertion. Bishop England says that Mr. B. informed him that the copies which he received of the communications of Messrs. Harold and Ryan are perfect; and that he has been furnished with copies of all the documents. Yet this assertion regarding Mr. Binney's very extraordinary opinion is not found in any one of those received by him. We are therefore totally at a loss for the manner in which this passage has crept into Mr. Brent's letter, nor can we see upon what ground this opinion is charged to Mr. Binney. This is not, however, our business to explain, nor can we, under any view of the case, discover what the government of the United States had to do with the question whether Messrs. Harold and Ryan had the authority of the Roman Catholic Church to preach in Philadelphia, or in Cincinnati, or elsewhere. If they chose to disobey the order as they appear to have done, Rome had no power either to prevent their enjoying their civil and political rights in Philadelphia, and there preach against the Pope and the Bishop as others have done, nor to prevent Mr. Ryan's admission in due time to the rights of citizenship, even had he been, to use a Kentucky phrase, shingled over with papal and episcopal excommunications.

The entire drift of the documents appears to us to have been, the employment of the authority of the government, to prevent the See of Rome from acting according to its own free and conscientious feeling of duty in settling the deranged affairs of the Catholic Church of Philadelphia, and causing the Pope to feel, that if he interfered with a Dominican friar, in his official capacity, it would be regarded with dissatisfaction by the government of the United States of America! We do really feel a little curious to learn whether this is a case in which Mr. Horace Binney thinks the President of the United States is called upon to judge of the qualifications of the friar to perform his official duties, or to use the force of the government to protect a disobedient member of a religious order in filling the office for which he is disqualified, against the ecclesiastical censures or disabilities, which the constitution of that order binds his superior to inflict.

We shall continue the publication of the documents.

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No. 1.

(Copy.)

REV. WILLIAM VINCENT HAROLD'S LETTER.

To the Honourable Henry Clay, Secretary of State.

SIR:—I have the honour to enclose two letters which I have recently received from Rome, and which appear to me to justify my communication of them to the Department of State. By both, you will perceive, that the injunction of His Holiness the Pope,

is laid upon me to leave the city of Philadelphia, where I now reside, and to render myself at Cincinnati, in the state of Ohio; and by that of the Most Reverend Joseph Velzi, Master of the Pope's Palace, and Vicar-General of the Dominican Order, I am further threatened with unknown consequences in case of refusal. The language of the master of the Pope's palace, to whose letter I am emphatically referred in the letter from the Propaganda, thus admonishes me: "Si non rectè saperes, vides quæ consecutura forent."

It is this infraction of my rights, as a citizen of the United States, and my just apprehension of the ability of the Court of Rome to execute its purposes, whatever be their nature, that induces me to appeal for protection to the executive authority of this country. It is necessary for me to state, that I am a naturalized citizen of the United States, of which I enclose the evidence. I am now, and for some time past have been, connected with the Roman Catholic Church of St. Mary, in the city of Philadelphia, as one of its priests. It is proper for me further to state that neither my office of priest, nor any law or canon of the Roman Catholic Church, subjects me to such an order as that which has been communicated to me; for no canon of the church can impart a civil authority, or any portion of jurisdiction affecting civil rights, to an ecclesiastical tribunal; except as far as the sovereign power of the state, in which such canon is to be executed or enforced, may authorize this assumption of civil jurisdiction. The conduct and regulations on this subject, observed in countries professing exclusively the Roman Catholic faith, are conformable to the principle which I have just stated, and at all times jealously directed against any invasion by Rome, whether in form or in substance, of civil jurisdiction. And as to the United States, it is, as I apprehend, an incontrovertible fact, that they have not lent, nor will the Constitution suffer them to loan, any portion of the sovereignty of the people to the See of Rome, or to any other foreign jurisdiction.

For me, then, to set the example of obeying the mandate which I now submit to the inspection of the Executive, and, more especially, since it has been ostentatiously promulgated in the public journals, by the Catholic Bishop of Philadelphia, as an acknowledged functionary of the See of Rome, would be neither consistent with my principles as a Catholic, nor with the spirit and letter of my sworn allegiance to the Constitution of the United States; under which I have distinctly renounced and disclaimed the existence of any civil or political fidelity on my part, to any foreign state whatever. I am also deeply impressed with the conviction that such an interference in the personal freedom of the citizens of these United States, as this injunction would establish, if obeyed or tolerated, must eventually place the whole order of the priesthood of our church at the complete and irresponsible disposal of the Court of Rome, and subject the Catholics, generally, of the United States, to the false charge of divided allegiance in civil and political matters, which serves at this day, as a pretext for the civil disabilities of millions of Roman Catholics in Europe. So complete is the subjection which this mandate claims, that it affects to be independent of reason, and forbids all inquiry on this head: "Ne causas inquiras deprecor."

I am well aware, sir, that the government of the United States does not take part in the religious opinions or concerns of any body of men whatever; and that leaving to all the free enjoyment of those opinions, it leaves them also to make such restraints upon their religious freedom as they respectively think fit. It may be supposed to follow from this, that the government should decline interfering to prevent the enforcement of such an order as that to which I have referred: since it must be regarded as a matter of religious discipline, by which no one can be affected further than he voluntarily chooses to be, by being a party to it; but what particularly distinguishes this case, is the significant menace conveyed through the master of the Pope's palace, by which I am to understand, that in consequence of the mere exercise of my rights as a citizen of these United States, in staying where I now reside, instead of departing to another state, I am to be exposed to the displeasure of the Court of Rome, in every manner in which it can be shown.

I claim the protection of the President against this novel and unauthorized invasion of my private rights; and I beg of him through you, sir, to signify to that court, that in the exercise of my undoubted right to remain where I now reside, this government will maintain me, while I demean myself peaceably to my fellow-citizens, and with loyalty to the Union: and that it will regard with dissatisfaction any attempt to abridge me of this liberty, by either the menace or the infliction of injury, whether it shall operate in my private or only in my official capacity.

I am well aware, that the respect of the Court of Rome for these United States, and also for the President, will induce them to

pay immediate attention to anything which the President shall say in this behalf; and while I am without apprehension that any religious censure can justly attach to me, for refusing to obey this injunction, I am deeply and unfeignedly apprehensive that, but for some communication from the President, I may be made to suffer consequences which do not belong to religious discipline, so much as they do to political power: and which the Court of Rome is not without the means of inflicting even in this country, if she is left to do so.

It may not be deemed improper to call the recollection of the President to the proceedings of the late Pope Pius VII., in regard to an estate in Maryland, called White Marsh, which were a cause of dissatisfaction to the Executive of the United States, during the administration of the late President Monroe, and which, it is believed, were annulled in consequence of the actual or expected expression of that dissatisfaction by Mr. Adams as Secretary of State.

I have the honour, sir, to remain,
With great respect,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) WILLIAM VINCENT HAROLD.

Washington, 2d July, 1828.

To Henry Clay, Esq., Secretary of State.

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No. 2.

(Copy.)

MR. RYAN TO MR. CLAY.

Washington, 2d July, 1828.

SIR:—I beg leave to address you on the same case, as affecting myself, which the Rev. Mr. William V. Harold states in his letter of this date. We should have made a joint statement, were it not for what appears to me a mere distinction, without a difference in our cases. Mr. Harold is actually a citizen of the United States, whilst I am entitled to assume that character, at any time after the 18th day of next month, as the enclosed documents will show. I am advised that I am entitled to full protection under my circumstances, and I hereby humbly claim that protection. Indeed, my case affords palpable evidence of the unwarrantable nature of the injunctions from Rome, as interfering with the civil rights and institutions of the United States; when it is considered that my obedience to that injunction would operate to postpone my legal ability to become a citizen, for one year more, the law requiring my residence during this period in the state where I am to qualify for that effect.

I have the honour to remain,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) JOHN RYAN.

To Henry Clay, Esq., Secretary of State.

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No. 3.

(Copy.)

Letter addressed to the Rev. Willam V. Harold, by the Rev. Joseph Velzi, Vicar-General of the Order of Preachers, and Master of the Pope's Palace.

Adm. Rev'de Pater, salutem. Supremus et universalis ecclesiæ pastor speciali providentia respiciens ecclesiam Philadelphiæ: dum statuit ut Illms. D. Henricus Conwell in Urbem veniat, pro suâ sapientiâ simul etiam disposuit et uno eodemque tempore tu quoque e Philadelphiâ discedas, unà cum confratre tuo J. Ryan. Mentem Pontificis compertam habebis ex litteris quæ a Sacrâ Cong. Prop. Fid. ad te mittuntur. Ne causas inquiras deprecor quibus in hoc consilium ipse Pontifex venerit; eas siquidem sapientissimas et necessarias esse dubitari non potest unum tantum præ oculis habendum tibi est; nimirum voluntatem ejus legem atque normam esse cui semper parendum, humanis omnibus posthabitis rationibus. Id ut probé nosti expostulant et spiritus religionis et ratio ecclesiastici ministerii; et instituti nostri indoles. Non sum nescius te plura istuc præstitisse non sine animarum lucro. Sed modo proculdubio cessante missione vel mandato ecclesiæ (Deo ita disponente) alibi vocaris ad zelum tuum exercendum. Quamobrem nedum præcipio sed oro etiam obtestorque te, ut Philadelphiâ ad ecclesiam Cincinnatensem pergas; apud quam messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci, eo vel magis quod ibi ordo noster magnopere proficit, et fortasse non sine divino concilio factum est ut novo subsidio accedente, novum sumat incrementum. Habes igitur quò te reddas commendatissimum; at si non recte saperes, vides quæ consecutura forent. Verum mihi constat qualis quantaque sit religionis tuæ puritas et integritas, et quâ animi reverentiâ et veneratione Apostolicam sedem prosequaris. Quapropter non dubito quin hâc oblatâ occasione obedientiæ et submissionis nobile præbeas testimonium: quod nedum sanctitati suæ, sed et mihi, gratissimum erit. Vale etca. Datam Romæ in Conventu nostro S. Mariæ super Minervam, 29 Februarii, 1828.

JN. JOSEPH VELZI, Vic. Gen. Ord. Pr.
et P. P. Apost. Magister.

TRANSLATION OF THE PRECEDING.

VERY REVEREND FATHER:—The supreme pastor of the church, moved by special considerations regarding the church at Philadelphia, has resolved that the Right Rev. Henry Conwell come to Rome; and has also deemed it expedient, that at the same time, yourself and your colleague, the Rev. J. Ryan, depart from Philadelphia. This wish of the Pontiff will be manifested to you, in a letter addressed to you by the Congregation of the Propaganda. I deprecate all inquiry on your part, as to the reasons which may have moved His Holiness to adopt this measure: for no doubt must be entertained as to their wisdom and necessity. There is only one thing for you to keep in view, and that is, that the will of the Pope is the law and rule at all times to be obeyed, to the setting aside of every reason arising out of human affairs. It is well known to you that the spirit of religion, and the very order of ecclesiastical government, as well as the spirit of our institute, demand this kind of obedience.

I am aware that your services in that church have been productive of advantages in the cause of religion: but the providence of God now undoubtedly summons you to a different field for the exercise of your zeal. Wherefore, it is not only my command, but my request and entreaty, that you proceed from Philadelphia to the church at Cincinnati, where the harvest is great, whilst the labourers are few; and I am the more desirous in this matter, since our order flourishes greatly in that quarter; and perhaps this change happens not without a special providence, which would give it the accession of your labours. You have now the means of recommending yourself to special favour; but should you not embrace the wise alternative, you know the consequences.

I well know, however, how pure and devoted are your religious dispositions, and with what reverence and veneration you regard the Apostolic See. Wherefore I doubt not that you will afford the noble testimony of obedience and submission required of you. This will prove most acceptable not only to His Holiness, but to myself.

Given at Rome, Convent of the Minerva, 29th Feb. 1828.

JOSEPH VELZI, Vic. Gen. Ord. Pr.
and Master of the Sacred Palace.

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No. 4.

(Copy.)

Letter to the Rev. William Vincent Harold, of Philadelphia, from the Congregation of the Propaganda at Rome.

REV^D DE PATER:—SSmus Dominus noster Leo P. P. XII. cui cordi est Ecclesiæ Philadelphiensi ita occurrere ut post diuturnas quibus affecta est calamitates, tranquilitatem tandem aliquando consequatur R. P. D. Henrico Conwell Episcopo, nomine suo scribendum jussit ad illum stuodiosissime excitandum ut quanto citius fieri poterit Romam se conferat: Deputavit autem Vicarium Generalem Apostolicum diocesis Philadelphiensis R. D. Gulielmum Matthews Parochum Washingtoni, qui durante memorati episcopi absentiâ e diocesi suâ, et donec aliter à sede Apostolicâ constituatur, diocesis Philadelphiensis curam et regimen geret. Jussit preterea . . . SSmus Dominus noster ad Paternitatem tuam simul et ad socium tuum R. P. Fr. Joannem Ryan, scribi se prorsus velle utrumque e diœcesi Philadelphiensi discedere; S. Congregationis autem mens est ut cum socio tuo J. Ryan ad Ecclesiam Cincinnatensem pergas, in quâ magno cum fructu uterque poterit sacro ministerio fungi.

Beatissimus Pater certum habet R. P. D. Henricum Conwell Episcopum absque ullâ hæsitatione iter Romam versus suscipientem, docilitate suâ novum ergà sedem Apostolicam observantiæ testimonium esse exhibiturum.

Hoc ipsum de te deque P. J. Ryan, sanctitas sua persuasum habet, et ab obedientia à vobis sibi debita hoc expectat ut Catholicis omnibus exemplo sitis, omnesque discerent ex facto vestro quam proprium catholicorum sit, sacerdotum præsertim, Pontificis Maximi jussa facere, sacræ congregationi vero gratissimum erit accipere vos e diœcesi Philadelphiensi abeuntes mentem etiam suam continuo implendam curasse suscepto scilicet Cincinnatum versus itinere.

Adjectas huic epistolæ Paternitas tua accipiet litteras Rmi P. M. Josephi Velzi Vicarii Generalis Ordinis Prædicatorum quas scribit de necessitate ut tu cum P. Ryan, Cincinnatum proficiscaris. Nihil addam de sacræ congregationis voluntate, cum enim ipsam esse quam de vestro discessu, S. S. Dominus noster explicavit manifestum est. Precor Deum interea ut Tibi bonum omne impertiatur.

Romæ et Ædibus Sac. Congr. de Prop. fide, 8 Marti. 1828.

Studiosus Paternitatis tuæ.

D. M. CARD. CAPPELLARI Pref.

PETRUS CAPRANO, Archiep. Iconicen., S. C. Secr.

TRANSLATION OF THE PRECEDING.

REVEREND FATHER:—His Holiness Pope Leo XII., desirous to take such measures as may restore tranquillity to the church of Philadelphia so long disturbed, has given directions that a letter in his name should be addressed to the Right Rev. Bishop Conwell, urging him to proceed as soon as possible to Rome: and has also deputed the Rev. William Matthews, parish priest of Washington, as vicar-general apostolic of the diocess of Philadelphia, during the absence of the aforesaid bishop from his diocess, and to govern the same until such time as the Holy See shall have otherwise provided. His Holiness has ordered, moreover, that it be signified to yourself and your companion, the Rev. J. Ryan, that it is his earnest wish that both depart out of the diocess of Philadelphia: and it is the will of the Sacred Congregation, that you both proceed to the church of Cincinnati, in which your ministry may be exercised with great advantage. His Holiness assures himself that Bishop Conwell will proceed to Rome without any hesitation, in further proof of his respect for the Apostolic See: and he entertains the persuasion of receiving on your part a like evidence of your regard for the obedience due to him: so that from your conduct, all may learn how essentially it is the duty of Catholics, and especially of the priesthood, to obey the commands of the Sovereign Pontiffs. It will be most agreeable to the Sacred Congregation to be advised of your speedy departure from Philadelphia towards Cincinnati, in compliance with their will.

Together with this letter you will receive one from the Rev. Joseph Velzi, vicar-general of the order of preachers, on the necessity of your going to Cincinnati. I shall add nothing touching the wishes of the Sacred Congregation, which coincide altogether with those intimated by His Holiness. Praying God, meanwhile, to bestow every blessing upon you,

I remain your obedient servant,

D. M. CARDINAL CAPELLARI, Prefect.

Given at Rome, &c.,

PETER CAPRANO, Archbishop of Iconium, Secretary.

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No. 5.

(Copy.)

Department of State, Washington, 9th July, 1828.

James Brown, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France.

SIR:—In the absence of Mr. Clay, I have the honour, by direction of the President, to whom I communicated the originals, to transmit to you the enclosed copies of two letters addressed to the former, and received at this office since his departure for Kentucky, from the Rev. Wm. Vincent Harold and John Ryan, Roman Catholic priests of the Dominican order, residing in the city of Philadelphia, and I send, likewise, copies and translations of the papers which accompanied their letters.

Messrs. Harold and Ryan allege that neither the regulations nor discipline of the Catholic Church give any authority whatever to the Holy See to issue a mandate to them, as priests of that Church, to transfer their residence from one place to another in the United States, nor to take up their abode and exercise their functions elsewhere than at Philadelphia; and that such a mandate would not only not be regarded, in any Catholic state of Europe, as obligatory, but that it would be deemed a highly penal offence to yield obedience, or give publicity to it, in such state, without a previous understanding or agreement with the Holy See, expressly authorizing it; and they say they are advised by Mr. Horace Binney, whose reputation and character, as one of the most eminent lawyers of this country, are well known to you, that the enforcement of such an order, by the denunciation of ecclesiastical disabilities or censures, would be a violation of their rights and privileges, as citizens of the United States.

Under these circumstances they complain to this government against that of the Holy See for permitting itself to issue the mandates, severally addressed to them, in the official documents from Rome, copies and translations of which will be found with the enclosures, requiring them forthwith to leave the city of Philadelphia, and repair to Cincinnati, in the state of Ohio, and take up their abode in the last-mentioned place upon pain of serious and undefined penalties for disobedience; and they earnestly solicit the interposition of this government to procure from that of the Holy See, by the means of friendly explanations and remonstrance, a revocation of the mandates referred to, which are eminently calculated, as they insist, injuriously to affect their individual and private characters, and to degrade them as priests.

As this government has no representative at Rome, through whom it can with propriety address itself immediately to that of the Holy See, the President has directed me to make this communication to you, with an intimation of his wish that you should take some early and suitable occasion to bring the subject of it to the notice of the

Pope's Nuncio at Paris, and to request that his good offices may be employed to procure from the Holy See the redress which Messrs. Harold and Ryan solicit, if, upon a review of all the circumstances of their case, they shall be found entitled to it.

It affords me very great satisfaction to be the organ of making it to you, sir, as I have the honour, now accordingly to do. From your intimate acquaintance with all our institutions, in regard to matters of religion and religious discipline, and your long residence in France, where questions not dissimilar to that which exists in the case of Messrs. Harold and Ryan, are said sometimes to happen, I am well persuaded that whilst your respectful interposition in that case, and friendly cautions to avoid all attempts in future at the exercise of an authority in this country at all doubtful in its character, or not clearly appertaining to the supremacy of the Holy See, and admitted, on all hands, to be so in matters of religion, will be received with kindness; you will at the same time be able to guard the interference of the President in this affair, against any imputation of a disposition, on his part, in the remotest degree unfriendly to the exercise of the legitimate spiritual authority of the See of Rome over the Catholic Church in the United States; and you well know that I should be very unwilling to be made the interpreter even of his wishes, upon this occasion, on any other ground.

Your despatches to No. 84, inclusively, have been received.

I have the honour to be, with perfect respect, sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) DANIEL BRENT.

I omit troubling you with copies of Mr. Harold's letters of naturalization, and the certificates of the court, in the case of Mr. Ryan, that he had given notice of his wish, and made application in the usual form to become a citizen.

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No. 6.

(Copy.)

MR. BRENT TO MESSRS. HAROLD AND RYAN.

The Rev. Messrs. William Harold and John Ryan, Philadelphia.

Department of State,
Washington, 15th July, 1828.

GENTLEMEN:—Agreeably to the request in your note to me of Sunday evening last, I do myself the pleasure of transmitting to you, herewith, Mr. Harold's letters of naturalization, as a citizen of the United States, and two certificates concerning Mr. Ryan's intention to become one, these being the only original papers now remaining with the communications of the 2d of this month, which you severally addressed to this department.

I was sorry that our absence from the city deprived my brother and myself of the pleasure of seeing you when you did us the favour to call at his house on Sunday evening.

I am, gentlemen, respectfully and truly,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) D. BRENT.

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No. 7.

(Copy.)

MESSRS. HAROLD AND RYAN TO MR. CLAY.

SIR:—We trust that the subject of this letter will justify our intrusion upon your valuable time.

On the 2d of July we had the hônour of transmitting to the department of state a writ.en application, in which we solicited the good offices and interposition of the executive in a case which threatened to affect our personal rights. and freedom. We beg to refer to the papers on this matter, now in your office. You will perceive from them that the President considered our case to be such as warranted him to direct that certain instructions should be made out by the officer having the care of the department during your absence, for the purpose of being forwarded to Mr. Brown, the minister of the United States, resident at Paris.

Having placed our case in the hands of the executive with a view to a fair and amicable discussion of its merits between Mr. Brown and the Nuncio from the Court of Rome, resident at Paris; we felt it to be our duty to await the result in respectful silence. It never occurred to us to question the wisdom of our government, or to pry into the measures it might think proper to adopt for the protection of those who look to it as the guardian of their rights. Indeed we should have considered it incredible that instructions from a government to its minister abroad, with a view to any application to a foreign court, and likely to give rise to discussion, could be suffered to transpire beyond the department of state. We did, however, learn, after a little time, from the Rev. Mr. Matthews, of Washington, that copies had been made out for him by Mr. Baker. Our respect for Mr. Matthews was sufficient to restrain us from supposing that the documents to which we allude could

find their way from his hands into circulation. It is, nevertheless, now well ascertained not only that papers purporting to be copies of our application to the executive, but even the letter of instructions to Mr. Brown, have been circulated widely in this city; and, as we learn, at New York and other places. They are handed about among the idle, the ignorant, and the malignant, and their whole nature and tendency so distorted, that, whilst the grave and discreet character appertaining to the department of state, and attaching to the very nature of a letter of instructions from the executive is violated, the humble individuals concerned in the case stand exposed to every kind of misrepresentation.

It is not for us to qualify this transaction, or to impute motives to the persons concerned in it, but we think it due to ourselves to apprise the head of the department, that if further evils should result from this occurrence, we neither have occasioned nor could occasion them by any imprudence of ours.

We have the honour to remain,
With sincere respect,
Your obedient servants,
(Signed) WM. VINCENT HAROLD,
JOHN RYAN.

Philadelphia, September 22d, 1828.

To Henry Clay, Esq.. Secretary of State.

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No. 8.

(Copy.)

MR. BRENT TO MESSRS. HAROLD AND RYAN.

The Reverend Messrs. William Vincent Harold and John Ryan, of Philadelphia.

Department of State,
Washington, 9th Oct. 1828.

GENTLEMEN:—I am directed by the Secretary to acknowledge the receipt, on the 4th instant, immediately after his return to the city, of your joint letter to him of the 22d ult., and to state, in reference to its contents, that it contained the very first intimation, which he received, that you had before written separate ones to him, during his absence, and that instructions had been given by this office, in consequence of them, by direction of the President, to the minister of the United States in France, to confer with the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, in relation to certain mandates from Rome, particularly affecting yourselves, copies and translations of which came enclosed in your said letters.

Mr. Clay regrets exceedingly to learn from your joint letter, that the official copies of these communications and the instructions to Mr. Brown, which I furnished the Rev. Mr. Matthews, upon an application which, as administrator of the diocess of Philadelphia, he made to me for them, should have been used in a distorted sense, or, in any manner calculated to misrepresent you; and you will, I hope, do me the justice to believe, that I feel equal regret in learning from the same source that such is the case. I beg leave, however, to add, that I exercised a discretion in furnishing the copies referred to, which I then thought, and still think, warranted by the circumstances of the case.

I remain, reverend gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) DANIEL BRENT.

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No. 9.

(Copy.)

MR. MATTHEWS TO MR. CLAY.

To the Honourable Henry Clay, Secretary of State.

RESPECTED SIR:—On the 8th of May last, I received a package from Rome, containing a letter for the Bishop of Philadelphia, two for the Reverend Messrs. Harold and Ryan, and a commission for myself. The precept* of these letters was this. His Holiness the Pope invited the Bishop of Philadelphia to visit Rome, requested the two above mentioned reverend gentlemen to proceed to Cincinnati, in Ohio, and directed me to repair to Philadelphia as Vicar-General Apostolical, Administrator of the diocess of Philadelphia, during the absence of the bishop, and until the Holy See should make some other arrangement. The earnest request of His Holiness that the two reverend gentlemen should exercise the functions of the sacred ministry in Cincinnati, was intimated to them by a letter from the Prefect of the Propaganda, and one from the Reverend Joseph Velzi, Vicar-General of the order of St. Dominic, they being religious of the Dominican order. The bishop, in obedience to the wishes of His Holiness, set out for Rome, and I repaired to Philadelphia; the other two gentlemen declined compliance with the request, and appealed to our government. The intimation of His Holiness to them being an exercise of purely spiritual jurisdiction, which he extends to every region of the known world, whether the government thereof be despotic, regal, or democratic, and which all these powers combined cannot hinder him from doing; I was at a loss to know on what grounds they

* [Qu. purport?]

could make an appeal, and at a still greater loss to know on what grounds our government could intermeddle in the spiritual concerns of our Church. As agent, therefore, of the Pope, (from whose spiritual jurisdiction the appeal was made,) I applied to the department of state, as a matter of right, and not of courtesy, to know on what grounds the appeal had been made, and what measures the government intended to adopt in consequence. that I might put in a rejoinder if it should be deemed necessary. When Mr. Adams was Secretary of State, and the case of the Archbishop of Baltimore and the Jesuits was agitated, I was expressly informed that, whatever was written to Rome by one party through the state department, a copy of it would be furnished to the other party: I concluded that the same equitable and impartial mode of proceeding still prevailed in the department. I sent a copy of the document to the Vicar-General of Philadelphia, to enable him to correct any false reports that might be circulated on the subject—the document was not to be published. If an improper use has been made of it, it was contrary to my wishes.

Very respectfully, your humble servant,
(Signed) W. MATTHEWS.

Washington City, Oct. 10th, 1828.

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No. 10.

(Copy.)

MR. MATTHEWS TO MR. CLAY.

RESPECTED SIR:—In the communication which I had the honour to make to you yesterday, I omitted to observe that the two letters accompanying the appeal were sent to me for those gentlemen, and their contents made known to me from Rome; but as translations sometimes vary, it was desirable to see the translation of them. It is also proper to add, that my knowledge of the appeal's being in the department was not derived from any person connected with the department. I will now with your permission make a few observations, tending to show that the direction to these gentlemen was an exercise of purely spiritual jurisdiction, in no manner connected with the rights of the citizen. No one I presume will deny that His Holiness, the Pope, has a right to send missionaries to preach the Gospel; but if he has no right to change the residence of his clergymen, how can he send them? This spiritual power he has wielded from the days of St. Peter to the present date, and will to the end of time. It was exercised by His Holiness in the person of that genuine patriot and venerable prelate, the late Archbishop Carroll, who repaired to Baltimore in obedience to the direction of the Pope; also, in the person of the venerable Bishop Flaget, who was directed to proceed from Baltimore to Kentucky, and there reside; in Bishop Dubourg, sent to New Orleans; also in Bishop Fenwick, sent from Maryland to the very town of Cincinnati, and in many other cases. These gentlemen knew their rights well; but they never considered their rights as natives and citizens invaded by this proceeding. They had the physical power not to obey, and the spiritual authority of the Pope could never have compelled their compliance. As the two gentlemen alluded to before do not think proper to comply with the request of the Pope, they exercise their rights as citizens in remaining where they please; their rights then are not impaired; of what, then, do they complain?—most evidently of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope—and can our government interfere in matters purely religious? most certainly not You see then evidently there was no ground for the appeal, and I am confident that had you, sir, been present on the occasion, permission would have been granted to the appellants to withdraw their appeal. Suppose, for example, the Pope were to write a letter to the President, requesting him to compel these gentlemen to obey this his spiritual injunction, what would you say? Yet he has as much right to ask your temporal aid as they have to solicit your interference in matters purely spiritual. When they talked to government about "undefined menaces," about their fears and apprehensions, you would have replied—gentlemen, define your fears; let us know what you are afraid of before we can espouse your cause. If they dread the thunders of the Vatican, you would have said, we cannot still that thunder; if the Pope's *posse comitatûs*, you would have replied—Oh, gentlemen, dispel your fears, lay aside your apprehensions—we will spread the national ægis over you.

Respectfully, your humble servant,
(Signed) W. MATTHEWS.

October 11th, 1828.

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No. 11.

(Copy.)

Hon. Henry Clay, Secretary of State.

Paris, 13th Oct. 1828.

SIR:—In consequence of the President's request, contained in a letter addressed to me during your absence from the seat of government by Mr. Brent, I called on the

Apostolic Nuncio, and mentioned to him that the Rev. Messrs. Harold and Ryan, Catholic priests of the city of Philadelphia, had stated, in letters addressed by them to the Secretary of State, that neither the regulations ncr discipline of the Catholic Church gave any authority to the Holy See to issue a mandate to them as priests of that church, to transfer their residence from one place to another in the United States; nor to reside or officiate elsewhere than at Philadelphia, where they have for some time been established; that such a mandate would not only be regarded as not obligatory in any Catholic state in Europe, but that it would be considered a highly penal offence to yield obedience, or give publicity to it without a previous concordat or treaty with the Holy See authorizing it; and, that they had been advised by counsel well versed in the laws and Constitution of the United States, that the enforcement of such an order by the denunciation of ecclesiastical disabilities or censures, would be a violation of their rights and privileges as citizens of the United States; and that they had complained to that government that the Holy See had thought proper to address to them, severally, mandates requiring them forthwith to depart from Philadelphia and to repair to Cincinnati, in the state of Ohio, to take up their abode, under menaces of serious and undefined punishment, in case of disobedience. They therefore had requested the interposition of the government to procure from the Holy See, by friendly explanations, a revocation of the mandates referred to, which they considered as calculated to injure their reputations and to disgrace them as priests.

I observed to him, that as the United States had no minister at Rome, and as my residence was nearer to that place than that of any other minister of the American government, I had been requested to converse with him on the subject of these complaints, and to request his good offices with His Holiness in presenting the alleged grievances of Messrs. Harold and Ryan to his serious consideration, in order that they might obtain redress if, upon an examination of the circumstances, they should appear to be entitled to it. In doing so, I told him that I was instructed to state to him that the President did not mean, in the remotest degree, to interfere with or abridge the legitimate exercise of the spiritual authority of the Holy See over the Catholic Church in the United States; that whilst it was expected that the complaints of these priests would be considered, and, if well-founded, redressed, I could assure him that any exercise of authority by His Holiness, not of a doubtful character, but clearly appertaining to his supremacy in matters of religion, and admitted on all hands to be so, would be received with kindness. I added that I had the honour, in casual conversations with him, to inform him of the unlimited freedom, in religious matters, which prevailed in the United States, which was secured to its citizens by the Constitution, and which entered into the opinions and habits of the people. I observed that it was to be expected that, in a free and popular government, the President would feel an interest in the protection of every citizen, an interest which was certainly not diminished by a knowledge of the characters and standing of the individuals who, in this instance, had complained of an infringement of their civil rights. I informed him, that although I was personally unacquainted with either Mr. Harold or Mr. Ryan, I had, in repeated visits to Philadelphia, been told that the former possessed distinguished talents, and was greatly esteemed by many respectable individuals in that city, and I concluded by expressing my hopes that if the application for redress on the part of these priests should entitle them to it, upon an examination of all the circumstances, the mandates complained of would be revoked.

His excellency the Nuncio observed, that he had already received a letter from Washington, acquainting him fully with the subject of our conversation, and that he felt himself gratified in having an opportunity of an explanation with me respecting it. He stated that the Holy See had learned, with deep concern, that dissensions of an unpleasant nature existed in the Catholic Church of Philadelphia, that complaints had been sent to Rome against the bishop, by members of that church; whilst the bishop was not without friends, who attributed the discontents to causes independent of his conduct and character; that it was believed by the Holy See that these unfortunate disputes could only be settled, and harmony restored, by calling the bishop to Rome, and requesting Messrs. Harold and Ryan to reside for a short time at Cincinnati; that this request had been made, without casting any censure on their conduct as priests; that Mr. Harold's talents, zeal, and worth as an ecclesiastic, were known to the Holy See and duly appreciated, but that in the present inflamed state of mind of the members of the Catholic Church in Philadelphia, his retirement from that place had become necessary; that as these priests were (as I understood him to say) missionaries, and had taken vows of obedience to their spiritual superiors, he hoped they would go to Cin-

cinnati for a short time, after which he had little doubt of their being recalled to Philadelphia. He said the President had taken a correct view of the subject, that the Holy See had neither the right nor the disposition in any way to abridge the rights, or interfere with the temporal concerns of citizens of the United States, or to exercise any other than spiritual authority over any person under their protection; that Messrs. Harold and Ryan had been mistaken in believing, or stating, that any infringement of their civil rights was meditated on the part of his Holiness, who neither menaced them with temporal pains, nor intended to inflict other than spiritual punishments; that if the consequences had not been defined in the mandates, those gentlemen well knew their nature and extent, and that they could be neither of a violent or unusual character.

I inquired of the Nuncio whether it was not unusual and even improper to transmit mandates such as those about which we were conversing, to priests, citizens, or subjects of states, between which and the Holy See no concordat or treaty existed authorizing a measure of the kind. He answered that such mandates were frequently addressed by the Holy See to priests residing in Ireland and in other states where no concordat existed. I asked him whether the usual and proper course in such case was not that of transmitting such mandates to the bishops, to be, under their direction and authority, enforced by spiritual means in the state in which they were intended to operate. He answered that this was the more regular course, but that the removal of the bishop from Philadelphia had prevented the Holy See from having recourse to it. He expressed his hope that the mandate would be obeyed, it being addressed to their consciences, which ought to feel its force, and to their judgments, as they well knew the consequences of disobedience on their standing as ecclesiastics. He requested me to assure the President that the civil authority of the government of the United States would be respected, and no infringement on the rights of its citizens attempted by the Holy See; that he would communicate our conversation to His Holiness, and that the interest the President had taken in the affair would have its due weight in deciding it. I concluded our conversation by assuring him that the interest felt by the President was confined to the desire he felt to protect American citizens in their rights, and was not meant to extend to any questions touching the doctrines or discipline of the Catholic Church, nor to the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See.

I have the honour to be, with great consideration, sir,

Your very humble
And obedient servant,
(Signed) JAMES BROWN.

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No. 12.

(Copy.)

MR. CLAY TO MESSRS. HAROLD AND RYAN.

The Reverend Messrs. William Vincent Harold and John Ryan, Philadelphia.

Department of State,
Washington, 21st Nov. 1828.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the copy of a despatch I have just received from Mr. Brown, our minister at Paris, upon the subject of the application in your behalf, which he was instructed by this department, under the orders of the President, in my late absence from the seat of government, to address to the government of the Holy See, through the nuncio at Paris, in relation to certain mandates from Rome, personally affecting yourselves, and to be with much respect,

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) HENRY CLAY.

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No. 13.

(Copy.)

MR. CLAY TO MR. BROWN.

Department of State,
Washington, 22d Nov. 1828.

James Brown, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France.

SIR:—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 13th of October last, containing an account of your conferences with the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, upon the subject of the remonstrance which you had been instructed to make through him to the Holy See, in behalf of the Reverend Messrs. Harold and Ryan, of Philadelphia, concerning certain mandates from Rome, personally affecting them, and to inform you that your agency in this affair will be considered as satisfactorily closed, except as to the mere transmission to this department of the result to be expected from Rome, in answer to the Nuncio's communication to this government.

I am, sir, with great respect,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) HENRY CLAY.

No. 14.

(Copy.)

MR. CLAY TO MR. BROWN.

[PRIVATE.]

Department of State,
Washington, 20th Nov. 1828.

James Brown, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France.

SIR:—I have just received your letter of the 28th of September. The Rev. Mr. Matthews of this city, being apprised beforehand, by Messrs. Harold and Ryan themselves, of their intention to solicit the interference of the President in the case of the mandates from Rome, applied to this office for a copy of the instructions which were sent to you upon that occasion; and it was given to him accordingly by Mr. Brent, in my absence, under the impression that Mr. Matthews was entitled to it, as administrator of the diocess of Philadelphia, appointed by the Holy See, and particularly charged to see to the execution of the mandates referred to. It must have been and was through Mr. Matthews, therefore, as he has stated, that the Nuncio came to the knowledge of the transaction here, with regard to the instructions in question, and was furnished with a copy of them; but Mr. Brent would exceedingly regret the circumstance if it should have been productive of the slightest inconvenience or embarrassment to you in the conferences which you have held with the Nuncio upon the subject, agreeably to the wish of the President.

I am, truly and faithfully,
Your obedient, humble servant,
(Signed) HENRY CLAY.

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No. 15.

(Copy.)

MESSRS. RYAN AND HAROLD TO MR. CLAY.

SIR:—We have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 21st inst., communicating the copy of a despatch from Mr. Brown, the American minister at Paris, under date of the 13th of October last.—For the interference of the President in our behalf on the subject to which that despatch refers, we offer him, both personally and as American citizens, our unfeigned thanks; and we hope to be excused for making a few suggestions, which the remarks of the Pope's Nuncio to the minister seem to require from us in both characters, and to which we beg the attention of the President, in case he shall deem it fit to give further instructions to the American minister.

We were well persuaded at the commencement of the difficulty which produced our letter to the department of state, that our interests would not be promoted by hesitating to yield obedience to the mandate from Rome; but, notified as it was by Bishop Conwell to the public by means of the newspapers, and with his name to authenticate the assertion that we had been *required* by the Pope, and by the tribunal called the *Propaganda*, to retire from the state of Pennsylvania, and take up our residence elsewhere, it became our duty first to protect ourselves against the suspicions affecting our character, which this manifesto was well calculated to excite; and secondly, to acquit ourselves of the charge of acknowledging an authority in a foreign power to banish citizens of the United States from one state to another, to which no authority within this confederation has been deemed competent.

In regard to the subject of primary consideration, our personal character, in the absence of everything like distinct accusation, as well as opportunity of trial; and with nothing further implicating us in the Nuncio's remarks than his suggestion that Bishop Conwell was not without friends who attributed the discontents in the Catholic Church at Philadelphia to causes independent of his conduct and character, we will not further intrude upon the President's time than by our solemn protestation against the truth of every charge that may be or can be insinuated against us in our relation to this Church; and it is only to such a protestation that innocence can resort, until a direct accusation shall enable it directly to challenge or refute the accusers.

Upon the mode of enforcing an order of His Holiness the Pope for our removal from this city to the state of Ohio, it did not at any time occur to us, nor was it our intention to impart an apprehension to the President, that any physical means of compulsion would be employed. The true question was as we conceived, whether a penalty amounting to "relegation" in the civil law can be enforced by *any means* by Rome, or any other power, within these states, without a violation of one of the most valuable of the rights of an American citizen. Rome would have no objection to call the power of banishing our citizens a spiritual thing, as long as the distinction should satisfy our government; but if it is permitted to this or any foreign power to invade the rights of an American citizen residing in his own country, by penalties of any kind, it must be obvious that the character of the penalty does but lead to a distinction without a dif-

ference. The indisputed existence of the civil right ought, we submit, to leave the party free from every penalty for its exercise; and if an exception is permitted on behalf of Rome, under the plea of spiritual obedience, it is difficult to perceive within what limits that power can be circumscribed,—since, by spiritual penalties of the severest kind, it may dispose of the persons of all the clergy of the Catholic Church, banish them from one state to another, or exclude them from this Union altogether, under the pretence afforded by the term *missionaries*, which she can and actually does apply to all the clergy of this country. No spiritual penalty can be regularly applied to an American citizen for doing that which the Constitution and laws of his country authorize him to do, and secure him in doing. If it can, the laws and Constitution must yield to the force of spiritual inflictions, as a foreign power shall think fit to apply them. We beg you, sir, to observe the distinction between a pain or penalty and the withholding any patronage which the See of Rome may possess, and is of course free to dispose of; but while we acknowledge our spiritual obedience to the whole extent of those terms in their fairest interpretation, if we should go further and acknowledge that this implies personal or physical obedience in all that regards the disposition of our bodies, it would be to assent to a proposition which the Protestant Church of England and Ireland has been desirous of extracting from the relation of the Catholic Church to the See of Rome, against the constant protestations of the most enlightened of her friends. The case of Ireland having been referred to by the Nuncio, it is proper to remark that such an order as that in question may have been sent there; and it is true that there is no *concordat* with the civil power in that island; but it is equally true that any priest in Ireland who should acknowledge the force of such an order, would incur the penalties of a *præmunire*, and that therefore the case of Ireland has no analogy to that of this country.

That of Catholic countries, whether having a concordat or not, is much more a case in point; and it is worthy of remark that on this head the Nuncio appears to have been silent in his conversation with Mr. Brown, although in no Catholic country would such an order be suffered without an express concurrence of the civil power to give effect to whatever should touch the civil rights of the party.

We beg to conclude this letter by remarking, that, as to conscientious obedience, no vow of ours binds us to recognise in Rome, or any other foreign power, an authority affecting our civil liberty, or the extent of the exclusive sovereignty in the people of these states in all civil matters, which our sworn allegiance avers. Any other interpretation of the obedience promised by ecclesiastics would establish the charge of divided allegiance, urged most unjustly against Catholics by the adversaries of their cause in Great Britain. The time of renewal, its duration, the person by whose means it might be effected on the spot, or any other circumstance connected with it, must all be immaterial in this point of view. It is the principle and the right that are involved, while at the same time, contrary to the Nuncio's impression, the requisition of removal upon us, (as authentically interpreted, and published by Bishop Conwell in his capacity as a bishop, in communion with Rome,) was general, without limitation, or any prescribed limitation whatever.

We beg leave to renew the assurance of the perfect consideration with which we are,

Your obedient servants,

(Signed) JOHN RYAN,
WM. VINCENT HAROLD.

Philadelphia, 26th Nov. 1828.

To Henry Clay, Secretary of State,
Washington.

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NOTE.—On the 16th of September, 1829, the Right Rev. Doctor England, Bishop of Charleston, met the Rev. Mr. Harold in Philadelphia; Mr. H. informed the Bishop that he was about to proceed to Ireland, and kindly offered to fulfil there any commissions which Dr. England might intrust to his care. The Bishop had previously seen the application of Mr. Harold [No. 1] to Mr. Clay, but was under the impression that the government had taken no steps in consequence. However, on the evening of that day, he, to his great astonishment, read Mr. Brent's letter to Mr. Brown [No. 5.] He therefore, on the morning of the 17th, addressed the following note to Mr. Harold. The Rev. Mr. Ryan had left Philadelphia for Ireland before this period.

No. 16.

(Copy.)

THE BISHOP OF CHARLESTON TO REV. W. V. HAROLD.

The Bishop of Charleston presents his respects to the Reverend Wm. Vincent Ha-

rold, and begs leave to inform him, that although he saw what purported to be a copy of Mr. Harold's letter to Mr. Clay, some time since, he could not believe that the government of the United States would take any step in consequence thereof. To his surprise he yesterday found the contrary to have been the fact.

The Bishop differs very widely with Mr. Harold in his views, as expressed in that letter. He also believes that the ex-President has interfered in the concerns of the Church in a way in which he neither could nor ought.

As regards Mr. Harold's peculiar case, the Bishop neither desires nor intends to interfere, especially under its present circumstances; but as an American bishop, and an American citizen, he feels it to be his duty to guard against similar interference in future.

Mr. Harold has referred to some previous interference of the government of the United States with the proceedings of the Holy See, as a ground for his call to interfere in his own case. This previous interference is not known to the Bishop, and the object of the present note is to request Mr. Harold, as a favour, to furnish the Bishop with such information as he can in its regard.

Philadelphia Hotel, Thursday morning,
Sept. 17, 1829.

To the Rev. Wm. Vincent Harold, &c. &c.

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No. 17.

(Copy.)

MR. HAROLD TO THE BISHOP OF CHARLESTON.

Mr. Harold presents his respectful compliments to the Bishop of Charleston, and acknowledges the receipt of his note of this morning. Mr. H. begs leave to inform Doctor England that he has communicated to the Holy See, without the least reserve, the substance of his application to the government of the United States, and the motives which rendered that application (in his opinion) unavoidable. Mr. H. takes leave to assure Doctor England that had he not believed the ground on which he stood in this matter to have been perfectly safe, he would not have approached it; nor is his opinion, on that point, changed, although he has the misfortune to differ with the Bishop of Charleston, for whose judgment he entertains the highest respect.

Mr. Harold does not hold himself warranted to decide on the course which the executive of the United States deemed it their duty to pursue in the case referred to in Doctor England's note; but he presumes to think that the ex-President did not pass the limits which the Constitution points out as the rule of his acts.

Mr. Harold begs leave to submit for Doctor England's consideration a correspondence between the late Archbishop of Baltimore and himself, and to hazard the opinion, that if the views of the Archbishop shall be sustained by the Provincial Council to which the Bishop of Charleston is proceeding, the character of the American bishops and priesthood will differ from that of every ecclesiastical province in Christendom. But Doctor England will not recognise a Church without law, and a priesthood without rights.

Mr. Harold begs leave to inform Doctor England that the correspondence, though printed, has not been published, and that Mr. H. cannot consent to its publication, as he conceives it might not reflect honour on the memory of the late archbishop.

The previous interference of the government on which the Bishop of Charleston desires to be informed, related to a decree of Pope Pius VII. regarding the farm of White Marsh. Mr. H. begs to refer Doctor England to the "National Journal," December, 1824, where he will find the decree published in Latin and English. Mr. H. begs to refer the bishop to the Rev. William Matthews, who called on the Department of State to oppose the decree of His Holiness, and to Mr. Brent, who will detail the history of that transaction. Mr. Harold begs to inform Doctor England that the letter presented by him to Mr. Clay, and the President's instructions to the American envoy at Paris, were obtained from the Department of State by the influence of Catholic clergymen, and forwarded to a foreign minister, and circulated widely through these states before they had reached the personage to whom the President addressed them, and by whom alone they were intended to be seen. This fact if known to the country, would lead to the exclusion of Catholics from every station where confidence and honour are required. Mr. Harold renews the proffer of his services in any way that Doctor England may please to point out to him.

Washington Square, Thursday afternoon,
Sept. 17, 1829.

To the Right Rev. Dr. England,
Philadelphia Hotel.

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No. 18.

(Copy.)

THE BISHOP OF CHARLESTON TO REV. MR. HAROLD.

The Bishop of Charleston feels obliged to the Reverend William Vincent Harold for his prompt and full answer to the note of this morning. The bishop begs leave to inform Mr. Harold, that although he has no intention at present of publishing the pamphlet, or any part of it, he considers himself at liberty to act according to his own discretion, as he has had, without any condition, copies thereof already in his possession.

As regards Mr. Harold's own case, either respecting the Bishop of Philadelphia, the Holy See, or the government of the United States, the Bishop of Charleston does not at present intend to interfere: neither does he mean to take up, or to treat of the conduct of the late archbishop as regards Mr. Harold. Upon the general question, the Bishop of Charleston is free to confess that he is not satisfied with the present state of discipline in the United States, as regards churches or as regards priests; neither does he concur in the view taken by Mr. Harold respecting those subjects in his letter to Mr. Clay. To state his views at present to Mr. Harold could answer no useful purpose.

The bishop repeats his acknowledgment to Mr. Harold for the information which he has communicated; and shall avail himself thereof in the prosecution of any inquiry which he deems it his duty to follow up to some satisfactory results.

The bishop feels much obliged by Mr. Harold's kind offer of service in Ireland, and regrets that he has not had leisure to write those letters which he would otherwise trouble Mr. Harold to deliver. He leaves this city in the morning, and wishes Mr. H. better and more pleasing scenes in Ireland than he has met with in this country.*

Philadelphia Hotel,
Thursday evening, 8 o'clock.

To the Reverend
William Vincent Harold, &c., &c.

NOTE.—The letters of Messrs. Brent and Matthews, No. 8 and 9, will exhibit how far Mr. Harold was warranted in making the serious charge which his note contains against Mr. Daniel Brent; and his consequential denunciation which would exclude all Catholics from employment in public offices, and "from every station where confidence and honour are required."

The correspondence to which Mr. Harold alludes, as between the late Archbishop of Baltimore and himself, was printed in pamphlet form, and widely circulated though not formally published—and in the opinion of the Bishop of Charleston need not be withheld from publication by any friend of the archbishop. Its publication here would be altogether extraneous.

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No. 19.

(Copy.)

BISHOP ENGLAND TO PRESIDENT JACKSON.

SIR:—As an American citizen and bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, I take the liberty of drawing your attention to the following facts, and presenting the annexed request.

The spiritual and ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope, who is Bishop of Rome, is an essential portion of the Roman Catholic religion. Any attempt to overawe this head of the Church in the exercise of his spiritual and ecclesiastical authority is believed to be such an interference with the Roman Catholic religion, which is that of a large body of citizens, as the Constitution of the United States forbids to Congress. It is believed that no officer of the general government could constitutionally do that which is forbidden to the representatives of the states and of the people.

The said head of the Roman Catholic Church, happens, at present, to be a temporal sovereign, and to have civil dominion in a large portion of Italy: but it is clear that his dominion does not extend to this country, nor does he claim to have such power here: and if he did so claim, the Roman Catholic citizens of this Union would feel themselves called upon effectually to resist the same: and should the Pope either for the enforcement of his spiritual decrees, or in furtherance of any temporal claim, attempt to use any physical force, the constituted authorities of the several states are fully competent and well disposed, as they are bound, to protect their citizens from any such usurpation or aggression. It appears to be their duty to do so, to the exclusion of the general government, within their several limits; unless from want of power, which is a ridiculous supposition, they should be compelled to have constitutional recourse to the Federal Executive for protection.

It does not appear that any state has found it necessary to make such a call upon the Executive of the Union, and therefore,

there does not appear to have been any constitutional ground for its interference: yet it is believed that such interference has taken place in two distinct instances at least.

The first related to a decree of Pope Pius VII. regarding a disputed claim between the late Archbishop of Baltimore and a certain corporation of Catholic clergymen, concerning the possession of a farm—upon which the Pope, acting as an arbitrator, pronounced in favour of one party, and the other applied to the department of state, and procured, as it is believed, that instructions should be transmitted to one of our ministers residing abroad, in the year 1824 or 1825, to interfere in such a manner as to exhibit the opposition of the federal government to the papal decree: whereas it is conceived that if the parties dissented from the arbitration, the proper mode would have been to leave the question to be decided by the court having proper jurisdiction in that part of Maryland where the farm was situated.

The second case is more recent; it occurred last year. Two priests in Philadelphia were considered to have caused trouble in the church of that city. The See of Rome, not its civil government, was called upon to take cognizance of their conduct. The Pope desired that all parties concerned in the disputes should withdraw from the church of that city, so that peace might be thereby restored. In conformity with this direction, the Bishop of Philadelphia withdrew to Rome: the two priests applied for protection to the department of state, and the President directed a letter to be written from that department, in which the cause of these two priests is countenanced by the government in such a manner as appears to interfere with the freedom of agency of the spiritual head of the Roman Catholic Church, and to cause several citizens to dread that the repetition of such conduct would be the commencement of a union of church and state, as well as an unconstitutional meddling with the affairs of our ecclesiastical body, productive of serious mischief to ourselves, and affording a just cause of jealousy to our fellow-citizens of other religious denominations.

I have therefore humbly to request, that your Excellency will cause inquiry to be made in the office of the Secretary of State for such documents as might there exist, relating to those or any similar cases, and also that copies thereof should be furnished to me for publication, so that the citizens at large should be satisfied that no private or unconstitutional interference in their religious concerns shall be permitted by the President of the United States.

I have the honour to be,
Respectfully,
Your Excellency's
Obedient, humble servant,
† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Convent of the Visitation.
Georgetown, D. C., Sept. 26, 1830.

His Excellency, Andrew Jackson,
President of the United States.

NOTE.—In an interview on the next day, when the bishop called by appointment at the President's house, his Excellency expressed his coincidence with the views in the letter, and gave the necessary directions for furnishing the documents. Mr. Brent stated that Mr. Harold was under a mistake regarding the interference of that department in the differences between the Archbishop and the Jesuits: and that there were no documents upon that subject in the department.

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No. 20.

(Copy.)

Extract of a letter from Mr. Felix Cicognani, (Consul of the United States to the Court of, Rome,) to the Secretary of State, dated Rome, April 11th, 1829.

"Expecting every day to have a particular audience from the new Pope in my official capacity of Consul of the United States of America in Rome, I have delayed to acquaint you of his election, and to give some information concerning him, which it may not be entirely useless for you to know, but having been officially instructed that owing to the many occupations of His Holiness in these first days of his pontificate, I cannot have that honour till the ceremonies of the Holy Week and Easter shall be over, I shall delay no longer reserving to give you a faithful account of the audience to the time when it shall have taken place."

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No. 21.

(Copy.)

MR. CICOGNANI TO MR. VAN BUREN.

Rome, May 8th, 1829.

SIR:—Yesterday I had the honour to have a particular audience from His Holiness in my official capacity of Consul of the United States of America in Rome, and am happy to inform you, that the anticipations I expressed, in my letter of the 11th of April last to you, proved entirely correct. His Holiness received me in the most benign man-

ner, and expressed the most favourable sentiments for the government as well as for the nation of the United States of America. He said that he was most favourably inclined to the United States of America, because the Catholic people there enjoy the same protection as the other citizens of a different creed, and have no disabilities according to law. His Holiness desired me particularly and repeatedly to assure in his name the government of the United States, that he will never interfere in politics, and that in any case of mis-intelligence between governments, he will do all in his power to lead them to peace; he requested, also, that I should express his wish, that the citizens of the United States of America professing the Catholic religion, may in future meet with the same protection they have found to this time.

After the audience from His Holiness, I went, as it is customary, to pay my respects to Cardinal Albani, the Secretary of State, who received me very kindly, and expressed the most friendly sentiments towards the citizens and the government of the United States of America. The manner in which I was received by His Holiness and the Cardinal Secretary of State, and the sentiments expressed by them both, will, I am sure, afford great gratification to his Excellency the President and to yourself, and I should feel highly honoured, if you would make me the interpreter of the sentiments, that you might think proper to reciprocate with those expressed by His Holiness.

In addition to what I stated in my letter of the 11th of April last, I have to inform you that Doctor Conwell, the Catholic Bishop of Philadelphia, has started from Rome, and is now on his way to Paris. Doctor Conwell was led to that resolution from fearing that the Congregation of Propaganda Fide would detain him in Rome against his will. Though the Congregation was very desirous that he should not return to his diocess, I don't think that they had the intention to keep him finally in Rome, and the best proof of it was, that he did not meet with any difficulties in getting his passport. I believe that the Congregation of the Propaganda will charge the Nuncio of the Pope in Paris to persuade him amicably not to return to Philadelphia, till the troubles of that church shall be over.

The department of state used to send me the pamphlets of the acts of Congress, but after those passed at the first session of the nineteenth Congress, I have not received any others. As it would seem essential to the correct discharge of my duties, that I should be possessed of the laws passed from time to time, I beg leave to request you that you will order copies of the acts published from the beginning of the second session of the nineteenth Congress to be sent to me, as well as those which may hereafter be enacted. These may be sent to me by the way of Leghorn, to the care of Mr. Appleton, the consul at that place. My request has no other object but the good service of the United States.

I send herewith a statement of the vessels which visited the ports of the Roman States during the year 1828. This will enable you to form an idea of the extent of the commerce in this part of Italy.

I have the honour to remain, with the most profound respect,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) FELIX CICOGNANI.

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No. 22.

(Copy.)

MR. VAN BUREN TO MR. CICOGNANI.

Department of State,
Washington, 20th July, 1829.

Felix Cicognani, Esq., Consul of the United States at Rome.

SIR:—Your letters of the 11th April and 5th May, the first anticipating the favourable sentiments of His Holiness the Pope, towards the government and people of the United States, and the last confirming your anticipation, have been received at this department, and submitted to the President; by whom I am directed to convey to His Holiness, through the same channel, an assurance of the great satisfaction which he derives from this communication of the frank and liberal feelings entertained by the Apostolic See towards this government and people, and of the policy which you likewise state His Holiness has adopted, and which is so worthy of the head of a great and Christian church, assiduously to cultivate in his intercourse with foreign nations, the relations of amity and good-will, and sedulously to abstain from all interference in their occasional differences with each other, except with the benign view of effecting reconciliations between them.

You will accordingly seek an early opportunity to make known to the Pope, in terms and manner best suited to the occasion, the light in which the President views the communication referred to, and at the same time you will assure him that the President reciprocates, in their full extent and spirit, the friendly and liberal sentiments entertained by His Holiness towards the government and people of the United States,

by those which he entertains towards the government of the Apostolic See, and the people of the States of the Church; and it is the President's wish that you should, upon the same occasion, offer his congratulations to the Holy Father upon his recent succession to the tiara, not from any hereditary claim on his part, but from the preponderating influence which a just estimation of his talents and virtues naturally had upon the enlightened councils by which that high distinction was conferred; and which afford the best pledge that his pontificate will be a wise and beneficent one.

You will take care likewise, to assure His Holiness, in reference to the paternal solicitude which he expresses in behalf of the Roman Catholics of the United States, that all our citizens professing that religion stand upon the same elevated ground which citizens of all other religious denominations occupy, in regard to the rights of conscience, that of perfect *liberty*, contradistinguished from *toleration;* that they enjoy an entire exemption from coercion in every possible shape, upon the score of religious faith; and that they are free, in common with their fellow-citizens of all other sects, to adhere to, or adopt the creeds, and practice the worship best adapted to their reason or prejudices; and that there exists a perfect unity of faith in the United States amongst religionists of all professions, as to the wisdom and policy of that cardinal feature of all our constitutions and frames of government, both those of the United States and the separate states of the Union, by which this inestimable right is formally recognised, and the enjoyment of it inviolably secured.

I have given directions for the transmission to you of the acts of Congress, which you request, by the earliest convenient opportunity.

In the mean time, I am, sir,

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) M. Van Buren.

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No. 23.

(Copy.)

Case submitted by the Bishop of Charleston for the opinions of the Hon. R. B. Taney, Attorney-general of Maryland, and of the Hon. Wm. Gaston of North Carolina.

The order of Dominican friars, is a voluntary association of men of various nations, in the Roman Catholic Church, who, after due deliberation and probation, have freely and repeatedly and humbly besought admission to the society, and been admitted upon their making a solemn vow to continue always bound by its constitution and statutes, with which they had previously been made fully acquainted.

By this vow they freely bind themselves to pay obedience to the general of their order, and assent to the infliction of the penalties designated in the statutes, or in the constitution of their order, or in the canons of the Roman Catholic Church in case of disobedience. The penalties are of a defined and spiritual description and nature; and so well known, in general, to members of the order, that when the superior directs anything to be done by virtue of the obedience which has been promised, the penalty of neglect or refusal is sufficiently indicated by the phrase, "but if you will not obey, you know the consequences," or some similar expression.

Those friars are generally priests, and they are generally appointed to missionary stations, not by the bishop of a diocess, but under the privilege of the Pope, by their own superior, (a member of their order,) with the consent and approbation of the bishop or ordinary superior of the diocess or district in which the missionary station exists, and under the inspection of that ordinary.

A priest who is a member of the Dominican order, was stationed in the city of Philadelphia, and upon the suggestion of the bishop, it was thought better that he should leave the station, in which the bishop did not wish him to remain. The general superior of the order, was an alien residing in Europe; the priest in Philadelphia was a citizen of the United States. The general sent this priest an order, "in virtue of obedience," to leave Philadelphia and repair to Cincinnati, to be there engaged in the ministry under a superior of his own order: reminding him of the penalties which he knew would be the consequence of his refusal to change the station of his ministry.

1. It is asked. Whether this alien general by this order and threat has violated the civil rights of this citizen friar?

2. Suppose the Pope, who appears to be a foreign sovereign, concurs in this order, not in virtue of his temporal sovereignty over a portion of Italy, but in virtue of his spiritual jurisdiction in the Catholic Church: and this friar, who never was a subject of the sovereign of the Papal States, should, as a member of the Catholic Church, and particularly as a member of the Dominican order, obey this command. Does the friar, by so doing, transfer any portion of the allegiance which he owes to the United States, or to Pennsylvania, to the sovereign of the Papal States?

3. Can the order so given, and the obedience to which can be enforced only by the conscience of the citizen priest himself, or by the spiritual penalties, inflicted by an ecclesiastical superior, be construed into a sentence by a foreign sovereign to banish this citizen from Philadelphia, and to imprison or relegate him at Cincinnati? And is the government of the United States called upon or warranted to interpose itself in this case, for the protection of this citizen friar against this order?

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No. 24.

(Copy.)

OPINION OF MR. TANEY.

I proceed to answer the foregoing questions in the order in which they were put to me:—

1st. The Roman Catholic priest, as a citizen of the United States, had undoubtedly a right to become a member of the Dominican society; and by becoming a member he agreed to be bound by its constitution and statutes, and to subject himself to its officers and tribunals as thereby provided for. The order above mentioned, and the spiritual penalties that may be inflicted for disobedience by the constituted authorities of the society according to its laws, are therefore justified by the agreement of the party himself, and do not violate any of his rights as a citizen of Pennsylvania or the United States.

2. The power exercised by the Pope in the Roman Catholic Church has no connexion whatever with that which he possesses as a temporal prince, but differs from it altogether in its character and the means by which it is enforced. And if he should be deprived of his temporal dominion, his jurisdiction in the Roman Catholic Church would remain unaltered in any respect. His authority in the Church is merely spiritual, and obedience in spiritual matters to a spiritual superior, is certainly no transfer of allegiance in temporal concerns; and it is impossible in the nature of things that obedience due from a Roman Catholic, whether layman or clergyman, to the authority of the Pope, in spiritual matters, can ever come in conflict with the duties of allegiance or the calls of patriotism.

3. The spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope is a part of the Roman Catholic religion, and is necessary to the free exercise of that religion. And it is a part of the civil rights of those citizens of the United States who are members of the Roman Catholic Church, that this spiritual jurisdiction should be freely exercised, and the government of the United States have no right to restrain it, nor to interfere with it. The order mentioned in this question might lawfully be given by the Pope and the penalties for disobedience inflicted. The order and the penalties have no connexion with his character as a foreign temporal sovereign. And such an interposition on the part of the government of the United States, as is above suggested, would be an unwarrantable invasion of the rights of the Roman Catholic citizens of this country, and a palpable violation of the principles of the Constitution.

(Signed) R. B. TANEY.

Baltimore, Nov. 23, 1829.

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No. 25.

(Copy.)

OPINION OF MR. GASTON.

In answer to the first question proposed, it may be premised that one of the facts stated—the alienage of the ecclesiastical superior—is an immaterial circumstance. A violation of the civil rights of an individual is precisely the same in kind, whatever it may be in degree, whether it be committed by a fellow-citizen or by a foreigner. The question is then resolved into the inquiry, whether an order from a religious superior can issue in our country without an interference with civil liberty—whether religious subordination can be tolerated in our land. The law cannot regard these orders so long as they are enforced by spiritual sanctions only, but as mere appeals by certain individuals to the consciences of others. It leaves to all unqualified freedom of conscience, and it would travel as completely out of its proper sphere by forbidding such admonitions to be given as by compelling them to be obeyed.

The Bishop of Rome is the acknowledged head of the Roman Catholic Church, and as such must have a jurisdiction of some sort over it. Jurisdiction implies obedience. The second question therefore involves the inquiry, whether the fact, that the primate of the Church possesses a temporal sovereignty over a portion of Italy renders spiritual obedience on the part of its members here a breach of their allegiance. I answer, no. First, because he who omits no duty and violates no command, which fidelity to his country demands, has fulfilled *all* the obligations of allegiance. Secondly, because the obedience rendered to the orders of the spiritual superior, has no connexion with or reference to the temporal authority of that superior, and would be precisely the same

whether such superior were the inmate of a prison or the possessor of a throne. And thirdly, because the conscience of him who obeys, and his conscience only, regulates his obedience, and of that conscience his country allows him the undisputed dominion.

The answer to the third question must follow that to the second. The right of the citizen cannot be infringed by a requisition which he may disobey if his conscience will permit, and the authority of his government is not concerned in a matter purely of religious obligation. That cannot be deemed a *sentence* which depends for its execution on the enlightened will of the individual to whom it is directed; the aid of the government is not needed to protect him against admonitions addressed to his conscience; and those intrusted with temporal power here have no right to interpose to prevent his receiving or to induce him to disregard them.

(Signed) WM. GASTON.

Raleigh, 26th Nov., 1829.

N. B.—This case was also submitted to the Hon. Attorney-General of the United States, (Mr. Berrien,) but he, through delicacy, declined giving an opinion.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE

IMPOSTURE OF REBECCA T. READ, AND THE BURNING OF THE URSULINE CONVENT, AT CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

SECTION I.

DESTRUCTION OF THE CHARLESTOWN CONVENT.

IT is our painful duty to record one of the most atrocious and disgraceful acts of violence ever perpetrated in any clime or civilized country. We allude to the destruction, by a lawless and fanatical mob, on last Monday night, of the magnificent convent erected a few years since in Charlestown, by Bishop Fenwick, of this city. This splendid institution had for its object the education of young ladies in all the branches of polite learning, and at the time of the woful disaster in question, had actually under the government of the Ursuline ladies, between fifty and sixty young ladies, chiefly of the best families of Massachusetts.

A report had been industriously circulated for several weeks previous, that a young lady was detained in this convent, against her will—that she was immured in a dungeon, and there cruelly treated. However absurd the report, the fanatical preachers in Boston and the adjacent towns seemed glad of so favourable an opportunity to excite the public, and manifested every disposition to take all the advantage of it they could, to asperse the Catholic religion, and decry its institutions. Inflammatory sermons were preached in the neighbouring towns, and in one or two churches in Boston, particularly in the Baptist church, in Hanover Street, as we have been given to understand, with a view to rouse the people against Catholicity. Even Dr. Beecher could not forbear assailing it last Sunday, in three sermons, which he delivered in three different churches, availing himself of the opportunity which his return to this city afforded him of warning the public of the dangers of Popery, as evinced by its general prosperity. Such violent fanatics are evidently the most dangerous of the enemies to good order, and to the peace and harmony of society.

However this may be, a small body of men were seen hovering about the convent, between 8 and 9 o'clock, on Monday night. Shortly after, a car, laden with tar barrels and combustibles, passed on to the spot. These were soon set on fire as signals. The crowd then began to increase—shouts were uttered, accompanied with blasphemous speeches, and the most horrid yells and vilest imprecations. The doors and windows of the convent were speedily broken in by stones and other missiles, when the mob rushed in, and in an instant began the work of destruction. The children were hastily taken out of bed and hurried out of the house, who all happily effected their escape, though half naked, to the neighbouring houses. The nuns and superior were the last to leave the dwelling. In a moment after, the entire building was in a blaze; but not before the most valuable articles in it, and which could be conveniently removed, were seized upon by the hands of ruffians that had entered it. The nuns saved nothing, not even a change of clothes.

The tabernacle itself, with the holy altar, was rifled, the sacrament taken out of the blessed ciborium, and thrown into the fields. A few species only of it were afterwards picked up and restored. From the house they proceeded to the sanctuary of the dead. At the bottom of the garden, a beautiful tomb had been constructed, which contained the dead bodies of five or six nuns. These were torn out of their coffins and exposed. We shall make no comment on these proceedings—they speak sufficiently for themselves.—*Jesuit.*

SECTION II.

From the Boston Jesuit, October 4.

Report of the Committee, relating to the destruction of the Ursuline Convent, August 11, 1834.

The committee appointed at Faneuil Hall, at the meeting on the 12th ult., to investigate the recent outrages in Charlestown, and take measures for bringing the perpetrators to justice, and also to consider the expediency of providing funds to repair the damage done to the convent, believing that an account of their proceedings and of the result of their inquiries may be acceptable, respectfully report, that, upon the second day succeeding that of their appointment, they entered upon the discharge of their duties, and continued in session every day, from 9, A. M., to sunset, with the intermission of Sundays, and the usual time for dining, until the 27th ult., when the afternoon sittings were dispensed with.

The most active and vigorous measures within the scope of their authority, were adopted to obtain intelligence, and have been persevered in till the present time—sub-committees being frequently despatched to various parts of the city, and to the neighbouring towns, and messengers constantly employed to obtain the attendance of such persons as were supposed capable of giving useful information.

The number of which the committee was originally composed, being insufficient for the discharge of its various and arduous duties, and some of the gentlemen appointed, having declined the service, the aid of several others was requested, who have been among the most efficient of its members.

The committee being invested with no power to compel appearance, or take examinations under oath, were careful to notify those who came before them, that their attendance and statements were entirely voluntary; and that no use would be made of the information they might give, unless it should be thought necessary to summon them as witnesses before a magistrate or judicial tribunal.*

In this manner, more than one hundred and forty persons, and some of them repeatedly, have been examined, and much important information has been procured, which has led to the arrest of several individuals, and constituted important additions to the evidence upon which other arrests have been made; and, it is hoped, will lead to further disclosures. But, it is obvious, that any statement of the testimony would, at this time, be improper.

The whole number of arrests and commitments made by the efforts of the Charlestown committee and magistrates, and of this committee, is thirteen, of which eight are upon charges of a capital nature.

It appeared, immediately upon commencing the investigation, that the destruction of the convent might be attributed primarily to a widely extended popular aversion, founded in the belief that the establishment was obnoxious to those imputations of cruelty, vice, and corruption, so generally credited of similar establishments, in other countries, and was inconsistent with the principles of our national institutions, and in violation of the laws of the commonwealth.

And which aversion, in the minds of many, had been fomented to hatred, by representations injurious to the moral reputation of the members of that community, attributing to them impurity of conduct and excessive cruelties in their treatment of each other, and of the pupils; and denunciatory of the institution, as hostile in its character and influence alike to the laws of God and man; and also by reports that one of the sisterhood, Mrs. Mary John, formerly Miss Elizabeth Harrison, after having fled from the convent, to escape its persecutions, and then been induced, by the influence or threats of Bishop Fenwick, to return, had been put to death, or secretly imprisoned, or removed; so that her friends could neither see nor obtain information concerning her. These assertions and reports were not only prevalent in this city and its vicinity, but the committee have reason to believe, pervaded many distant parts of the commonwealth,

* This latter assurance was given to most of the persons who appeared in the committee-room, in order to remove the apprehensions entertained by them, or some of them, for their personal safety, if it should become known to the rioters or their friends, that they should give information to the committee, inculpating persons concerned in the riot.—*Sub-Committee.*

and have extended into other states; affording a monitory lesson of the extent and excitability of public credulity, when in accordance with popular prejudice.

It was doubtless under the influence of these feelings and impressions, that some of the conspirators were led to design the destruction of the convent, and to avail themselves of the aid of those miscreants, who, actuated by the love of violence, or the hope of plunder, were the foremost in the perpetration of the outrage.

The committee, therefore, considered it an important part of their duty, to make faithful inquiry into the character of the institution, and into the truth of assertions and reports of such fatal influence; believing that authentic information upon these subjects was demanded, in justice to the sufferers and the public; and might be instrumental in leading to the detection of those who had instigated or aided in the commission of the crime; and who, it is feared, are still, in a great measure, sheltered by the prevalence of the impressions above referred to.

The committee are not influenced, in communicating the result of this inquiry, by any impression that the truth of the imputations, if established, would have constituted any *justification of the wrong;* being entirely of opinion, that whatever might have been the character of the institution, or the deportment of its members, they could give no sanction to this *high-handed violation of the law.* Still less can it be supposed that they have any disposition to aid in the dissemination of the Catholic faith, being *unanimously* opposed to its characteristic tenets.

But having discovered the existence of the prepossession so generally prevalent, and perceiving how much they affected the disposition of those called to give testimony, and how often they were referred to as a palliation of the offence, they have felt imperatively bound by a regard for truth, by a just appreciation, as they hope, of the candour of their fellow citizens, and also by a sense of justice to the injured, to make known the conclusions, to which the evidence before them has irresistibly led. And in doing this, they are careful to make no statements but those of which they consider themselves to have evidence amply sufficient to sustain them, were they in question before a judicial tribunal.

The institution at Charlestown, was of the Ursuline Order, which was first established in the year 1536, for the purposes of administering relief to the sick and the afflicted, and of superintending the education of female youth; and so exemplary had been the character and deportment of this order of nuns, and so extensively beneficial were their services in the cause of education and Christian charity, that, when other convents were abolished by many governments in Europe, these alone were not only permitted, but encouraged to remain.

Unlike the other order of convents, into which the members repaired for the avowed purposes of religious seclusion from the pleasures and duties of the world, and in which corruptions and abuses might be supposed to exist, beyond the reach of human detection, the members of this religious community, by the necessity of their order, and by their vows, devote themselves to those services in the cause of humanity, which render them at all times subjects of public observation; and expose their personal deportment, as well as the character of their institution, to the strictest scrutiny.

However just, therefore, might be the popular odium against an institution which secluded its members from the occupations and enjoyments of life, cutting them off from the sympathies of society, and dooming them to an irrevocable concealment, into which the eye of friendship and affection could never penetrate, and where suffering might be without remedy, and crime without punishment, there can be no rational pretence for similar feelings towards an institution, whose members were openly engaged in the most useful and elevated offices of humanity, in the presence of the world, who had it in their power to leave the institution at their pleasure; and whose dwelling was filled with those who were not members of their community, and accessible at proper times to the parents and friends of its numerous inmates.

The institution in question was founded in the year 1820, by Doctors Matignon and Cheverus, whose names will be, in this community, a sufficient guarantee of its purity and Christian character, with funds given by a native citizen of Boston. By their invitation, four ladies of the Ursuline Order, emigrated to this country, in the year 1820, and established themselves at first in this city. They afterwards, in the year 1826, removed to Charlestown, and occupied the farm-house at the foot of Mt. Benedict, until the main building on its summit was finished in the year 1827. In the mean time, the reputation of their seminary was widely extended, and the number of pupils from all the New England, and from many of the Southern States, and the British Provinces, rapidly increased, so that in the year 1829, it was found necessary to add

two large wings to the building for their accommodation.

The number of nuns has varied at different times from four to ten, each of whom performed a distinct part in the care of the establishment or the education of the children. For admission as a member of this community, the candidate, after a preliminary period of probation, enters upon a noviciate for two years, by taking the white veil, in order to give her ample time, after full experience of the discipline, duties, and principles of the institution, to determine whether they are such as she shall be solicitous to enter upon for life. During this period no restraints by religious vows, or otherwise, are imposed to prevent her secession from the establishment, and the committee have plenary evidence from those who have thus seceded, of their freedom in this respect.

Upon receiving the black veil, the religious vow is taken of devotion to the institution for life; but even then no forcible means could be exercised to detain any one, who might choose to return to the world; and their legal right to do so, is perfectly well understood by every member of that community.

No penances or punishments are ever forcibly enforced or inflicted; they are not only always voluntary, but can never even thus take place but by permission of the head of the order, which is not granted unless the applicant be in good health.

The committee do not mean to be understood, as believing that there may not be a mental subjection, not less effectual upon the individuals concerned, than one created by external force; but they consider this a matter of religious faith, resting entirely between themselves and the only being to whom they are accountable; and one which neither renders them amenable to public law, nor in any degree justly obnoxious to popular odium.

Some of those, who, after entering upon their novitiate, seceded from the convent, still retain the warmest affection for its members, and bear willing testimony to their unvaried kindness and the purity and excellence of their deportment.

The number of pupils has varied from forty to sixty, during each of the past five years, being for the most part children of those among the most reputable families in the country, of various religious denominations, (the number of *Catholics* never exceeding ten at any one time,) and wholly unrestrained in their communications with their friends concerning all that transpired in the seminary.

No means were taken to influence or affect their religious opinions; their attendance upon the services in the chapel was voluntary, never exacted. The only religious services forming a part of the system, were morning and evening prayers, common to all Christians, and discourses by the bishop on Sundays, upon the practical truths, and religious duties which are peculiar to no sect. *Nor can it be ascertained that any pupil, placed under their charge for the purpose of education, has been converted from any other to the Catholic faith or induced to become a member of the community.*

Of these facts, and of the truly maternal kindness with which the children were uniformly treated, and of their filial affection to the ladies of the establishment, and of the entire confidence and respect to which they are entitled, the committee have the fullest assurances both from children and parents. Nor can it be believed that, if undue severity had been exercised upon the pupils, or harshness or cruelty had been inflicted upon any member of the community; or if anything inconsistent with purity of deportment had existed, it could not have escaped the scrutinizing observation of so many inquisitive and active minds; or could fail to be communicated to their friends; and still less can it be believed, that upon a disclosure of this sort, a father or mother could be found who would suffer a daughter to remain under their roof.

In pursuing their inquiries into the truth of the injurious representations and reports above referred to, members of the committee have had an interview with the young lady upon whose authority they were generally supposed to rest. She entirely disclaimed most of those passing under the sanction of her name, *and particularly all affecting the moral purity of the members of the institution, or the ill treatment of the pupils under their care*, and confined her accusations to the system of severe penance, which she alleges the nuns and novitiates were compelled to suffer for the purposes of religious discipline—to restraints imposed upon those who were members of the community or subject to its rules—and to cruelties alleged to have been inflicted in the form of penance upon a member of the community in her last illness, by which life was shortened.

From her statement, therefore, it is evident that there could be, excepting in the subject of the last accusation, no cause of public complaint: inasmuch as the other evils alleged, if existing, were confined to those who were voluntary members of the institution, affecting neither the property or

the happiness of other individuals, nor tending in anywise to the injury of the public morals, or a violation of law.

It further appears that her means of knowledge [came] from [her] having become a voluntary inmate of the house, for the purpose of receiving a gratuitous education, and passing a term of probation for six months preparatory to her entering upon her novitiate as a nun, if she should be considered by the sisterhood as qualified, and continued desirous so to do.

The principal facts stated by her, which it is deemed of importance to notice, are, that she was led to depart from the convent secretly before the expiration of her term of probation by overhearing a conversation between Bishop Fenwick and the superior, in which it was intimated or threatened that she should be sent into the British Provinces; and that the life of the nun above mention was shortened by the severities and penances imposed upon her during the illness which terminated in her death.

The superior and Bishop Fenwick, between whom the above conversation is alleged to have been heard, have both denied to the committee that any such ever took place, and appealed to the fact, that it was known, not only among the members of the institution, but the pupils generally, that this young woman was not esteemed qualified to become a member of the community, but was to be dismissed at the end of her probation; and of this fact the committee have the assurance of several of the pupils.

And with regard to the allegation of cruelty towards the deceased nun, the committee have not only the contradiction of all the members of the establishment, including two of her sisters by birth, who were with her during her sickness and at the time of her death; but also a written statement from Dr. Thompson, an eminent physician in Charlestown, who attended her, of the origin, nature, and progress of her disease, and of the manner in which she was nursed and treated under his direction; from which it would appear that the tenderest care and solicitude were uniformly manifested for her comfort, and that all was done to smooth the pillow of sickness and death, which religious duty or sisterly affection could dictate.

And concerning the probation of the young woman above mentioned, and her secret and sudden departure, it is stated by the ladies of the institution and by others, who were at that time in the convent, that previously to her being received on trial, she had made several earnest applications for admission, alleging that she was solicitous to find shelter in their community; that her applications were refused in the apprehension that she was not a suitable candidate to become a member of it: that then she made similar applications to some of the clergy, through whose intervention, and after a written communication to her father, which was never answered, she was immediately placed under a course of instruction in elementary learning, and in music; that up to the time of her departure, she appeared grateful for the kindness and instruction which she had received, and expressed an earnest desire to be permitted to enter upon her novitiate; but it being judged that she was not qualified to be admitted into the community as one of its members, it had been resolved to dismiss her at the end of six months, when her unexpected departure relieved them from this painful necessity.

It is also proper to state that many of the representations made by this individual, of the nature of the penances and restraints imposed in the convent, are denied by the united testimony of all its present members, and of others who were resident there in their novitiate or as domestics, during the time when these abuses are alleged to have taken place.

As to the reports in relation to the supposed murder or secretion of Miss Harrison, it is only necessary for the committee to recapitulate the facts already before the public, with the further assurance that the relation *has been personally confirmed by her to some of them, who were well acquainted with her before the destruction of the convent, and have repeatedly seen and conversed with her since.*

This female, a native of Philadelphia, entered upon her novitiate in the institution in the year 1822, and became a member in full in 1824, after knowledge and experience of the principles and rules of it, and of the manners and dispositions of its members. She had one brother and a brother-in-law living in the city, with whom she has constant intercourse, and who have been accustomed to visit her at the Convent at pleasure.

She is the teacher of music in the seminary, and for some time before the 28th day of July, had been engaged in giving fourteen lessons per day, of at least forty-five minutes each, and by the confinement and exertion of these arduous efforts, had impaired her health, and was suffering under a nervous excitement or fever, which, on that day increased to delirium, under the influence of which, unconsciously to

herself, she left the house and proceeded to that of Mr. Edward Cutter, in the immediate neighbourhood, whence, at her request, she was carried to the residence of Mr. Cotting, in West Cambridge.

On the morning after her departure, her brother, Mr. Thomas Harrison of this city, went to her and found her surprised at the step she had taken; at her request he accompanied Bishop Fenwick there in the afternoon, and she gladly returned with them to the convent, where she was welcomed by her anxious friends, and remained till the night of the outrage, receiving from them every kindness and attention which her situation required.

The story of her flight and of her alleged forcible return, and subsequent death or removal, had, however, obtained such currency, and was so generally believed in Charlestown and the neighbouring towns, that the selectmen of that place considered it their duty to investigate the affair; and, upon application to the superior, a time of their own appointment was fixed by the board to visit the convent. Accordingly, on the 11th of August, at 3 P.M., they repaired in a body, and were received by Miss Harrison, the nun who was supposed to be murdered or secreted, and were by her alone conducted through the establishment, into every room and closet, from the cellar to the cupola inclusive, and were answered every inquiry which they thought fit to make.

The result of this examination was their entire satisfaction "that everything was right;" and they proceeded from the building to the house of one of their number in the neighbourhood, to prepare a certificate to that effect, to be published in the papers of the following day.

The committee have been unable to find any report in circulation injurious to the reputation of the members of the community, which may not be traced to one of the above sources, or which has any other apparent foundation.

And having thus given to the public an authentic statement of all the facts affecting the character and reputation of the institution and its members, so far as they have come to their knowledge, and of which they have abundant proof, the committee have acquitted themselves of this part of their duty, and leave to their fellow-citizens the question whether this institution was in any degree obnoxious to the fatal imputations so generally circulated and believed, or to the public odium so unfortunately prevalent.

For some time previous to the 11th day of August, the excitement of the public mind had become so great in Charlestown, that the destruction of the convent was the subject of frequent threats and conversation, and on the preceding day inflammatory handbills had been posted.

There can be no doubt that a conspiracy had been formed, extending into many of the neighbouring towns; but the committee are of opinion that it embraced very few of respectable character in society, though some such may perhaps be accounted guilty of an offence no less heinous, *morally considered*, in having excited the feelings which led to the design, or countenanced and instigated those engaged in its execution. And there is reason to believe that those who had determined on the destruction of the building were induced to an earlier accomplishment of their purpose than was originally intended, by a publication in the Mercantile Journal, headed "Mysterious," (afterwards copied into other papers,) which it appears was inserted by the news-gatherer of that journal without other authority than the idle gossip then prevalent in Charlestown, (the falsehood of which might have been ascertained at any time, by a walk of a few minutes from the office to the proper place of inquiry,) and also by a knowledge that the selectmen had made their investigation, and the apprehension that a publication might, by allaying the principal cause of the excitement, prevent its execution.

Soon after sunset, several persons were seen at the gate of the avenue leading from the road to the convent, and on being inquired of concerning the reason of being there, gave evasive and impertinent answers; but [there] was nothing in their language or numbers which led to the belief that a serious riot was to be apprehended. Immediate information, however, was given of the fact, to one or more of the selectmen, and assurances were made in reply that no danger could possibly be anticipated.

Soon after 9 o'clock, the rioters began to assemble in considerable numbers, arriving on foot and in wagons from different quarters; and a party of about forty or fifty proceeded to the front of the building, using violent and threatening language. They were addressed by the lady at the head of the establishment, who, desiring to know their wishes, was replied to, that they wanted to enter and see the person alleged to be secreted. She answered that their selectmen had that day visited the house, and that any of them, on the[ir] calling next day at a suitable hour, might see for themselves; at the same time remonstrating against such violation of the peace and of repose of so

many children of their most reputable citizens.

Shortly afterwards, the same or another party, with increased numbers, approached the convent, using still more threatening, and much gross and indecent language. The lady above referred to again addressed them in terms of remonstrance and reproach, and desired to know whether none of their selectmen were present. Some of them replied that one was there, mentioning his name. He then came forward and announced his presence, stating that he was there for the purpose of defending her. She inquired whether he had procured the attendance of any others of the board; and upon being answered in the negative, replied that she would not trust the establishment to his protection, and that if he came there to protect them, he would show it by taking measures to disperse [the mob].

It appears from various testimony that he did attempt to dissuade the rioters from their design, by assurances that the selectmen had seen the nun who was supposed to have been secreted, and that the stories reported concerning her were untrue; but his assertions drew forth only expressions of distrust and insult. The mob continued upon the ground with much noise and tumult, and were in that state left by this magistrate, who returned home and retired to bed.

At about 11 o'clock, a bonfire was kindled on the land of Alva Kelly, adjoining that of the eastern boundary of the convent, and distant about two hundred and seventy yards from the building, the fences of which were taken for the purpose. This is believed to have been a concerted signal for the assemblage of all concerned in the plot.

The bells were then rung as for an alarm of fire in Charlestown and in this city, and great multitudes arrived from all quarters. Upon this alarm, the magistrate above mentioned arose, and proceeded to procure the attendance of others of the selectmen. In the mean time the Charlestown engines and some from Boston had arrived, one of the latter of which, passing those of Charlestown, which had halted opposite the bonfire, immediately proceeded into the avenue leading to the convent, where her arrival was greeted with a shout from some of the rioters upon the hill and among the shrubbery, many of whom, seizing hold of the rope, proceeded with her up the avenue, around the circular walk, to the front of the building, when the attack was instantly commenced by the breaking of fences, and the hurling of stones and clubs against the windows and doors. Upon this, the engine, by order of its commander, was immediately carried down into the road, and stationed opposite the gate, where it remained during the night.*

At the time of this attack upon the convent, there were within its walls about sixty female children, and ten adults, one of whom was in the last stages of pulmonary consumption, another suffering under convulsion fits, and the unhappy female who had been the immediate cause of the excitement was, by the agitation of the night, in raving delirium.

No warning was given of the intended assault, nor could the miscreants by whom it was made have known whether their missiles might not kill or wound the helpless inmates of this devoted dwelling. Fortunately for them, cowardice prompted what mercy and manhood denied: after the first attack, the assailants paused awhile, from the fear that some secret force was concealed in the convent, or in ambush to surprise them; and in this interval the governess was enabled to secure the retreat of her little flock and terrified sisters into the garden. But before this was fully effected, the rioters, finding they had nothing but women and children to contend against, regained their courage, and ere all the inmates could escape, entered the building.

It appears that, during these proceedings, the magistrate above referred to, with another of the selectmen, had arrived, and entered the convent with the rioters, for the purpose, as they state, of assisting its inmates. The mob had now full possession of the house, and loud cries were heard for torches or lights. One of the magistrates in question availed himself of this cry to deter the rioters from firing the building, by stating that if lights were brought they might be detected.

Three or four torches, which were, or precisely resembled engine torches, were then brought up from the road; and immediately upon their arrival, the rioters proceeded into every room in the building, rifling every drawer, desk, and trunk which they found, and breaking up and destroying all the furniture, and casting much of it from the windows; sacrificing, in their brutal fury, costly piano-fortes, and harps, and other valuable instruments, the little treasures of the children, abandoned in their

* Most of the members of this company have been before the committee, and deny any previous knowledge of a design to destroy the convent, or any participation in the riot; and it has been stated in the public prints that the examining magistrates of Charlestown expressed their opinion that this company stood fully acquitted of all concern in it.

hasty flight, and even the vessels and symbols of Christian worship.

After having thus ransacked every room in the building, they proceeded, with great deliberation, about one o'clock, to make preparations for setting fire to it. For this purpose broken furniture, books, curtains, and other combustible materials, were placed in the centre of several of the rooms; and, as if in mockery of God as well as of man, the Bible was cast, with shouts of exultation, upon the pile first kindled; and as upon this were subsequently thrown the vestments used in religious service, and the ornaments of the altar, these shouts and yells were repeated. Nor did they cease until the cross was wrenched from its place and cast into the flames, as the final triumph of this fiend-like enterprise.

But the work of destruction did not end here. Soon after the convent was in flames, the rioters passed on to the library, or bishop's lodge, which stood near,—and after throwing the books and pictures from the windows, a prey to those without, fired that also.

Some time afterwards they proceeded to the farm-house formerly occupied as the convent, and first making a similar assault with stones and clubs upon the doors and windows, in order to ascertain whether they had anything to fear from persons within, the torches were deliberately applied to that building; and, unwilling to have one object connected with the establishment to escape their fury, although the day had broken, and three buildings were then in flames, or reduced to ashes, the extensive barn, with its contents, was in like manner devoted to destruction. And not content with all this, they burst open the tomb of the establishment, rifled it of the sacred vessels there deposited, wrested the plates from the coffins, and exposed to view the mouldering remains of their tenants.

Nor is it the least humiliating feature in this scene of cowardly and audacious violation of all that man ought to hold sacred and dear, that it was perpetrated in the presence of men vested with authority, and of multitudes of our fellow-citizens, while not one arm was lifted in the defence of helpless women and children, or in vindication of the violated laws of God and man. The spirit of violence, sacrilege, and plunder, reigned triumphant. Crime alone seemed to confer courage,—while humanity, manhood, and patriotism quailed or stood irresolute and confounded in its presence.

The committee are satisfied, upon evidence before them, of what it would indeed be injustice to many of their fellow-citizens to doubt, that great numbers of those present were indignant spectators of these scenes, and would gladly have aided in the defence of the convent, and arrest of the rioters, had any attempt been made by either of the magistrates or engineers of the fire department of Charlestown who were present, or by any engine company, or any person having, or assuming to have, authority to rally them for that purpose; but no voice of authority was heard, and no remonstrance but that of timidity—in effect giving courage to the assailants.

Nor has any other satisfactory account been suggested why the mob was not arrested in its career by the great multitudes by which it was surrounded, than the supposition that, from the omission of magisterial interference, doubt and mistrust existed, whether the work were not so sanctioned by popular opinion, or the connivance of those in authority, that resistance would be hopeless.

The fact that the dwelling of inoffensive females and children, guiltless of wrong to the persons, property, or reputation of others, and reposing in fancied security under the protection of the law, has been thus assaulted by a riotous mob, and ransacked, plundered, and burned to the ground, and its terrified inmates, in the dead hour of the night, driven from their beds into the fields; and that this should be done within the limits of one of the most populous towns in the commonwealth, and in the midst of an assembled multitude of spectators; that the perpetrators should have been engaged for *seven* hours or more in the work of destruction, with hardly an effort to prevent or arrest them; that many of them should afterwards be so far sheltered or protected by public sympathy or opinion, as to render the ordinary means of detection ineffectual; and that the sufferers are entitled to no legal redress from the public for this outrage against their persons, and destruction of their property, is an event of fearful import, as well as of the profoundest shame and humiliation.

It has come upon us like the shock of the earthquake, and has disclosed a state of society and public sentiment, of which we believe no man was before aware.

If, for the purpose of destroying a person, or family, or institution, it be only necessary to excite a public prejudice, by the dissemination of falsehoods and criminal accusations, and under its sanction to array a mob, and there be neither an efficient magistracy, nor a sense of public duty or justice sufficient for its prevention, and if

property may be thus sacrificed without the possibility of redress, who amongst us is safe?

The cry may be of bigotry to-day, and heresy to morrow—of public usurpation at one time, and private oppression at another—or any other of those methods by which the ignorant, the factious, and the desperate may be excited, and the victim may be sacrificed without protection or relief.

It is hoped that the fearful warning thus suddenly given, enforced as it is by similar occurrences in other states, will arrest the public attention—check the prevailing disposition to give credence to injurious and calumnious reports—will produce throughout the country a higher sense of the qualifications requisite for magisterial office, and lead to amendments and improvements of our laws, which are thus found so sadly defective.

And, above all, may it rebuke the spirit of intolerance thus unexpectedly developed, so hostile to the genius of our institutions, and unrestrained, so fatal to their continuance. If there be one feeling, which, more than any other, should pervade this country, composing, as it were the atmosphere of social life, it is that of enlightened toleration, comprehending all within the sphere of its benevolence, and extending over all the shield of mutual protection.

The committee trust that they shall not be thought to exceed the bounds of propriety, by adopting this as a fitting occasion for the suggestion of those amendments of the law, the necessity of which is made particularly obvious by this unhappy event.

The first which they submit, is forced upon their consideration by the difficulties they have encountered in their efforts to accomplish the purposes of their appointment: having no official power to compel the attendance of witnesses, or examination under oath, or take any other requisite measures for the satisfactory investigation of the guilt of persons supposed to be implicated, but against whom sufficient evidence, without these means, cannot be procured.

The only cases, excepting when the grand jury is actually in session, in which, under the existing laws, these measures can be resorted to, is where a complaint and arrest have been made; and, as this complaint must be the unofficial act of an individual, and being necessarily public, often exposes him to great odium, and in many cases to personal danger, it is rarely ventured upon in opposition to public opinion or prejudice: and seldom, in any case, excepting where the evidence is in the first instance conclusive, or the party implicated is too humble to be accounted a dangerous enemy.

If, on the other hand, a bench of magistrates were empowered, in similar cases, to compel the appearance of witnesses, and conduct their examinations under the authority of law, it is obvious that the means of detecting those concerned in the commission of crime, would be far more certain and efficacious: and those guilty of its inception and instigation, would often be brought to that punishment which now generally falls upon the humbler instruments of their villany.

This power might be vested in the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and such of the justices of the peace in each county as might be selected for that purpose, and thus be deposited in hands free from danger of abuse. A similar one exists in England, vested in magistrates designated for that purpose; and it is not known that it has ever been perverted to the purposes of oppression, though often instrumental in detecting criminals who might otherwise have escaped with impunity.

The second improvement which the committee venture to suggest, is the enactment of a law rendering magistrates indictable, whenever guilty of an omission to discharge their duty, in the prevention of outrage or crime.

If rulers are the servants of the people, it ought to be understood that as such they are accountable for the *neglect* as well as the *abuse* of their powers; that the authority with which they are vested must be exercised and shall be obeyed. And if men, with no higher sense of duty than an accountability to the party by whom they may have been elected, and no more honourable fear than that of the loss of office, shall be placed in authority over us, they, the security of whose persons and property may depend upon their fidelity, should at least have the power of holding them to legal responsibility.

A further and perhaps still more salutary addition to our subsisting laws, would be a provision that, in cases of destruction of life or property, occasioned by riot or tumult, the public shall be responsible to indemnify the sufferers to the whole extent of their pecuniary loss: restoring the value of the property destroyed, and making suitable provision for all whose means of support shall be lost or impaired by the personal injury of themselves, or of those upon whom they may be dependent.

A provision of this sort seems called for by the first principles of justice and civil government.

The basis of every political community is the surrender of the right of personal defence, and the contribution of individual property, that each may enjoy the mutual protection of all.

It is a direct contract between each individual and society at large, in which the latter receives a full equivalent for the guarantee to the former, of security of life, liberty, and property. It is therefore the duty of the community to provide and exercise the means necessary for affording such protection; and whenever such means do not exist, or the servants entrusted with them are faithless to their duty, the contract is broken, and the sufferers are entitled to redress.

Nor would the expediency of such provision be less obvious than its justice, as the personal interest which every one would feel in this responsibility would render him vigilant and active in preventing a tumult, the consequences of which might be visited upon himself; at the same time, it would influence the people in the election of magistrates, who might be relied on in the hour of difficulty and danger, as competent and fearless in the discharge of their duty.

The opinion so generally prevalent, that the sufferers in this instance were legally entitled to such redress against the town of Charlestown, or the county of Middlesex, is a striking proof how well such a provision would accord with that sense of justice which we hope will ever distinguish this community.

But the provision above suggested would, it is feared, be insufficient for the purpose, without the organization of a more efficient and ready force than can now be called into action; and the committee would suggest the expediency of legal provision therefor.

It is probable, indeed, that the mere knowledge of the existence of such organization would often, of itself, suffice to prevent riot and tumult.

Legislative enactments, however, can avail but little, unless a check be given to the tendency now pervading all parts of the country to refer every question to *popular will*, instead of *public law*.

In Europe, the staff of the police officer is backed by the sabre of the dragoon, or the musket of the gens d'arme; but, in our favoured land, there is no *immediate* force but the posse comitatus, nor *ultimate* authority but the judicial tribunal; the one wholly, the other essentially, an appeal to the people.

If it be true of other countries, that all power rests in public opinion, it is in ours alone that this principle is fully understood and acted upon. *Our only security, therefore, is an enlightened obedience to law:* to be enforced by all in conversation and example, as the highest duty of patriotism; *for upon this, and this alone, depends the safety of our political freedom.*

If the time shall arrive when popular will shall take the place of law, whether this be by riots and tumults, or under the form of judicial proceedings, the grave of our nation's happiness and glory will have been prepared. Life, liberty, and property will be held at the will of malignity, prejudice, and passion; violence will become the common means of self-defence, and our only refuge from the horrors of anarchy will be under the comparatively peaceable shelter of military despotism.

The remaining subject submitted to the consideration of the committee, was the expediency of raising funds for the purpose of indemnifying the sufferers.

They are of opinion that the plainest principles require remuneration to be made, but are at the same time impressed with the conviction, that a donation derived from private contribution does not so well comport with public justice, and would not constitute so entire and expressive a vindication of the majesty of the law, as would a compensation proceeding from the government.

By the *theory* of our institutions, the magistrates of Charlestown, or of the county of Middlesex, are vested with authority, and have under their control a force sufficient for the prevention or suppression of popular riots and tumults; and if the fact corresponds with the theory, that town or county would be justly responsible to make good the pecuniary loss occasioned by this outrage.

But if that authority is sufficient for such emergencies, and that force is defective in strength or organization, so that it cannot be brought to act with promptness and energy, then the fault rests with the whole community, and upon them should fall the burden of indemnity.

The committee cannot forbear expressing the hope that a public outrage committed in such open and audacious defiance of the law, inflicting so deep a wound upon the reputation of the commonwealth, and, through her, upon the hitherto fair fame of New England, will receive the early attention of the legislature; and that a committee will be appointed with full power to investigate the character of this institution, and the conduct of its members, and to take measures for the further detection of those implicated in its destruction; and that a suit-

able compensation will be provided for the sufferers, so that the same page on which the history of our disgrace shall be recorded may bear testimony to the promptitude of our justice to the injured.

They lay aside all question of the expediency of indemnifying the sufferers, *as means of aiding in support of the Catholic faith.* Of their individual feelings and opinions upon that subject, their fellow-citizens can have no doubt; but they look upon the obligations of justice as of higher import, and more deeply affecting our welfare as a political community.

It is enough that the property of a portion of our fellow-citizens, erected under the sanction of the laws, paying its full proportion of the expenses of government, and admitted on all hands to be entitled to its protection, has been openly and wantonly destroyed through the insufficiency of those laws, or the supineness or timidity of those intrusted with their execution.

If regard is to be had to the religious or political tendency of an institution, in determining whether it be entitled to protection or redress, it might be hard to find one against which the popular cry of superstition, or heresy, or corruption, might not be raised. To resort to such considerations is the direct substitution of popular will or passion, in place of public law and justice. And if this cruel and unprovoked injury, perpetrated in the heart of the commonwealth, be permitted to pass unrepaired, our boasted toleration and love of order, our vaunted obedience to law, and our ostentatious proffers of an asylum to the persecuted of all sects and nations, may well be accounted vainglorious pretensions, or yet more wretched hypocrisy.

CHARLES G. LORING, *Chairman.*

Charles P. Curtis,	Joseph Eveleth,
Henry Lee,	Charles H. Parker,
John Cotton,	R. C. Winthrop,
Horace Mann,	John L. Dimmock,
Richard S. Fay,	J. L. English,
John D. Williams,	Nathan Appleton,
Cyrus Alger,	William Appleton,
John Henshaw,	David Child,
Francis J. Oliver,	Samuel K. Williams,
Mark Healy,	Theophilus Parsons,
Charles G. Green,	Edward Blake,
Isaac Harris,	L. Stanwood,
Daniel C. Broadhead,	Thomas Motley,
Henry F. Baker,	Henry Gassett,
Z. Cook, Jr.	James Clark,
Henry Farnam,	George Darracott,
William Sturgis,	John Kettel,
Benjamin Rich,	Edward D. Sohier,

William Hales.

SECTION III.

From the Bunker Hill Aurora.

LETTER OF THE LADY SUPERIOR.

MR. EDITOR:—I have seen a piece in your paper, written by Mr. Runey; and as there are some inaccuracies in his statement, I deem it necessary to contradict them. I am surprised that this statement was not produced at an earlier date, as it would have been more creditable to himself, and more satisfactory to the public.

With regard to the conversation which he mentions as having taken place between himself and Miss Harrison, at Mr. Cutter's house, and on their way to West Cambridge, she told him, on the 11th of August, in presence of the other selectmen of Charlestown, that she was unconscious of everything, and that she therefore requested him not to recall the circumstances; that she could not be responsible for what she then said or did, &c. The same she has stated to hundreds of individuals since the destruction of the convent; and she has particularly contradicted, both to himself and to others, the assertion "that the step she had taken, was the consequence of dissatisfaction with her condition as an inmate of the convent; and that she had good and sufficient reasons for being dissatisfied, some of which she should never disclose." A happier person than she was, from the day she entered our community, there could not have been. Will Mr. Runey's daughter, if ever she recovers, be responsible for what she has said or done since the destruction of the convent?

Mr. Runey says, after conducting Miss Harrison to West Cambridge, "I called at the convent and communicated to the superior the facts as above stated, for which, and the services rendered to the nun, she politely thanked us." He saw Mrs. Mary Benedict, and mentioned every circumstance to *her*. I only went to him after he had been in our parlour a half hour; but I find he has not related the subject of *my* conversation, which might have proved of some importance to his readers, viz., That Miss Harrison had always been a person of delicate constitution, and that she had been pronounced by Dr. Warren, before we removed to Charlestown, to be consumptive—that she had for several days appeared to us very strange—that on the same afternoon I had told her that she looked very ill, and that I feared it was too much for her to be attending to the music, to which observation she replied by a burst of laughter, which by no means calmed my apprehensions. I told Mr. Runey I was sure, had she had her right

senses she would never have spoken to him and to Edward Cutter as she did; that I had never known her to give the slightest intimation of unhappiness, and being a person extremely candid and incapable of disguising her feelings, I could not have been deceived—that she was subject to a disorder in her head, and that she was particularly troubled with it in excessively cold and warm weather—that an emetic which she had taken some days before had affected her in an unusual manner, &c., &c.

I told Mr. Runey, if his daughter had come to me in such a state, that I would have acted in a friendly manner, and apprised him of the circumstance, before taking any decisive step. He objected to bringing her back to us—and Edward Cutter, when I afterwards made the same remark to him, said, he would never wish *his* daughter to be brought back to a *prison*.

Mr. Runey and the two daughters of Edward Cutter, called the day after Miss Harrison returned to the convent, and asked to see her. Our physician, Dr. Thompson, had ordered that she should be kept as composed as possible; and, on that account, she did not, for some time, see any visiters. This was well explained to the three individuals above named. They were the only persons who, requesting to see her, were refused; for she visited afterwards every one that called on her.

Mr. Runey says, in another place, "I had been to Boston with a copy of the above-mentioned report, for the press. On my return home, on arriving opposite the gate which opens to the main avenue leading from the road to the convent, I observed a large collection of people and carriages. My first impression was that some accident had happened. I soon learned, however, that they were consulting and deliberating respecting the affairs of the convent." I have since understood that the Hon. S. P. P. Fay, of Cambridge, and the Hon. Levi Thaxter, of Watertown, called on him, as well as on Edward and Fitch Cutter, that evening, and that all three assured them there was no danger to be apprehended.

If Mr. Runey was so unsuspicious of danger, why did he so earnestly press Miss Harrison, on the afternoon of the 11th of August, in presence of the other selectmen of Charlestown, to pass a few days at his house, or with her brother in Boston?

This remark is incorrect. "I soon heard guns or pistols discharged from the house of the establishment." There was a discharge from the labyrinth under the willow tree, made by the rioters, which served as a signal for their accomplices to collect; moreover, there never were any firearms either in the convent or farm-house.

When Mr. Runey offered me his assistance and protection, assuring me that I might depend on him as a friend, he says I refused to accept them, "for reasons best known to myself." These reasons were, that he himself had told me, after we removed to Mount Benedict, that it had been his intention to come with thirty men and tear down the house situated at the lower part of the hill. As soon as the Right Reverend Bishop Fenwick arrived at Boston, seeing that the health of the community was much impaired by their confined situation in the city, particularly that of Miss Harrison and another lady who died of consumption the following year, he thought it necessary to remove us from Boston before the convent could be built; and, in the mean time, we resided in the house which Mr. Runey contemplated demolishing, the first night that we spent under its roof: he was deterred from putting his design in execution by seeing me walk out on the hill that morning, and all the community doing so the next day.

On Saturday evening previous to the destruction of the convent, Edward and Fitch Cutter called at our parlour and requested to see me. It was after 7 o'clock, an hour at which visiters were not admitted, but at their solicitation, as they were labouring men and could not come at any other time, I consented to see them. They had brought the paper containing the piece about the "Mysterious Lady," supposing I had not seen it, which was not the case, several of the parents of our pupils having sent copies of the same paper that afternoon. I told them if that was the subject of their visit, I thought it quite a useless one, as they had been our constant neighbours, and, consequently, they were sufficiently well acquainted with our institution to know the absurdity of the piece which had been published. They expressed some apprehensions as to the consequences, and said they hoped, if anything occurred, their property would not be molested; that had they conducted as Runey had done, who, for eight or ten days, had given himself no rest, but had been industriously circulating the intelligence of Miss Harrison's temporary absence from the convent, (which extended only to twenty-four hours,) thus inflaming the minds of the lower classes of society; had they done all this, they would consider themselves unfriendly, and entitled to have their houses pulled down; that I might suspect Kelley, who kept a bad set of men; and Fitch Cutter, to prove to me

that he had nothing to do with him, assured me that he had never entered Kelley's house; but this same Fitch Cutter told Peter Rossiter that our institution was not a good one, and that it would be destroyed. It would not be my wish that the property of the Cutters, or any one else, should be molested: but I told them I could not answer that it would not be the case, nor can I do so at present. Knowing what their feelings were, I sent our man on Monday morning, to tell them that they could accompany the selectmen, on the afternoon of the same day, when they were to visit the convent, supposing it might be a satisfaction to them to find that it bore very little resemblance to a *prison*, as they had named it. Of their visit no mention has yet been made in any of the papers.

All the men whom we employed at Mount Benedict, were unanimous in saying, that Mr. Runey had no good feelings towards our institution; that he said it would never prosper, and that it would one day be destroyed. These men were employed by us at different periods, and I do not know where they could now be found, otherwise they might appear as witnesses of what I have asserted of them.

Understanding that Howard Fay, Esq., who had called at our institution on the evening of the 11th of August, had told Mrs. Mary Benedict that his father was not at home, I own that I thought it very singular that Mr. Runey should state that he had been at our gate. Judge Fay might have returned home after his son had called on us.

When Mr. Runey saw the danger in which we were, might he not have gone to the Navy Yard for assistance? Capt. English, who had a daughter with us, would have immediately turned out all the marines, and numbers of others would readily have offered their assistance.

I did accuse Mr. Runey, and, I think *justly*, of causing a delay in the publication of Mr. Cutter's letter. The Right Reverend Bishop Fenwick added a postscript, which was never inserted in the papers.

Mr. Runey observed that I said, should the nun that was in consumption die, I would consider him the cause of her death. I do consider him and Edward Cutter as the prime cause of our misfortune, on account of the unfriendly manner in which they conducted, in the case of Miss Harrison; consequently that they were the cause, not only of Mrs. St. Henry's death, but of the ill health of six of my sisters, which will not permit them, for several months at least, to discharge the duties they formerly did.

Several members of Miss Harrison's family, have been subject to fits of alienation of mind, (of which circumstance I was not aware before she became a member of our community;) therefore, the proceedings, in consequence of the turn which she had on the 28th of July, are most unjustifiable. I, however, wish well to Mr. Runey and his family. Whatever his feelings were, I was always a peaceable and friendly neighbour to him, as well as every one else; and though I have made the above remarks, justice to my community and duty to the public, have compelled me to do so.

I remain, sir, yours, &c.,

THE SUPERIOR
Of the Ursuline Community.

Brinley Place, Roxbury, Nov. 5, 1834.

SECTION IV.

From the Boston Transcript.

TRIAL OF THE CONVENT RIOTERS.

THE trial of the convent rioters commenced yesterday, at East Cambridge. The court decided that they should be tried separately, and John R. Buzzell, brickmaker, of Charlestown, was put to the bar charged 1st, with the commission of arson during the night time; 2d, with entering with intent to steal, having at the time in his possession a dangerous weapon; 3d, with breaking and entering with intent to burn. Each of the offences is punishable with death.

The district attorney, after opening the case, called as the first witness Mary Ann Ursula Moffat, otherwise called Mary Edmond St. George, the Lady Superior of the Ursuline Community. The lady appeared in court in the costume of her order, and closely veiled. One of the counsel for the prisoner (Mr. Farley) expressed a desire that she should unveil. With this requisition the witness hesitated to comply, but on being informed by the court that it was absolutely necessary for her to do so, in order that her voice might be distinctly heard, she reluctantly removed the veil from her features, and gave the following testimony, as reported by the Atlas:

I am the superior of the Ursuline Community in this state. I had the entire jurisdiction of the institution at Charlestown. Have held my present rank ten years. There was a school in our establishment, of which I was director. On the Thursday preceding the day on which the outrage was committed, I was told that the convent would be pulled down, and on the Saturday following, several papers were sent to the institution concerning the "mysterious lady." On

Sunday one of the selectmen of Charlestown called upon, and told me the convent would be destroyed if the "mysterious lady" could not be seen. By the "mysterious lady" I understood him to mean Miss Harrison.

On Monday the selectmen, five in number, came and were shown over the whole establishment. They remained three hours, and searched the building from the cellar to the highest apartment, looking in every box —even the paint boxes; also into all the drawers and closets. Two of the sisters went with me; one of these was the "mysterious lady," Miss Harrison. I do not know whether the out-buildings were examined. The selectmen went away at about six in the afternoon, and at a little after nine, I heard a great noise on the Medford Road, and distinguished the words—"Down with the convent!" I sent to tell the community that I thought we were in danger.

There were fifty pupils, from the age of six to eighteen years, and ten sisters in the establishment at this time. Two of the latter were novices. One of the sisters has died since. When ladies take the white veil as novices, they also assume a name different from that which they have borne in the world, and by this second name they are ever after called in the community. After I had alarmed the inmates of our house, I went into a room on the second story, opened the window, and asked the people outside what they wanted? I told them they were disturbing the peaceful slumbers of the pupils, some of whom were the children of their most respectable fellow-citizens. They then asked to see "the nun that had run away," and I went up to fetch her, but found her lying insensible in the arms of four of the sisters. She had fainted with fright. I returned to the window and told the people that this was the case. She was incapable of showing herself to them that night, but if they would come the next day, they should receive every satisfaction.

I also told the mob that the selectmen had examined our institution and were satisfied; but if they (the mob) were not satisfied, they might come on the following day and investigate for themselves; I said the report of the selectmen would appear in the Morning Post. They replied, that all I said was false; that they had one of the selectmen with them, and that he had opened the gate for them. They asked if we were prepared to meet them. I did not wish them to know that our male domestics had left us. The mob shortly after this went away, saying they would not return till Thursday, when they would pull down the convent.

Before they went, they had fired a gun from under a willow tree near the house. I told them at the time they were making a noise, shouting and screaming, that my sister was ill of a consumption, and that the state of alarm they had thrown her into would cause her death. They replied, "So much the better." My sister is since dead. When they were gone, I thought there was no longer any cause for apprehension, and told the pupils and sisters to retire to their dormitories. They had no sooner done so, than the men returned and began to break the fence to make a bonfire.

At this time Mr. Runey, the selectman, came up with another person and told me he did not think he could quell the mob, but if I and the pupils would throw ourselves on his protection, he would do the best he could for us. I told Mr. Runey, if he wished to show himself friendly to us, to go and tell the people to desist from breaking the fences. He said he would go and do all in his power to prevent them. About five or six minutes after this I heard renewed shouts of "Down with the convent," and I then told the pupils and sisters it would be best for them to get to the summer-house, but before the former had time to leave their dormitories, the mob commenced breaking the doors and windows.

I went to each of the dormitories afterwards to see if all the pupils had escaped. I called at every door and found that they were all gone. I then went down to my own room, in which was a drawer containing valuables, but when I opened the door I saw the mob had already entered. I turned to go away, and saw twenty or thirty men in the same passage with me; they were about ten or twenty feet from me. I then went to the summer-house, where I found about forty of the pupils, some in their fright having climbed over the fence and gone to Mr. Cutter's; I sent the remainder after them, and went myself to Mr. Adams's, whither all the pupils were eventually brought.

I never recovered any of the property of the institution, excepting a few articles of very small value. There was a desk in my room containing upwards of $1000. The desk was locked. The money was in United States notes and silver. It belonged to and formed part of the receipts of the institution. I had not accounted for it, because the time had not arrived for me to do so. I was the last person who quitted the house, and fully satisfied myself that none of the pupils remained in their dormitories.

Miss Harrison was called the "mysterious lady," in consequence of a paragraph

which appeared in a newspaper. She left the convent without my knowledge, on the 28th of July, at four in the afternoon, and was absent twenty-four hours. She was brought back by her brother and Bishop Fenwick. The bishop interfered, at my repeated solicitations. Miss Harrison's conduct was caused by weakness of mind, great debility and fever of the brain. These complaints resulted from excessive application to music. She gave fourteen or fifteen lessons per day, each occupying twenty-five minutes or more. When she returned she appeared much excited, and said "she knew not what it all meant." The property destroyed in the institution, was worth about $50,000.

The Spanish children, of whom there were three, had a great quantity of jewellery. Each pupil comes provided with a silver plate. There were four harps in the establishment, worth about 3 or $400 each; nine or ten pianos, three quite new, worth $350 to $370 each, and a harmonicon that cost $110. Our chapel contained articles of silver; a silver ornament was shown to the witness, and recognised by her as being the pedestal upon which the cross stood previous to the destruction of the institution: it was presented to the community, she said, by the Archbishop of Bourdeaux.

The court adjourned till to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

SECOND DAY—CASE OF BUZZELL.

The Lady Superior continued her testimony yesterday morning as follows:—

The community sometimes calls me *mother*, sometimes *president;* but usually '*ma mere.*' The words *divine mother* are never applied to me. Confessions are never made to me, but to the Right Reverend Bishop, or, in his absence, to some other clergyman. I confess to the bishop. The confessions are made once a week. We apply the word *divine* only to the divinity. I do not represent the Virgin Mary, but am considered in the light of a mother of a family.

Mr. Farley, for the defence: What is the nature of auricular confession?

The witness intimated that she thought the subject of auricular confession had nothing to do with the present case.

The court were of opinion that the question put by the learned counsel was a proper one, and ought to receive a reply.

Witness—We are bound to address ourselves to those ministers of the Catholic Church who are regularly ordained by the bishop to receive confessions. Auricular confession certainly means words addressed to the ear of a second person, but something always interposes between the ear of the priest and the lips of the confessing party. In our community a partition divided the individuals. The confessor is in one room and the penitent in another. The nuns never prostrated themselves on the ground to me or the bishop. They only occasionally asked his blessing. They are allowed to converse freely with each other. Two nuns never sleep in the same bed. There are hours of silence and hours of recreation. When confessions are made, pardon is proclaimed by the power which is given to us. The bishop repeats the words of pardon, but does not take upon himself to say that *he* pardons. I was born in Montreal, Canada. Two ladies who had taken the veil left our convent subsequently. Their names are Miss Alden and Miss Kennedy. I know Miss Reed, of Charlestown; she was in my community and left without my knowledge. She was only a pupil, and would not be likely to know all the proceedings of the nuns. She would know everything which took place during the time she was with us, excepting what occurred in the school-room. She was older than pupils usually are; her education had been neglected, and she did not like to go into the school-room. She slept in the same apartment as the nuns. She confessed slight faults to me as superior of the convent. We do not call those communications confessions, but declarations, or assemblies. They are made by all; and the superior, after hearing them, gives her counsel and advice. Miss Reed was received amongst us from motives of charity, was to remain with us six months on probation, and if, at the expiration of that time, we found her to possess strength of mind, courage, and capacity, she was to become a member of the community. If she had not these qualifications, we were to procure her reception in some other society. The nuns are allowed to read the Bible when and where they please. We have no rules to prohibit the reading of the Scriptures. No individual received from motives of charity ever became a member of the institution. Five or six pupils were taken from charitable considerations.

I discovered symptoms of derangement in Miss Harrison two or three days previous to her leaving us. She acted very extravagantly, wanted new instruments, and wished all the doors to be kept open. We soothed her and took great care of her. On the 28th July she left the house, and went to Mr. Cutter's. She afterwards went in a carriage with Mr. Runey, his wife and daughter, to West Cambridge. I do not remember saying anything to the mob about 500 Irishmen.

They asked if we were protected, and I said "Yes; by legions"—for I supposed the Celestial Court was looking on. I did say something about Irishmen to Mr. Cutter, on the Saturday previous to the destruction of the convent. Mr. C. told me he was afraid the mob would destroy the convent, and I then told him that if they did, "The Right Rev. Bishop's influence over 10,000 brave Irishmen, might lead to the destruction of his (Mr. C.'s) property, and that of others also. I said this without much thought. Mr. Cutter saw Miss Harrison and said he was satisfied, and wrote a piece for the newspaper saying that he was so. I saw Mr. Cutter, and another person, on the night of the outrage. They took me by the arm and tried to force me into Mr. Cutter's house. He said my life was in danger, and that if I would come in, every accommodation should be offered to myself and the community. I told Messrs. Runey and Cutter they had not acted a friendly part in hurrying themselves so much in this affair, and that I did not wish for their protection. I blamed them for having reported that Miss Harrison had left us, and for having received her when she came to them. These were my only reasons for considering that the gentlemen I have named acted in an unfriendly manner.

By the *Attorney-General.* Miss Harrison has frequently begged me since to receive her again. I wrote to her father, but got no answer from him. I then consulted with her friends, and finally consented to take her again into the establishment. Our community was supported by the profits arising from our school. We were out of debt; owing nothing for the land or buildings at Charlestown. We have no other fund than that created by our receipts for teaching. Females live in the community two years and three months before taking the black veil, and three months before taking the white veil. The vows taken are those of obedience to superiors, poverty, chastity, and separation from the world.

Mary Ann Barber, otherwise *Sister Benedict Joseph*, was next called. This lady is very beautiful. She gave her testimony with great clearness and self-possession, and her manner and language were those of a highly educated and accomplished female. I have been more than eight years in the Ursuline Community. I was in the convent on the night of the 11th Aug. Was awakened from sleep by the superior, who told me to dress quickly and arouse the community. I did so, and went afterwards to a window, from which I saw the mob, and heard them using abusive language towards the superior. They called her "a figure head, and said she was made of brass." The remainder of the witness's testimony was similar to that of the lady who preceded her, and which had been already before our readers. She identified a work-box and cross, as forming part of the property taken from the convent.

Miss Elizabeth Harrison, (otherwise *Mary St. John*, the individual who left the convent,) examined. I have been a member of the Ursuline Community for thirteen years. I was a teacher of music in the establishment. I did not leave the convent in consequence of any difficulty with the Lady Superior. The cause of my leaving was mental derangement. Had any one told me I should have done what I did, I should have thought it impossible. Everything was done in the institution to contribute to my happiness and that of the other inmates. I had never before felt any desire to leave the convent. I gave 14 lessons per day, and of 35, 40, and 45 minutes each. The witness further stated that her recollection of what took place after she left the community was very indistinct: she was bereft of reason.

Mr. Farley was proceeding to put other questions, when she suddenly covered her face with her handkerchief and burst into tears. Mr. F., under these circumstances, and considering what had been said respecting the witness's state of health, expressed his willingness to refrain from further interrogations. Miss Harrison was then suffered to retire from the court, which she did under the escort of the Russian consul.

The *Right Rev. Bishop Fenwick* was next called, and advanced to the clerk's table to be sworn. He objected, however, to the manner in which it was proposed to administer the oath, saying it was different from the form adopted on a previous occasion. He had no objection to be sworn in any way, but wished to know the reason of the alteration. Heretofore he had only been called upon to raise his hand; now he was directed to place it on the Bible.

The court informed him that Catholics were usually sworn on the Evangelists, and it was believed they considered that form more obligatory than any other.

The bishop repeated that he had no objection to take the oath in any way. He had spoken on this occasion because he believed a stigma rested on Catholics in relation to this matter. It was supposed that a Catholic would not consider himself bound by an oath unless sworn on the book. This was an error. The Catholic religion taught that an oath, administered in *any* way by

a magistrate in a court of justice was binding to the fullest extent.

The court had no doubt that the matter would be considered in this light by every intelligent individual; but with the uninformed class of persons it might be different. Both in our courts, therefore, and in England that course was pursued with reference to the religious belief of the parties which seemed most likely to conduce to the attainment of truth.

The bishop was then sworn on the Bible, and took the stand.

I went for Miss Harrison, in company with her brother. Found her at Mr. Cotting's, W. Cambridge. She appeared much excited. I considered her in a state of derangement. Her looks were haggard, her expression incoherent, and she laughed and cried almost in the same moment. My object in going for her was to take her to the convent, clothe her properly, and send her home to her friends. I presumed she left because she was dissatisfied with her mode of treatment at the convent. I proposed to send her home some days after she had returned to the convent, but she begged and entreated me to let her remain. I should think the property destroyed at the convent was worth between 40 and $50,000, exclusive of the personal property of the pupils. There was a house for myself near the convent, but entirely insulated from it. It was for me to retire to whenever I went out there, and in order that I might not incommode the performance of the community in their official duties. Part of my library, containing English, French, Latin, and Greek classics, was destroyed. It was my own property.

Cross-examined. The religious exercises of the convent are performed partly in English and partly in Latin. I attended there for every spiritual purpose. I have been bishop of Boston since 1825. I was formerly president of Georgetown College, D. C., and am a native of Maryland. I receive confessions, as any priest does. Neither bishop nor priests can marry. We wish to live as did the Apostles, of whom the bishops are the successors. The Ursuline Community here is the same, or nearly so, as the communities of the same order in Europe. A bishop cannot be a Jesuit, but a priest can. The priests subordinate to me are not Jesuits. I furnished certified copies of the Bible to two courts in this State. We hold, as I said before, that any oath prescribed by a magistrate is binding: that the essence of an oath consists in appealing to God, and that it is equally obligatory whether taken by raising the hand, or by touching the book. The members of the Catholic faith may have Bibles if they choose to purchase them, but we discourage them from reading any but our own. We do not consider the Protestant version a correct one.

The Catholic religion has never prohibited the use of the Bible as a general rule. The clergy have only exercised a discretionary power in relation to it. If they thought the persons under their charge were abusing the Bible, they then denied them the perusal of it. (On being asked by Mr. Farley what he meant by abusing the Bible, the bishop replied.) Suppose you were a member of the Catholic Church, and I knew you were in the habit of reading the Bible for the purpose of attempting to disprove its truth; using it as a handle to destroy the faith of others; I would say that you must lay it aside, because you were abusing it. If you would not obey me, I could do no more but warn others against your company. I should wish every member of the Catholic Church to have a Bible, but I should be sorry to see children or young persons reading certain parts of it. The Jews of old prohibited parts until their children arrived at a proper age. The nuns of the Ursuline Convent are at liberty to use the Bible, and have it. In speaking of "certain parts" of the Bible, I do not allude to the doctrinal parts. I will not mention the parts I mean, lest I should provoke curiosity to read them. I object to their perusal by children on the score of morality. When I saw Miss Harrison at Mr. Cotting's, she did not express any dissatisfaction in relation to her treatment while at the convent.

Warren Draper, the reporter for the Mercantile Journal, and a member of the fire department, described the events of the night of the 11th of August, as they came under his observation. He stated that there was a search made by the rioters throughout the whole building, in order to ascertain if they and the children were in safety before fire was applied. Some even went out upon the roof to be certain in this respect. There was a crowd of about three hundred men standing round the front entrance of the building, and responding to the shouts of those who were engaged within. The firemen who were present frequently remarked, that if they were certain this crowd was not connected with the rioters inside, they, (the firemen,) would be strong enough to secure the latter parties, and save the building. The firemen could not act without the direction of a magistrate from Charlestown. None of the police of Charlestown were present. Witness did not see so much as a tipstaff until all was over, when he heard one of the latter *corps* order a little boy to go home.

Mr. Hooper, one of the selectmen of Charlestown, gave a description of his visit to the convent, which he said he found in perfect order. He was satisfied with everything he saw there. He also described what he witnessed of the destruction of the building. Mr. H. was followed on the stand, by Mr. Thaxter and Judge Fay, gentlemen who had daughters in the institution, and who spoke highly of the manner in which it was conducted. They had both heard of the excitement in relation to the convent, and apprehending danger to their children, drove thither in a chaise. This was on the 11th of August. On reaching the convent gateway, they found it occupied by several individuals who were conversing together. They (the witnesses) stopped and talked with them, and while so engaged, a man, they believed to be the prisoner at the bar, rushed into the middle of them, and said, "he had beat one Irishman, and was able to beat as many more as they could bring three at a time."

Mr. Thaxter could not positively identify the prisoner, but Judge Fay was more certain. He said the man was in his shirt sleeves, and appeared like a brickmaker, being bespattered with clay. He (the prisoner) alluded to one of their (the convent) Irishmen, whom he had whipped near the canal, and said, turning to a bystander, "Didn't I trim him well?"

The court here adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

THIRD DAY.

The court opened this morning, and the evidence of Judge Fay was continued from yesterday, and concluded. Messrs. Fitch Cutter, David Kelly, George R. Barrett, John Kuhn, Richard Osborne, and George H. Sisson, (a lad,) were the principal witnesses examined, none of whom swore positively to the identity of Buzzell, the prisoner. About 4 o'clock, P. M., Henry Buck, the states' evidence, was called upon the stand, and swore positively to the identity of the prisoner, as being a leader, and related the particulars of the transaction previous to the main building of the convent being entered by the rioters. The court then adjourned to 9 o'clock Friday, when the evidence of Buck will be continued.—*Briggs' Boston Bulletin of Thursday.*

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From the Boston Daily Atlas.

TRIAL OF THE CONVENT RIOTERS.

Supreme Judicial Court.

Cambridge, Dec. 4, 1834.

CASE OF BUZZELL.

Judge Fay, cross-examined. (We had not space in our last number to give the evidence of this witness so fully as its importance warranted, and omitted to mention that the man whom Judge Fay alluded to as having said that he "whipped one of the convent Irishmen," also refused to give his name, and instead of telling it in reply to a question from Judge Fay, made use of certain obscene words. Judge Fay also stated that after he had left the party assembled in the convent gateway, he made inquiries, in order to find out the name of the man who whipped the "convent Irishman," and was told it was Buzzell.) The men in the gateway were talking about convents, and one said, "If the Catholics get the upper hand of us they will crush us to the earth." The tall man, (he who spoke of fighting with the Irishman,) said they "knew him well enough up there, and they should know more of him soon." It is my impression that by "up there," the man meant the convent. I am not absolutely certain as to the words used, but am quite sure he alluded to the nunnery.

Fitch Cutter, of Charlestown, examined. I live within eighty rods of the convent, nearly opposite the gateway. I heard some persons talking there. Heard one person say to another, "Mr. tall man, what is your name?" A reply was made but I cannot repeat it here. I thought the voice of the man who replied to the question was that of John R. Buzzell. I have known him about a year, and have frequently heard him speak. I was at my chamber window. The window was open. A neighbour, who came to me afterwards, asked me if I heard Buzzell give his name to Judge Fay. I told him I heard what Buzzell said; and asked him if he knew what it was. He said he did, and told me the very words that I had heard myself.

Judge Shaw here said it was of importance that the precise words should be known. Several ladies, however, being in court, the witness was directed to write upon a piece of paper what he had heard, instead of stating it from the stand. This was done, and the paper passed to Judge Fay, who also wrote upon it the reply made by the "tall man;" it was then handed to the jury. We believe the words written by Judge Fay were the same as those written by Cutter. There were about eight persons talking with Messrs. Fay and Thaxter. It was pretty light, but not so much so that I could recognise any one by sight. I do not remember hearing any other words than those I have mentioned. I did not go out of my house till 12 o'clock that night. There was about a thousand people at that time.

They had been coming together since nine. I had no idea of that being done which was done. I did not retire to bed, but sat at my window till the bonfire was kindled. I sat from nine till twelve, without lifting my hands to stop the proceedings of the mob. I had heard that there was great excitement existing on the subject of the convent. One of the nuns came to my house. I am the brother of Edward Cutter.

Dr. Thompson called. I attended an Irishman named Rosetter at the convent, I think it was in July; he was a good deal beaten, much bruised about the face and breast; his breathing was seriously affected. Prior to the 11th of August, I was also in attendance upon a sick nun, Mrs. St. Henry. She was suffering from pulmonary consumption. Her death was hastened by the shock received from the events of the night above mentioned.

Cross-examined.—Her disease was more active after the alarm she had sustained. Her strength sunk more rapidly than it had previously done. She was carried out of the convent that night under the influence of great terror. Her whole system was in a state of tension; she lay in a cold rigor all night. The next morning I found her powers extremely prostrated. The afternoon previous I had been with her. She came into the music-room and sat down by me. She was cheerful, and I told the superior it was very probable she would continue through the winter. The nerves in cases of consumption are not more sensitive than ordinary, rather less so. The shrinking up of the skin was in this case caused by the night air and terror. I am not aware that terror ever operates excepting through the nerves, but through them it acts upon the extreme vessels and produces rigor.

Joshua B. Stearns.—I live in the second house from the convent and next door to Kelley. I know Rosetter, one of the Irishmen of the convent. I was within thirty feet of him when he was knocked down and beaten. I was in my garden, and he came to ask me for some plants. Buzzell came up with some others, knocked him down, threw himself upon him and beat him after he was down. I immediately left my garden, but before I could reach the parties, Buzzell had got up and walked off. Rosetter was much injured. There was a large bunch upon his temple, and blood was flowing from his mouth. When I speak of Buzzell, I mean J. R. Buzzell. He did not say a word—gave no reason for beating Rosetter. The affray took place in the high road. The canal is about fifty rods from the spot.

Peter Rosetter.—I am an Irishman. Have been two years in the convent. I was beaten some time in last June by the prisoner at the bar. Never spoke to him before, and do not know what I was beaten for. I was talking to Joshua Stearns when Buzzell came up, said something about some women and knocked me down; he then got upon me and beat me as much as he pleased.

Cross-examined.—Two or three ladies were crossing the convent grounds the evening before in order to get into the turnpike-road. The superior told me to bring them back and direct them to go the same way they came. I went towards them, when two of them got over the fence, but the other, who was not spry, remained behind. I took hold of her arm to talk to her. She seemed alarmed—made a noise, but did not scream out. I let her go and she went away. We keep a dog, but I did not set him at her. The dog did not go after her. I did not hear her cry for help. She might have done but I "disremember" it. I did not apply to any magistrate for a process. O! yes I did, I just only talked to Justice Soley. I went merely to talk to him. Did not apply for a process. Might have been in the notion of it. It was not what I did to the ladies that prevented me from prosecuting.

The witness was here asked by Mr. Mann what reason he had for going to Justice Soley if he did not intend to prosecute, when he replied, "I think that a very mysterious question; I am a stranger; am out early and late, and did not know where these fellows might meet me; so I just went to Squire Soley's to talk to him about it. Went merely out of curiosity."

Col. Elbridge Gerry, of Stoneham. Was present during the greater part of the night of the 11th of August. When he first reached the convent, there were about sixty persons there. They tried to lift the door from its hinges, but not succeeding, broke it to pieces. They then called "to order," and formed themselves into a ring in order to make arrangements for attacking the building. Some proposed to discontinue the attempt that night, as they were not properly organized. They thought they had not help enough to do the thing in a proper manner. Others swore the institution should come down then, and proposed to make a bonfire with tar-barrels, which would produce an alarm of fire and bring a sufficient number of people together for them to go on with it. A tall man and three or four more then went off and returned shortly afterwards with some tar-barrels, which were then set on fire. Never saw the tall man before or

since until I saw him in this court at a previous examination. I then thought I recognised him. On the night of the fire, he had on either a light-coloured frock or was in his shirt sleeves. He was dressed like a brickmaker; his clothes had clay on them. Prisoner of the bar is the man as near as I am capable of judging. It might be as late as 10 o'clock when I saw him.

Edward Phelps confirmed the testimony of the last witness.

Richard Osborne of Charlestown.—I know Buzzell; have heard him called by that name, but have also heard him called "old R."—don't think I ever heard him so called before the burning of the convent.

David Kelley.—I know Buzzell; have heard him called "tall man" and "old R." since the convent was burnt.

George R. Barrett, was present at the time Judge Fay spoke to the people under the archway. I heard a man tell him what his name was. The man used vulgar language and said he was ready to be the first to break in the door, "and then," said he, "we will make some fire with some tar-barrels on the hill to give a light for the Boston boys." I heard him say, (pointing to a house below the convent) "Call there for old R., he is on hand for Thursday night." The man who said this had on a tarpaulin hat and was without his coat, and I believe his vest. There was mud on his hat, and I thought he looked like a brickmaker. The prisoner at the bar is the man. I was close to him and looked full in his face. I am sure he had whiskers.

George Sissons corroborated the testimony of the last witness, but was unable to identify the prisoner.

Henry Buck, an accomplice in the destruction of the convent, but who has been received as state's evidence, was next called. —I came from Claremont. N. H., and resided nearly two months with Captain Adams of Charlestown. I knew the convent was to be burned a fortnight before the event took place. Soon after Miss Harrison left, this was threatened by a good many people, who met to talk over the matter. They met at the school-house. The first night there were not many. The next night there were thirty. At the first meeting there was a talk of getting help to do it that night; but it was not done. They determined on notifying others. The second night the discourse was much of the same character. I saw Buzzell at the first meeting, but not at the second. He might have been there and I not see him. At the second meeting they wanted to destroy the convent at once; but Kelly recommended them to wait three weeks, and if Miss Harrison was still detained, they would at the expiration of that time liberate her by force. Nothing was done till a fortnight afterwards. On the night of the fire I went down about 9 o'clock; there was a large assemblage of people. Buzzell seemed to be at the head of them, and had a large stick in his hand. He told them every now and then, to give three cheers, which was done. They then said they would bring a tar-barrel, and set fire to it, which would raise the engine companies, and there would then be enough people to go on with. This was accordingly done. The tar-barrel was brought, and Kelly told them to build the fire on his ground. He afterwards directed them to get a light from his house to kindle the fire with. They pulled down the convent fences and heaped them on the tar-barrel. The bells were then rung, and the engines came altogether and stopped against the convent. They (the witness did not specify whether he meant the enginemen or the mob) began to throw stones.

The court then adjourned to this morning, at 9 o'clock.

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Cambridge, Dec. 5, 1834.

CASE OF BUZZELL.—CONTINUED.

Henry Buck, the state's evidence, continued his testimony. When the engines came up to the convent, the court was full, and they (not the enginemen) began to throw stones, and break the windows with clubs. Two men went into the house, through the windows. The doors had not then been broken. Some of the people went on the top of the house. The crowd on the outside then jammed the door open. They used pieces of wood taken from the stairs and banisters of the chapel. Several (40 or 50) went in and began to throw out the furniture. I went in and helped. I saw a desk broken to pieces. Saw Buzzell in different parts of the house. He helped to slam the doors down, and told the rest to "Go ahead, and down with the convent." He had a piece of wood in his hand. I did not speak to him, nor hear his name called. Lights were brought soon after the doors were broken. One light (a torch) was brought from an engine. There were candles in the building, and these were lighted from the torch. Did not see Buzzell with a light. The people then went round the building. I stayed nearly an hour, by which time the convent was on fire. The papers found in the building were piled up in the middle of the rooms, and fire put to them. A great many books were also burnt. They

were thrown on the fire. Do not know whether the Bible was among them. Fire was applied in four or five different parts of the building. Did not see Buzzell setting the fire. Did not hear any of the selectmen tell the mob to go away. Fires were made in the lower part of the building, and also in the third story. The first I saw was in the chapel. Saw a great many put things in their pockets. Do not know what the things were. Saw one fellow take a watch. They broke open a writing desk, which, I think, contained drawing materials. Know nothing of any silver vessels or money having been taken. The clubs were principally used to break open the inside doors of the building. I saw Buzzell again, after the building had been set on fire. He was in the yard. There was another fellow taking fire towards the building adjoining to the convent, and some one called to him "not to set that building on fire." The man got into the place, and an engineman then called to him to put the fire out, and asked him his name. The fellow on the inside then got out of the window, and was going off, when the engineman called out, "Stop him." The other then cried for help, upon which Buzzell came up and said, "Don't meddle with him." Did not hear Buzzell called by his name in the building. Did before he went in. I spoke to him at the beginning of the affair. Asked him if there would be any more men there that night, and he said. "Yes, the folks would all come as soon as they saw the tar-barrel." There was a good deal of female clothing burnt.

The witness was cross-examined at great length by Messrs. Mann and Farley. Their object was to show that his testimony was wholly unworthy of credit. They brought out the fact that he had broken jail at Concord, after having previously given his testimony at Charlestown and before the grand jury. He states his age to be nineteen. At one of the meetings, preliminary to burning down the convent, he said he observed a man named *Cutter*, who was appealed to, and gave advice. Messrs. Fitz and Edward Cutter both came forward during the day, but the witness said neither of them was the individual to whom he alluded. The only man he knew at the school-house meetings was this man named Cutter. He (witness) agreed to pull down the convent with the rest. He helped to pull up the fence. Did not see Buzzell bring a tar-barrel. He (witness) helped to throw out the desks, chairs, &c. Threw out a harp. Saw Buzzell throw out the furniture, and help break the doors. Witness had nothing to do with the fire. Saw a man named Spear in the road. Don't think I saw him in the building, or throwing stones. (Mr. Mann here stated, in reply to an observation from the court, that Spear had been confined in jail three months, in consequence of the witness having testified against him as having been concerned in the destruction of the convent. This was also the case with several other individuals.) The second meeting at the school-house took place on the next evening after the first.

Lorenzo Birbank confirmed the testimony given yesterday by *Fitch Cutter*, as to the vulgar language used by some person to Judge Fay, on the evening of the 11th of August. Witness thinks the person who used this language was Buzzell. Can't say positively whether he thought it was Buzzell's voice at the time. Asked Cutter on the following morning, if he heard what *Buzzell* said, in reply to Judge Fay, when the latter put the question, "Mr. tall man, what is your name?"

Forrest Littleford. I think I saw Buzzell on the night of the fire. He had on light trowsers, and was in his shirt sleeves. Did not think himself more active than the others. Think I heard him tell the people to wait fifteen minutes, and he would fetch a tar-barrel.

James Hogan. Was with Littleford on the 11th August. Confirmed the statement of the latter, as to the dress of the "tall man." Heard the tall man tell the people to wait fifteen minutes. Saw him afterwards bring a tar-barrel, which he carried in front of his person.

James Logan was present at the burning of the convent, and went from room to room with the rioters. Went for the purpose of affording what assistance he could to the women and children whom he knew to be inmates of the building. Saved $400 or $500 worth of property, consisting of four sets priests' vestments valued at $100 per set, two silver candlesticks, and some other articles. Delivered the whole of the property to Bishop Fenwick. (This witness was rather choleric, and answered very sharply some questions put to him by the counsel for the defence, respecting confession.)

Walter Balfour described what he saw of the events of the night of the 11th. Witness lives in Charlestown; his father is a minister; not a settled one. Went to "see if he could find any one to tell of," and if he could do any good. These, on his oath, were his only objects.

Cross-examined. I saw about 150 individuals in the building when the fire was first set. Did not presume that any one

could be there like myself as a spectator. Thought all enginemen, as well as the others, were there for a bad purpose.

The case for the government would have closed here, but for the absence of two witnesses named Freeman and Miller. *Capiases* were issued against both these parties.

Messrs. Fay and Thaxter were recalled by the counsel for the prisoners, and stated that they had never been into the school at the convent. They had always, when they called upon their children, seen them in the parlour of the institution.

(From the manner in which Rosetter, the Irishman, gave his testimony yesterday, it may be supposed that he lived in the convent. This was not the case. We are desired to state that the male domestics always resided on a farm detached from the institution.)

We noticed a juror asleep on his post yesterday, and perceived him dozing again to-day. His name will be forthcoming, should this conduct be repeated.

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From the Boston Centinel, December 11.

TRIAL OF BUZZELL FOR ARSON, ETC.

At the opening of the court at the usual hour, yesterday morning, Mr. Austin rose and commenced his reply on the part of government.

The trial, he said, which was now drawing to its close, had been protracted to so unusual a length that he should tax the patience of the jury and the honourable court as little as possible. The present case was important to the prisoner, but at the same time it was vastly important to the country—it was important in a twofold degree to the jury he addressed.

The crowd who attended as spectators doubtless looked upon these proceedings as the trial of John R. Buzzell. "I speak it respectfully," said the learned gentleman, "you, yourselves are now upon *your own trial*. The events of this transaction will be recorded in the history of the country; and its remembrance will live as long as that history is read by the world. The issue of this trial will show how far the people of this country are competent to the task of self-government. It will be ascertained by your decision whether the tribunals of justice are to be temples consecrated to truth, or whether their solemnity is to be influenced and swayed by the dictates of prejudice, ignorance, and popular despotism. It will be seen how far your integrity may be relied upon; and though I have no wish to impeach your courage and honour, I beg to impress your minds with this consideration.

You are placed, gentlemen, in a responsible, and, I will admit, a delicate situation; but you have all sworn that you entered on your duty with minds unbiassed and prepared to decide according to the law and the testimony submitted to you; yet so difficult is it to separate from our minds preconceived opinions, that my learned friends have both of them admitted that your responsibility in the present case was so great as to make it almost impossible for you to give an impartial verdict.

With regard to the opening remarks of the learned gentleman's address to you yesterday, it is not strictly true, as he asserted, that the prisoner's life actually "rests in your hands." This court has no power to award and execute a sentence of death. It has not the same extent of jurisdiction as the United States Circuit Court, so far as to appoint the time of execution. And it rests with the Governor and Council to determine the fate of any prisoner tried in this court, except determining whether the evidence and law submitted to you proves him guilty of the offence with which he is charged; you are no more concerned with his after fate than the officer who arrested him, and the turnkey who keeps him in custody.

I confess, gentlemen, that I have been in no small degree shocked at some sentiments, which I have elsewhere heard expressed in relation to the outrage at Charlestown, and which must also have reached your ears. In my own opinion, the act unites every shade of the deepest depravity and the most deliberate wickedness. It was burglary, incendiarism, plunder, sacrilege, and murder; it was executed with the most fiend-like deliberation—without one sufficient motive to justify the parties concerned in any act of violence; it wanted not any circumstance to make it appear in any other light than one involving the double and triple guilt. Let me only ask you to visit the scene of devastation, and see the blackened ruins that testify to the atrociousness of the act.

The property in question was held by *** Mr. Foreman, in the same manner that you might hold your farm. A barren piece of land was taken, a suitable building was erected on it, and the ground was laid out with a beauty that any other but *Vandals* would have spared, from the taste that had been displayed on those grounds.

The inmates of this establishment, were feeble women, who were religious characters, and whose time was devoted to the most useful, most honourable, and most praiseworthy occupations of educating children. They exercised their charity, and

performed their innocent and useful duties under the sanction, and as they supposed, the protection of that article in the Bill of Rights that guarantees protection to individuals professing every shade of belief, in the discharge of whatever duties that belief enjoins.

The learned attorney-general then described in strong and graphic colours the whole outrage from first to last, which we should do injustice to compress, and have not room to give at full; suffice it to say, that every one present was strongly excited by the pathetic appeal which the learned counsel made to the humanity of the jury, their feelings of common justice and sense of right and wrong. His description and comments on the act of sacrilege was given in the most glowing colours. Nothing stopped the infuriated madness of the perpetrators of that act, in the execution of their infernal object. Not only property, but life fell before them; yes, life—death ensued to one of the sisterhood—and a murder thus crowned the perpetration of burglary, incendiarism, sacrilege, and plunder. What is murder, gentlemen, but the feloniously taking away the life of an individual; and whether the victim of the outrage lingered a day, a week, or a month, it would be hard to disprove that her life has been feloniously sacrificed.

These circumstances are all black enough in themselves; but beyond these circumstances, the honour of the country has received a blow from which a century will not recover it. In the eyes of other countries we must seem to be retrograding instead of advancing in civilization; and to have gone back half a century instead of being additionally enlightened. We talk of liberty, and equal rights, and exercise the purest despotism that was ever practised; we show ourselves at the same time cowards as well as villains. What, gentlemen, can partake more of the vilest cowardice than an attack, such as this was, upon helpless women and innocent children? Where was the chief magistrate of Charlestown? he came to the spot, it is true, and returned to his house. Yes, however galling the reflection is, history must record that no police, no watchmen, no magistrate interfered to stop it. It must remain, unless you decide otherwise, the deepest stain that the reputation of our country will have to bear; aggravated, without measure, by its perpetration on the very spot consecrated to the rights of the community and the liberties of mankind—by that glorious monument which is raising its head to record the noble acts of the gallant spirits who stood out for the freedom of their country. Should you—when your hearts are warmed with the recollection of those acts, and all their inspiring associations are rising in your bosoms—be asked what the other monument, frowning in its desolation on the adjoining eminence, recorded—surely the chill of fifty winters would not come with so great a blight upon your souls.

After a few more remarks to the same effect, Mr. Austin proceeded to review the evidence of the witnesses, observing, previously, that the disconnected testimony of several of them, as to the expressions that the prisoner had used, so far from shaking the testimony, was confirmatory of it. Persons from the north and south united in stating that he did use such expressions, and none but an infidel could refuse his belief to such a union of testimony. He repeated it, the discrepancy of testimony on this point was the strongest additional proof. There were six gentlemen before him, occupied in taking notes of the remarks that were, at that moment falling from his lips; my word for it, said the learned counsel, no two of the reports of those gentlemen will exactly correspond; but, in substance, they will doubtless be the same; and if such a case as that is not strong enough to convince your judgments, I have only to allude (presuming that I am addressing twelve Christians) to the circumstance that the inscription on the cross of our Saviour was differently interpreted by each of the four evangelists who wrote the history of his life and sufferings; yet who that had the happiness to believe in such a cross and such a Saviour, would have the misery to doubt it from that immaterial discrepancy? And will you bring to this case, what you would refuse to admit in matters of religion and conscience.

Mr. Austin then reviewed the evidence very minutely. In speaking first of the Lady Superior's he remarked that it had been said that she was brought on the stand to "produce effect." Yes, such effect that an intelligent. veracious, and honest witness could not fail of producing in their minds. In reference to her speech to Mr. Cutter, about 20,000 Irishmen being prepared to retaliate any outrage on the convent, it was the mere language of nature, "If you attack and demolish my property, I have friends who are prepared to destroy yours." But had the bishop started his 20,000 Irishmen—where were they? The answer of the Lady Superior amounted to nothing more than the natural language of retaliation, pronounced in the moment of excitement.

The testimony of the two other nuns were then considered; in the course of which the counsel remarked that when Napoleon suppressed the convents in Italy and France, he made an exception of those of the Ursuline Order, from their not partaking of the objections against the majority.

Burrell's testimony, relative to the prisoner's having whiskers, was minutely discussed—Mr. A. remarking that, with regard to his and others' recognition of the prisoner, his general appearance would make it difficult to forget him after one meeting, being tall, broad shouldered, &c., and the peculiarity of one feature, viz.: the thinness of his nose being an unfailing mark of recognition.

It is unnecessary to follow the government attorney through his examination of the other evidence. It tended to show that no doubt could possibly remain on their minds as to the prisoner's identity, and that the part he had taken had been a leading and prominent one. In concluding his argument at a quarter past three o'clock, he remarked that he had done his duty, and he only hoped the jury would do theirs better.

It was then announced to the prisoner, that if he wished to address the jury before the judge commenced his charge, the present was his time to do so.

The prisoner rose and was about to act on the permission, when Mr. Farley stepped up to him, and a short consultation between the learned gentleman and the prisoner resulted in the latter's declining to say anything.

Chief Justice Shaw then proceeded to charge the jury. He explained the statutes under which the prisoner had been indicted, and from this exposition we gather that Buzzell's life is safe as regards the charge of arson; it being necessary to constitute a capital charge that some person should be lawfully in a building at the time it is set on fire, which was not the case at the convent. In relation to the second charge, however, burglary, the prisoner is differently circumstanced. Judge Shaw declared the law to be in this respect as follows:—that if any person shall break into any house with felonious intent, armed with any dangerous weapon, or armed himself in the house, or shall assault any individual lawfully in said house, such individual shall suffer death.

We refrain from expressing any opinion whether Buzzell comes under this act, but leave our readers to judge for themselves by reference to the evidence which we have laid before them.

Judge Shaw will conclude his charge to the jury to-morrow.

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From the Boston papers of Friday.

TRIAL OF THE CONVENT RIOTERS.

At 10 o'clock the jury returned into court with a verdict of NOT GUILTY; upon which declaration a loud burst of applause escaped from the audience, and the house for a few minutes resounded with the claps and stampings of the assembly. Some of the officers sprang without the bar and arrested one John Flanders, and another person named Joseph M. Ford, who stood at the time near the bench,—both of whom were brought to the bar and put upon their oaths to answer for the offence. The first named stated that he was not aware of having committed any impropriety, and did not know the regulations of the court in this respect. Ford, when called to answer, stated that he was never in court before when a verdict was declared,—and seeing others doing the same that was done by himself, thought it proper. The court, under these considerations, and it being the first offence of the kind, ordered them to be discharged. At the same time Chief Justice Shaw remarked that any expression of applause or disapprobation made by any person present, on the declaration of a verdict hereafter, would cause such measures to be taken against the offenders as the law provided. The prisoner (Buzzell) was then discharged, and left the court-room. The attorney-general then renewed his motion to have the remaining cases continued till the next term, and urged as a reason the recent expression of the public feeling on the subject. This was overruled by the court, and Marvin Marcy, Jr., Wm. Mason, and Sargent Blaisdel were placed at the bar for trial, and informed that they had a right to challenge, *each*, twenty jurors peremptorily.

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From the National Gazette.

The acquittal of the accused in the trial relating to the destruction of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, and the manner in which it was received, are of as bad omen nearly as the heinous outrage itself. Some of the proceedings during the trial are fitted to excite surprise and disgust. It was not enough that the helpless nuns had suffered so much violence, loss, anguish, and general wrong, and that such enormities had been committed against the laws, public order, and the Catholic denomination, but the sufferers and their bishop, who

appeared as witnesses, were interrogated as if they were *the culprits;* and the bench tolerated interrogatories, of which the purpose seemed to be the detection of odium or iniquity in their religious faith and observances! It is probable that the rest of the accused will be acquitted in like manner, and thus the *perfection* of human management will be beautifully illustrated. It will only remain for the legislature of Massachusetts to refuse a pecuniary compensation,—and the manifold crime of the attack and devastation of the convent will survive in the highest and broadest relief, not merely unredeemed, but aggravated by the course and result of the judicial and legislative inquiries. The whole community of Charlestown must appear, to most readers of the attorney-general's statement, scarcely less guilty than any individual who was engaged in the sack of the institute.

SECTION V.

TRIALS AT CAMBRIDGE.

We insert, this day, an article from the New York Truth Teller respecting the trial of Buzzell for the destruction of the convent at Charlestown. Two others have been since acquitted, the jury could not agree upon a verdict in the case of a fourth, and they were discharged; and the exhibition was to have been continued upon the arraignment of a fifth,—perhaps also of others.

BURNING OF THE CONVENT.

Trial of Buzzell.

When we were first informed that the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown had been destroyed by a band of atrocious midnight assassins, its inmates—poor defenceless females—driven from their homes at the hour of midnight with "nothing to light them on their way but their own blazing dwelling," and pursued by the infuriated hellhounds who sought their lives,—when we were told that the magistrates of Charlestown, the municipal authorities had listlessly gazed upon the work of the incendiaries and midnight assassins, without making one effort to prevent the completion of their diabolical purposes, or to shield their victims from threatened destruction. When we were told that one of the sisters, a pure, youthful, and innocent female, just in the dawn of life, had been hurried to the grave by the dreadful scenes of that night, when she was carried in a state of insensibility from the couch of ease, where she was waited upon by friends, and comforted by those she dearly loved, into the open air, hurried to a place of refuge,—we endeavoured to appease our indignation in some measure by a consciousness, a hope that some of the ruffians who had destroyed the convent would be visited with the punishment they so richly merited. We did, indeed, think that the laws would make an example of every one concerned in the outrage, and every enlightened individual joined with us in congratulating when we learned that Buzzell and some other incendiaries had been indicted. The day of trial arrived; but previously handbills were freely circulated, threatening with the most severe punishments, nay, almost with death, any person who would dare to appear against the oppressors, the persecutors, nay, the murderers of Catholics. The various fanatic papers throughout the country, amongst which, as vilest of the vile, may be mentioned the infamous "Protestant Vindicator," with its demoniacal "stated contributors," took the greatest pains to prejudice the public mind, by assailing with the most [un]qualified abuse, not the Ursuline Convent and its inmates, but also all the Catholics in the Union. It was openly asserted that the nuns were of infamous character, that the convent was a dangerous and degraded institution, and that the oath of a Catholic was of no more weight than "*a puff of wind.*" In fact, everything was done by the infamous, impious, and fanatic bigots whose effusions will only tend to blacken their own character, to induce the public to think with them, that Catholics are not entitled to the protection of the law, and that every one should have liberty to slander their characters, destroy their property, or take their lives with impunity. It was said to the community, that every one who dared to profess the Catholic religion should not "only be chastised, but publicly executed," and be made an object for the abuse and insult of every one who differed from the Catholics in religious creed. All this, too, in a republican country, "the land of the free," all this in the United States of America, where it is declared by the Constitution that no preference should be given to one religion over another. All this in a civilized community, where men are supposed to have nobler attributes than those of brutality, but where we have long known many infinitely more degraded than the soulless beast.

The day of trial arrived, and the district attorney in opening the case to the jury, well convinced of the prejudice against the oppressed Catholics, and aware of the threatening handbills which had been posted up and circulated, endeavoured to banish from

the minds of jurors the dangerous influence which prejudice might exert over them, and to convince them of the importance and solemnity of the oath, which the exercise of bigotry might induce them to disregard and violate. He strove to impress upon them a proper regard for the rights and interests of the Catholics, as a great portion of the community, and to make them fully aware of the enormity of the offences with which Buzzell stood charged. The evidence adduced we need not recapitulate—suffice it to say, it was most clearly proved that Buzzell had taken an active part in the destruction of the convent, and manifested all the diabolical spirit in which that act was conceived and executed. The counsel for Buzzel—one Mr. Mann—in opening for the defendant, did not forget to appeal again to the prejudices which he knew were the only means by which his client could be saved; he did not forget that the corruption of the jurors might free Buzzell, if evidence and sophistry could not. He commenced an attack on the institution which had been destroyed and made this singular assertion, that if the institution had not been a corrupt one, "fifteen or twenty thousand citizens would not have suffered a few individuals to destroy it," and he asked: "Where was our boasted militia?" This assertion of the counsel of Buzzell proves (if, indeed, it proves anything) that the atrocious acts of the Charlestown incendiaries, were approved of by the public there, and was intended to impress on the jury, that if they convicted Buzzell, they would act in opposition to the wishes of their fellow-citizens. Mr. Mann also attacked the Catholics, and spoke lightly of the value of their testimony, thus following up the preconcerted plan laid out *even before the convent was destroyed.* Even this was not sufficient—Mr. Mann thought proper to slander the Irish, and very plainly told the jury, that his client could only be convicted by "*foreign imported testimony.*" Thus, this contemptible individual, without any justifiable reason, exceeded the duties of an advocate, merely to gratify his own bigotry and prejudices, or to pamper those of the jurors and the auditory. He had not sufficient ability or ingenuity to put the defendant's case before the jury, without indulging in the slander of Catholics, and defamation of the Irish people, so peculiarly acceptable to those around him. We need not follow him through his flimsy assertions —we come at once to the close of the cause, and here we must express our astonishment at the decision of the judge, which is considered by all the gentlemen to whom we have spoken on the subject, as an outrageous construction of a statute couched in the most simple language. The statute under which Buzzell was tried, provides that no person can be convicted of arson for firing a dwelling, unless some person be *lawfully* in the same at the time the offence is committed. An exception was raised that the defendant, Buzzell, could not be convicted, as the inmates had fled from the premises before the firing, to which the district attorney replied, it had been proved that *two individuals were in the convent at the time it was fired, endeavouring to save some of its furniture,* and consequently this case did not fall out of the statute. The judge decided in favour of the exception, and thus asserted that the individuals who were engaged in the convent endeavouring to save property from burglars and incendiaries, were not "*lawfully in*" the building. So palpable a misconstruction, nay, wilful perversion of the law we have not heard of for a long time. The jury retired to deliberate, and agree on a verdict; at night there were *seven* for conviction and *five* for acquitting; in the morning *ten* desired to *acquit* and *two* to *convict,* and, astonishing to relate, those two *changed their minds while on the way from their place of deliberation to the court.* This is, indeed, a most extraordinary piece of business—one which we know not how to account for, except by a firm conviction that improper influence was used over the jurors: and an unalterable belief that their verdict was given under fear or interest, and not as a result of a careful, unprejudiced, and honest deliberation. Nor was this the end of the strange occurrences during this remarkable trial: when it was announced that Buzzell was acquitted—a shout of applause came from the auditory, and immediately after, one of those wild fanatics who would rather "reign in hell than serve in heaven," and whose conduct is so well qualified to bring religion into disrepute, rode through the town exclaiming "he is clear; he is clear!" We cannot conjecture who this individual was, unless, perchance, he happened to be one of the "stated contributors" of the "Protestant Vindicator."

There was another indictment pending against Buzzell, and yet, contrary to the well-established rules of law, he was discharged from custody. On the whole, looking at this transaction, and examining it carefully from its very incipiency, we must ever consider it most unhallowed and infamous. Law was violated, equity forgotten, duty thrown aside, and nought reigned but prejudice, corruption, and bigotry. The laws were violated, and yet the violator was suffered to go unpunished; the dearest rights

of man were impaired, and yet no redress was afforded. Upon Charlestown and the Union must disgrace for ever rest, but there is something more important, more dreadful to be anticipated from the result of this trial. The Catholics, a body of people who have for years been made the butt of ridicule, and the sport of oppression, were deceived in supposing that here they would find the protection they desired, or the religious liberty for which so many of their creed died martyrs. They have a dreadful prospect in view, and look back upon a fearful example. An institution which they established, devoted to the holiest and best of purposes, consecrated to the living God, and occupied by females who had retired from the care and turmoil of this angry world, to dwell in seclusion and peace in the exercise of religion, and the enjoyment of its blessings, has been destroyed by the torch of the midnight incendiary. Females who lacked the will, even if they had the power, to make one struggle for the preservation of their lives, were driven by men, those mean beings

> ——— "who wear the forms
> And yet have not the souls of men,"

from their retirement, their firesides, and their homes, without a single voice raised in their behalf, unpitied, unaided, unprotected. Those who committed the outrage have been arrested, subjected to a mock trial, and sent away unpunished, thus informed by a legal tribunal that they are at liberty to persecute the Catholics at will, destroy their property, and even their lives with impunity. They are told that the oath of a Catholic will not be believed, that the sanctuary may be violated, the unoffending being murdered, the female ravished, the infant torn from the breast of its mother and offered up before her eyes as a sacrifice to fanaticism and bigotry, and yet the sufferer shall have no relief, because the Catholic oath is not to be believed. Good God! Is this to be credited? Are we still under the eyes, and before the bayonets of Orangeism? Must we lie down and let our enemies trample us in the dust, while our property is destroyed, our rights violated, and our blood poured out by the midnight assassins? We know that the enlightened Protestants look on this matter as we do. We know that the true American regards with indignation the manner in which the trial of Buzzell was conducted; we know that humanity shrinks aghast from such atrocities as have been suffered to go unpunished, and we regard with indignation, with sorrow, and with alarm, the proceedings by which laws have been violated with impunity, justice denied to those who craved and deserved it, and license given to the burglar, the robber, or the midnight assassin to accomplish his deeds of rapine or blood, nor fear punishment, if those whom he injures, robs, or assassinates, [are] guilty of the crime of being a Catholic. We dismiss this subject under the influence of feelings which we cannot overcome, and we can now only have the satisfaction of knowing that though man has countenanced the outrages which Buzzell has been permitted to commit with impunity, the great and omniscient Ruler of all things, he who searcheth the heart, and readeth the thoughts of man, will not suffer the guilty to go unpunished.—*Truth Teller.*

We have conversed upon this subject with several respectable lawyers, and citizens of other professions and of various sects, and have found a general coincidence in their views of this melancholy transaction. We shall wait the conclusion of the affair before we shall express our sentiments. Meantime we ask the attention of our readers to the following extract:—

From the Baltimore Chronicle.

One or two articles have recently appeared in the Baltimore Gazette from correspondents, charging the editors of the several daily papers of this city with being under Catholic influence. What benefit these writers propose to themselves or the community from the introduction of this subject into the papers, we know not, unless, indeed, they have been disappointed in enlisting editors in favour of their peculiar dogmas, and thus seek to prostrate the press to gratify their own feelings. Whatever may have been the motive for commencing this discussion, or from whatever source it have sprung, we pronounce the charge of being under *Catholic influence*, or religious sectarian influence of any kind, totally unfounded, so far as regards the management of the Chronicle. We have endeavoured to steer clear of all religious controversies; and are not conscious, that we have, in a single instance, done injustice to any denomination of Christians. Neither our pens nor our feelings have been engaged in the controversies which have been waged. We have left these matters to be conducted by those to whom they are more congenial, or with whom they possess more interest. If Catholics leave books for our examination, we notice them—and we pursue the same course towards Protestants—taking care, in our brief comments, to omit

everything that might savour of a sectarian feeling.

We deny that the writer in the Gazette, or the reverend gentleman who first made the charge, can make good their assertions in regard to this paper. The Catholics have never attempted to influence our editorial conduct; nor have we been partial in our course. We have treated them with the respect due to a large and honourable class of the community, and have recognised them as fellow-citizens, entitled to equal rights and privileges with others. We have refused to permit them to be assailed in our columns, on account of their faith and mode of worship, and have never been so bigoted as to believe that they have no chance of reaching heaven. Has our conduct been different towards other religious denominations? If it can be shown that we made "fish of one and flesh of another," let the aggrieved party prefer his accusation and adduce his proof: and if he will not shield himself behind an anonymous signature, he shall be furnished with a file of our papers to collate his evidence.

We repel the charge with indignation. It is untrue in every particular, so far as the writers intended to embrace this paper in their denunciation—and we apprise them that if they expect tame submission to their injustice in this quarter, they will be mistaken. They shall find that we are prepared to repel aggression let it come whence it may.

The attempt to compel the public journals of this city to assume a hostile attitude towards the Catholics, or to refrain from noticing their distinguished men and public authors, exhibits the very essence of intolerance. It would have better suited the age of Peter the Hermit than present times. We are republicans not only in politics, but in religion. and are totally opposed to proscription in either. We care not whether our neighbour be a Catholic or a Protestant —if his conduct be just and upright, and he do not improperly interfere in our concerns, we make no inquiry as to his mode of worship. Christ said "love thy neighbour as thyself;" but some of his present followers appear to think, that this injunction is not to be obeyed if the neighbour be a Catholic. In short, religious discussions are unsuited to the columns of a daily newspaper, and the attempts to introduce them by the writers above mentioned, exhibits more zeal than prudence—more bigotry than wisdom.

Upon the above we shall observe, that it is one of the best parallels that we have known of the fable which amused our childhood and instructed us in after-life. The wolf who complained that the lamb, who drank considerably further down in the stream, disturbed the water which he desired to sip above. The American press, forsooth, afraid of the Catholics! The American press under the dictation of Catholics! The gentle malcontents might just as correctly complain that the Charlestown burners were under Catholic influence.

There is a party in these states, which to the bitterness of the animosity of sectarian intolerance, superadds the arrogance of the most overweening despotism. Did our civil institutions permit the development of its spirit in its acts towards Catholics, we doubt that even the good will and kind feelings of the great body of our liberal fellow-citizens of other creeds, would be a sufficient protection for the objects of its hate and misrepresentation. We have by us some other documents upon this subject, to which we shall give early insertion.

SECTION VI.

THE PERSECUTORS.

In our paper of this week will be found the card of Mr. Buzzell acknowledging the protection and favour of his friends!!! We shall, without any further comment, add to it the following article from the New York *Truth Teller* of last Saturday:

BOSTON.—BUZZELL'S THANKS.

The following is copied from the Morning Post of Tuesday, Dec. 23d.

A CARD.—John R. Buzzell begs leave, through your paper, to tender his sincere thanks to the citizens of Charlestown, Boston, and Cambridge, for the expressions of kindness and philanthropy manifested towards him on his acquittal of the charge of aiding in the destruction of the convent; also, would gratefully remember the gentlemanly deportment of Mr. Watson, while imprisoned in Cambridge Jail.

THE URSULINE CONVENT.—THREATENED OUTRAGES.

We thought that the demoniacal feeling which urged on the Charlestown rioters to the demolition of the convent, had in some measure been allayed by the acquittal of Buzzell and his iniquitous companions, but we were mistaken—the feeling has acquired new fury, and the ruffians of Charlestown have put out handbills, copies of which we give below, and which were exhibited in

court during the mock trials which lately took place. It appears that the destruction of one convent was not sufficient to gratify the bloodthirsty prejudice of the rioters; there was no immediate murder or assassination to gratify their ferocious appetites, and they desire a renewal of the atrocious deed with new and additional horrors. The selectmen of Charlestown are informed by the incendiaries that "it is currently reported" a mysterious affair has happened at the nunnery, and that unless it is unravelled, the "truckmen of Boston will demolish the nunnery on Thursday night." In another handbill, a call "to arms" is made, and in a third, all persons giving information in reference to the late Charlestown affair are threatened with assassination, "according to the oath which bound the party to each other." This intelligence will, no doubt, prove gratifying to the kindred spirits of the Charlestown incendiaries in this city, and particularly the "stated contributors" of the Protestant Vindicator. But how can we describe the indignation with which all virtuous and honourable men—all the friends of order and law, and all the enlightened portion of this community look upon the apathy with which the authorities of Charlestown gazed on the threatening handbills posted in various places, and even distributed in the courts of justice. Scenes of bloodshed may soon be acted under their eyes. Catholics of every age, sex, and condition, may be assassinated in their beds; murder and conflagration may occur hourly, and humanity shrink aghast from atrocities which it fain would prevent; and yet they whose duty it is to enforce the law, look tamely on, adopting no measures to save Charlestown from disgrace, Catholics from outrage, and justice from the mockery of trials, where the judges and juries fear, or are unwilling to act honestly. The feelings of all who have looked on the Charlestown affair, devoid of prejudice, are similar to ours; the violation of law, the outrage on humanity, and the universal reign of prejudice, hatred, and malevolence towards Catholics during the whole period from the organization of the Charlestown incendiaries up to this hour, are as plain, palpable, and evident, that we are forced to denounce the impotence of law, or corruption of its principles, which shields the perpetrator of burglary, arson, and robbery from anything like punishment. We never supposed, until now, that such men lived to taint the atmosphere with their foul imprecations, or pollute this fair world by crimes of the most dreadful nature, in the sight of that heaven towards which the flames of the convent ascended, as if seeking to bring judgment on those who reduced the home of religion and peace to a pile of useless ruins. We wait the result of this affair, and as no punishment seems to await the incendiaries, earnestly hope that the horrid threats contained in the following extracts may not be carried into execution.

"GENTLEMEN—It is currently reported that a mysterious affair has lately happened at the nunnery in Charlestown: now it is your duty, gentlemen, to have this affair investigated immediately, if not, the *truckmen* of Boston will *demolish* the nunnery on Thursday night.

"Boston, Aug. 9th, 1834."

"TO THE SELECTMEN OF CHARLESTOWN.

"GENTLEMEN—Unless there is a legal investigation of the nunnery affair by Thursday night, August 14, it will be demolished by the truckmen of Boston. Take notice, and govern yourselves accordingly."

"GO AHEAD!

"To arms!! To arms!! Ye brave and free, the avenging sword us shield! Leave not one stone upon another of that curst nunnery that prostitutes female virtue and liberty under the garb of holy religion. When Bonaparte opened the nunneries in Europe, he found crowds of infant skulls!!"

(Printed—posted up on the old Charlestown Bridge.)

"All persons giving information in any shape, or testifying in court against any one concerned in the late affair at Charlestown, may expect assassination, according to the oath which bound the party to each other."

SECTION VII.

From the National Gazette.

PERSECUTION.

WE think it well to publish the subjoined parts of a letter addressed to us from a source at Boston, which we believe to be highly respectable.

"In common with yourself, the friends here of good order deeply deplore the outrage at Charlestown, and lament the want of success which has attended the laborious efforts that have been made to bring its perpetrators to punishment. While we feel extreme regret that the offenders are likely to escape, yet we entertain the most entire confidence in the purity, the impartiality, and the firmness of the tribunal before which the trials have taken place. Of the chief

justice, who has presided throughout, there is but one opinion in the community. His appointment four years since was hailed with general acclamations, and his judicial career has fully justified the presages then formed. Endowed with eminent abilities, his mind is imbued with a vast store of judicial learning, and embellished with an extraordinary stock of general acquirements. On the bench he is alike distinguished by his legal attainments, by patience, penetration, impartiality, integrity, and all other elements essential to high and responsible station; and it is not exaggeration to say, that no magistrate in this commonwealth ever enjoyed more universally the confidence and admiration of his fellow-citizens, or has more acceptably administered the functions of the office which he occupies, an office first in dignity and importance in our state. Under such a judge, to say nothing of his learned and able associates, it is not possible that the proceedings of the court in which he presides should be justly liable to such animadversions as is implied in your language to which I have referred.

"The misfortune in regard to these trials has been, that there was no power in the court to change the venue. The 13th article of our bill of rights provides that, 'in criminal prosecutions, the verification of facts in the vicinity where they happen is one of the greatest securities of the life, liberty, and property of the citizen'—and by our laws offenders must be tried in the county where the crime is committed. In the county of Middlesex, the public feeling has been so excited and misdirected, that although the outrage has been openly justified, yet the indignation against it has been so much qualified, and commingled with prejudices adverse to Catholic institutions, as greatly to impede the course of justice. The witnesses for the defence, too, have testified strongly; and though there might be an internal feeling of distrust, yet as their characters were unimpeached, there seemed to be no sufficient cause to reject their testimony. If witnesses falsify, human acuteness cannot infallibly detect the imposture; and unless the perjury is made manifest, courts must act on the facts as they appear in evidence. If there has been false swearing in these trials, we can only regret that this tribunal did not in a greater degree approach the perfection of omniscience; but the defect is not one belonging to this court alone, but incident to all human institutions. All persons who have attended these trials unanimously applaud the manner in which the court has conducted them; and if tribunals honestly and faithfully adjudicate cases brought to their cognizance, upon the evidence submitted, I am sure that you are one of the last persons to ascribe to them a want of fidelity or ability, because their decision might not comport with your own impressions or convictions."

It is true that we would not disparage court or jury, but we still think that proceedings were tolerated which would not be suffered in our tribunals in Pennsylvania. The following communication, from an observer eminently qualified to pronounce on the case, will show to our Boston correspondent the colour of general opinion in this quarter.

DESTRUCTION OF THE CONVENT.

In Connecticut a man has been sentenced to seven years' labour in the penitentiary for burning his own house and barn, while in Massachusetts a mob may burn and plunder a convent, devoted to the purposes of education, with impunity. It is thus safer in the latter state to destroy and rob a seminary of learning, inhabited by defenceless women and innocent children, than in the former to set fire to a barn filled with straw to defraud an insurance company.

But, horrible and disgraceful as the crime was, the trial and acquittal of the criminals is still more atrocious and alarming,—acquitted in the face of the most clear and unquestioned evidence. In the house and possession of one of the defendants, the plate stolen from the convent was found; and he acknowledged that he had brought home some of the pictures, and burnt them to avoid detection—yet this self-condemned wretch was not convicted! On rendering verdicts of acquittal, the hall of justice, *no longer such*, resounded with the savage-like applause of the surrounding audience, and liberal contributions were made for the *acquitted felons*. Nor was the examination of the witnesses, permitted by the court, less extraordinary than the verdict. On the question then to be decided, which simply was, were the accused guilty or not guilty of the offences charged in the indictment, what had the court or jury to do with the religious faith or observances of the bishop and nuns, who came to that court and put themselves under its protection, to *testify for the commonwealth, on its prosecution*, for an awful violation of *her laws and peace?* In no country affecting to be governed by laws, in no country pretending to afford protection to the lives and property of its citizens, has such a trial, with such an issue, ever been seen or heard of. I say nothing of the deliberate manner in which these crimes were perpetrated, and the apathy, if not the satis-

faction, with which it was witnessed by those whose solemn duty it was to arrest their progress at every hazard. The court, jury, and populace seem, in their different ways, to have made a common cause in this vindictive crusade of bigotry against this helpless little community of women and children, employed in the offices of education and charity—the court in the manner of conducting the trial, the jury by their verdicts, and the people in their applause, as well as by their apathy, if not connivance in the commission of the offence.

PROTESTANT.

SECTION VIII.

From the Boston Transcript of Wednesday.

THE CONVENT RIOTERS.

[FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT AT CAMBRIDGE.]

East Cambridge, December 31.

The court met at 9 o'clock this morning. The jury came in at 10 o'clock, and returned a verdict as follows: Marvin Marcy, *guilty;* Isaac Parker, *not guilty;* and in the case of Pond and Kelly, they could not agree upon a verdict. The attorney-general then informed the court that another indictment had been found against Parker, but that he should pursue the prosecution no farther: Parker was then fully discharged. The court then decided that Pond and Kelly might be admitted to bail in the sum of $5,000 each, with sufficient sureties. A motion in arrest of judgment, in the case of Marcy, was then filed, and argued by Mr. Farley, on the ground that it did not sufficiently appear by the record that the offence charged was committed within the commonwealth, and within the jurisdiction of the court.—This motion was overruled by the court.

Mr. Prescott also filed a motion for a new trial in the case of Marcy, for reasons, that during the progress of said trial the jury had separated, and had at different times, under the care of an officer, visited the barber's shop, where they had read the *Morning Post*, in which the evidence in the case was incorrectly reported. To this point the affidavit of the barber was produced, and also a statement, under oath, from Thomas Gill, Jr., employed as a reporter for the Morning Post, to the effect that the reports furnished by him to the paper aforesaid had contained misapprehensions of the case, and in addition, said reports had been in some instances misprinted. Mr. P. also produced the affidavits of several persons to show that part of the jury had, under the care of an officer, visited the glass works, where there was conversation respecting the trial, which might have been heard by them. Another ground taken was that Marcy was indicted together with Pond and Kelly, and therefore entitled to a new trial with them.

The attorney-general then moved that the court should not proceed to pass sentence, as there were other indictments against each of the prisoners which had not been disposed of, but that all the prisoners should be remanded, and await the further orders of the court.

Quarter before 2 o'clock.

The court adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning, to decide whether Pond and Kelly shall be admitted to bail, another indictment having been found against them.

SECTION IX.

INCENDIARIES.

THE opinions which we and some of our correspondents have expressed in relation to the trials at Cambridge, Massachusetts, of the convent incendiaries, have caused much scolding in several of the Boston papers. We beg leave to direct their attention to an article on the subject, which we have copied into our last page, from a Quebec journal, of which the editor is a Protestant. It is our intention to publish Judge Fay's letter, as soon as we can obtain room for it; his testimony is irresistible.—*National Gazette.*

From the Quebec Gazette.

NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES, POPULAR FEELING, MOB RULE, AND PARTY EXCITEMENT.

The late trial at Boston, for the attack, destruction, and burning of the Ursuline Convent, in the vicinity of that city, gives a melancholy picture of the influence of these prejudices and feelings. One of the accused has been acquitted by the jury: and it may be that his identity in the midst of a mob, in the night, was not sufficiently proved, and that he was properly acquitted, but the report of the trial shows the presence of national and religious prejudices, operating not only on popular feelings, but on men in the higher classes of society—men of a liberal profession, whose ministry is to aid in the cool and unbiassed administration of justice. When a lawyer, in the exercise of his profession, appeals to passion and prejudice, it is the priest turned atheist.

One of the counsel for the defence, a Mr. Mann, in his address to the jury, appealed to the prejudices of the jury and the audi-

tory, and endeavoured to produce witnesses to prove that "*Catholic*" testimony, that "*Irish*" testimony was not to be believed! In another part of his address, he states that an Irishman on the nuns' grounds was beaten by the prisoner, after an alleged aggression, and the counsel adds, the prisoner "showed him (the Irishman) how things of the kind were settled in this country." ("A low murmur of applause throughout the court," observes the reporter.) The counsel afterwards endeavours to impeach the character of the institution, and asks "whether, if the institution had been such as it was said to be, 15,000 or 20,000 citizens would have suffered a few individuals to destroy it. Where was our boasted militia? where the selectmen? (persons elected and having the power of justices of the peace.) They stood by, with their arms folded, and suffered the forty or fifty men engaged in the transaction to proceed unmolested."

Mr. Mann proceeds to tell the jury and the public, that the testimony of the Lady Superior was no more entitled to credit than that of the female *Irish* servant, who had appeared on the stand with regard to "Logan, the *Irishman*, who testified on Friday," whom he declares entirely unworthy of belief, &c.

Now, all witnesses who give evidence in a court of justice, high or low, rich or poor, testify under the same sanction, and are all *prima facie*, in the eye of the law, equal. The character of individual witnesses may be inquired into, their testimony may be sifted and contradicted: but it is not because they are Catholics or Protestant, Irish or of any other country, that their evidence is to be impeached. The character of individuals or institutions are never to be impeached on popular opinion, which is often founded on delusion and prejudice, as was clearly the case in this instance, and certainly not on the remissness of the magistrates to do their duty, in protecting the citizens from the violence of a mob. Mr. Mann, if he had not himself been under the influence of national and religious prejudices, however much he was bound to defend the life of his client by all fair and lawful means, would have recollected that the Saviour of mankind himself was condemned by national and popular delusion and clamour, and a notorious thief and robber preferred to him. Great as is the liberty to which counsel is entitled in defence of a client, neither the court nor the jury, in the presence of a manifested prevalence of such prejudices, ought to have suffered him to go on in such a line of defence. They exposed themselves to the imputation of being under the influence of similar prejudices, so fatal to that JUSTICE which they were sworn to administer.

But the conduct of the counsel for the prisoner is not all that is distressing connected with this trial, as indicating the prevalence of feelings destructive of the freedom and security of the citizens, public institutions, and the due administration of justice. A respectable newspaper of New York, of the 12th December, commenting on the testimony of a Mr. Cutter, one of the selectmen who visited the convent before the riot, and forced, in his search, it is not stated for what, the padlock of the vault where the DEAD of the convent were deposited, because it was *too rusty for the key to open it;* this selectman gives a different statement of some conversation with the Lady Superior, wherein, to deter threatened violence by a mob, she intimated that it might be followed by violence to Mr. Cutter's own property and that of others, from the excitement of "10,000 brave Irishmen," under the influence which the bishop had over them. Mr. Cutter makes her speak of "20,000 of the *vilest* Irishmen, at his (the bishop's) command;" and this evidence the New York paper alluded to says, is "calculated to startle reflecting men in this city even more than in Boston," as "in the opinion of an intelligent Catholic (the Lady Superior) the dignitaries of the Catholic Church possess such influence over a certain portion of a *foreign born* population domesticated among us, to be able to move them as one mass, for the purpose of vengeance."

The destruction by a mob, of a convent of Catholic females, self-devoted to the education of the youth of their sex, in the midst of a Protestant population, might well have excited people of that communion to vengeance, without the instrumentality of the bishop. But this opinion that the bishop might use his influence for such a purpose, was evidently the hasty expression of a weak woman, alarmed at being attacked by a mob, with a view to ward off the danger, and cannot be taken as evidence of the deliberate opinion of an intelligent Catholic, that the bishop had any such power over his charge, or any such intentions.

What was the fact? Although the Catholics in the neighbourhood are numerous, and we are disposed to believe the Lady Superior, in preference to Mr. Cutter, rather "brave" than *vile*, there was no vengeance. Whatever influence the bishop had over them was exercised publicly and immedi-

ately, for the cause of peace and forgiveness, and the support of the confidence of the injured, in the protection of the laws of the country. We therefore set down the remarks of the newspaper in question, as another proof of the prevalence of national and religious prejudices and party excitement, so contrary to American institutions and the equal freedom which it is intended they should secure to all that live under them.

SECTION X.

MASSACHUSETTS.

We are led, from the following extract, to conclude against the probability of any compensation being granted for the destroyed property:

"Legislative.—Mr. Sprague, of Bridgewater, presented the petition of Benedict Fenwick, and others, praying that they may be remunerated for loss sustained by the destruction of their property by a mob, on Mount Benedict, in Charlestown, and also that the same be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. Watts moved that the same be referred to the Committee on Claims: opposed by Mr. Chapman, who wished that it might be referred as prayed for, and gave his reasons; lost, by a vote of 147 to 186. It was then referred to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed. This vote was subsequently reconsidered, and the petition was, on motion of Mr. Cook, laid on the table."—*Transcript.*

We copy the following from the *N. Y. Catholic Diary*:—

"The impunity with which the Charlestown Convent was destroyed, it would seem from the following from the *Boston Centinel*, has emboldened the incendiaries to devise a similar demonstration upon the quiet retreat of the Ursuline Community at Roxbury. The prompt and energetic measures taken by the inhabitants of that place to put down such an attempt, places them in favourable contrast with their neighbours of Charlestown, and will no doubt prove effectual:—

"We understand that in consequence of the threats thrown out, that the rioters intended attacking and demolishing the house now occupied by the superior and nuns of the Ursuline Community, in Roxbury, the inhabitants of that town assembled at the Town Hall, on Tuesday evening last, which was filled to overflowing.

"After adopting some spirited resolutions, they chose a committee of vigilance and protection, consisting of twelve gentlemen, who, we are glad to learn, have taken such energetic and decisive measures, that should any person or persons attempt an outrage upon the building, now occupied by the Ursuline Community they will meet with such a reception as they deserve. This is as it should be, and we congratulate our brethren of Roxbury upon their promptness and decision on this occasion, which show that their hearts are in the right place, and that their hands are ready to act when their rights as citizens are threatened."

The *Boston Courier*, of the 16th inst., in its account of the proceedings of the Massachusetts House of Representatives of the day before, states:—

"A petition was presented from the Catholic bishop of this diocess, and others, praying for remuneration for the destruction of the Ursuline Convent by a mob. Some conversation took place in relation to the proper disposal of the document, but it was finally decided that it should be submitted to the Committee on Claims, and that the committee should cause the petition to be printed. Some time afterwards, however, this vote was reconsidered, on the ground that the Committee on Claims were already encumbered with numerous petitions, were likely to be still more so, and, of course, could not conveniently devote the requisite attention to a subject of so great importance. The petition was then laid upon the table."

"It is, we think, to be regretted that a petition of the kind was presented so early. A spontaneous movement in the legislature was desirable for the greater credit of the state. We can hardly conceive it to be possible that the petition will miscarry. Reparation is indispensably due, not to the immediate sufferers alone, but to the American character, and the cause of common humanity and justice. A distinguished gentleman of Massachusetts lately remarked to us, "I, and multitudes besides, would be very glad to *subscribe away*, as far as we could, the guilt and disgrace that now rest on our whole community."—*National Gazette.*

SECTION XI.

From the Boston Courier.

LETTER OF JUDGE FAY.

Sir:—Your paper of the 24th ult., contains an editorial article headed "Mysterious," in which, referring to the report of the trial of Buzzell, one of the convent incendiaries, you speak of the conduct of Mr. Thaxter, as "unaccountably strange," in

that, having children at the convent, and having been drawn there by rumours calculated to alarm his fears for their safety, and having seen at the gate a gang of "riotous and disorderly persons,"—having also been cautioned by one of them to take away his children, as "the convent would be destroyed on Thursday night,"—he should yet have gone home without seeing his children, or giving to them or the inmates, a word of caution or advice, &c. In a paragraph of your paper of the next day, you disavow any intention to impute to Mr. T. a want of parental affection, and observe that the remarks made in relation to him, were equally applicable to me. This is certainly true; and I am not surprised at the impressions made on your mind, or on the minds of others, who had no better information than what was derived from the imperfect reports of the evidence, as given to the public. As you have seen fit to express your wonder publicly, and in a way to excite the wonder of others, as well as to create doubts of the prudence or propriety of our proceedings, I feel called upon for the sake of Mr. T. as well as myself, to explain this "strange affair," and show the facts and reasons by which we were governed. I should have done this sooner, but for the hope that Mr. T. would have saved me the trouble, and for the intervention of occupations of a more urgent nature. If in doing so, I should furnish you a new cause of wonder, I beg you would keep it to yourself, or at least solve your difficulty by private inquiry, as I have a particular aversion to being forced into a newspaper. When I went with Mr. T. to the convent, on the evening of its destruction, I had heard nothing of any intended attack on it. Although, as I afterwards learned, such an intention was extensively known and talked of in my neighbourhood and elsewhere, yet the rumour had not reached me until Mr. T. brought it from Watertown. I very naturally regarded it as an idle rumour, and as I, living in the vicinity, had not heard of it, Mr. T. very naturally fell into the same conclusion. We however determined to go over and inquire into the matter. On our way we stopped at Mr. Runey's, whose house is near the convent. Mrs. R. informed us that her husband was with the selectmen, making up a report of the visit made by them that afternoon, which was perfectly satisfactory, and that he was expected back with it immediately. We then called on Mr. Edward Cutter, who gave us a history of his visit to the convent of the Saturday previous, of the visit by himself, the selectmen, and other neighbours, of that afternoon, and that all the suggestions and surmises against the Ursuline Community, growing out of Mrs. Mary John's leaving it, were fully cleared up—that they were all satisfied, and that reports to this effect were to be immediately published. I had learned the week before, from Mr. Runey, and that day by a paragraph in the Courier, headed "Mysterious," (a favourite title it seems!) that there was some popular excitement arising from a supposed restraint upon the liberty of that lady; but as I knew from Mr. Runey and others, as well as from the character of the community, that there was not the slightest foundation for it—and as this was well known to all the pupils at the convent, to her own relations and friends, to visiters, to Dr. Thompson, and many others, I could not for a moment suspect that this excitement could lead to any disturbance. However that might be, the measures taken by the selectmen and Mr. Cutter, seemed to leave not the slightest ground of complaint, even to the most determined enemies of the institution. We could perceive no foundation to build a mob upon. Mr. Cutter also assured me, there was no danger to our children, and to our last inquiries, said in the most positive manner that he would guarantee their safety, and that we might go home and leave them with the utmost confidence. Relieved by this information and these assurances, we left him on our return. I suggested, however, to Mr. T., that we had better return by Charlestown Neck, which would carry us down the road by the convent, to see if there were any indications of a mob. This was about half past 8 o'clock. We saw nothing to attract attention until opposite the great gate of the avenue, where we saw four or five persons standing just within the gateway, the gate being open. We stopped, I got out and went up to them. They appeared to be young men, or boys, standing there as if waiting for something. I made several inquiries of them individually, as to the purpose of their being there, to which one answered that he came along with the rest, another that he came to see what was going on, and two or three others that they came out in consequence of what they saw in the newspaper, alluding, as I understand, to the paragraph in the Mercantile Journal and Courier, headed "Mysterious." I then informed them that the statements in that paragraph were untrue, and that they had been fully inquired into by the selectmen and others, and were found to be entirely groundless. I then remonstrated with them for being there, in pretty severe terms. At first they seemed shy and silent, but at

length, being apparently irritated by the severity of my rebuke, two or three of them dropped some expressions of hostility against Catholics, against the convent, and the Irish. One spoke of the convent as a secret society, for which there was no law in this country. Many other things were said, but nothing indicating an intended attack on the convent that night. On the contrary, Thursday night was mentioned as the time when "they guessed the convent would come down." During this conversation, which was pretty loud on my part, a considerable number of persons had collected round as if attracted by it. They appeared like people recently from work, and I supposed them to be brickmakers and others from the neighbouring houses. They appeared to be listeners merely, with the exception of J. R. Buzzell, who was rather boisterous, and in a special humour to fight an Irishman, if he could find one. He, however, had little to say of the convent, except that "he had whipped their Irishman; that they knew him well there and would know more of him yet." With respect to the rest, they seemed to me to have assembled chiefly from curiosity, and, although not friendly towards the convent, were not there with any settled designs. They were neither disorderly or riotous, during the ten or fifteen minutes while we remained there; nor were there probably more than fifteen or twenty persons when we came away. We had understood from Mr. Cutter that there had been a small collection of people near there, an evening or two previous, who were easily induced by him to go away, and we supposed this collection was of the same sort, and would as easily be dispersed. As we were strangers, and too well dressed to be respected by this sort of persons, we thought it best to go back to Mr. Cutter, and let him know the state of things, not doubting that he, being well known in the neighbourhood, and a man of influence, would be able to satisfy them that there was no ground of complaint or hostility against the nunnery, and would prevail on them to go home. Mr. Cutter, at our request, promptly undertook to go and disperse them; nor did he express the slightest doubt of the result, but renewed his assurances that there was no danger to the inhabitants of Mount Benedict. We also knew that Mr. Runey, one of the selectmen, was momently expected back with the report of that body; and that his information and influence, joined to Mr. Cutter's, could leave no pretence for any movements against the convent, if any such were meditated. We also took it for granted, that the selectmen, as they had deemed it necessary to examine into the causes of the public excitement that very day, would take all such measures to protect the public peace, as well as private rights, as circumstances might require. As far then as we could discern, there was no ground to apprehend any disturbance from the people we saw there: and went home with the fullest persuasion that our children would be safe for that night.

With the knowledge we then had, and under the circumstances thus detailed, I would ask any reasonable man if we ought to have apprehended, or to have believed it possible, that such a violation of law, such an outrage on defenceless and unoffending females as disgraced that night, could have taken place in the midst of a population of 80,000 inhabitants, having the reputation of a civilized, orderly, and religious people? Let the case be considered as it was then presented to our view, without permitting the judgment to be biassed by the subsequent events, and, I think, no person not unusually timid would have seen any cause of alarm. Such is the explanation of the "mysterious" conduct of Mr. Thaxter and myself, on that occasion! I am now satisfied that the design of destroying the convent, on Monday night, did not exist when we left the gate, with the people there assembled; but that it was subsequently adopted, in consequence of the very measures taken by the selectmen and Mr. Cutter to prevent it, and which were communicated by them, after we came away. The real fact was, of which I was then entirely ignorant, that its destruction at some time had been proposed and talked about for a long time before, in Medford, Charlestown, Cambridge, and Boston, by a certain class of persons, and the affair of Mrs. Mary John was merely seized upon as a pretext to carry it into execution. Thursday night had been named as the time, but, as the inquiry by Mr. Cutter, on Saturday, and of the selectmen, on Monday, whose reports were to be published on Tuesday, would destroy that pretence, the leaders of the mob saw that they must proceed that night or not at all. This conclusion they had not arrived at, until some time after Cutter and Runey had addressed them. Many of the amateurs, who would not willingly have been absent on the interesting occasion, actually went home, on the supposition that it was postponed. The mob which remained had left the convent the second time, bidding the inmates "Good bye, till Thursday night,"—the children were directed to go to bed, and the family had nearly all retired, when the caucus was

held, the signal fire resolved on as a means to recruit their numbers, and the destruction of the convent decided. I verily believe there would have been no mob on Monday night, but for the paragraph first published in the Mercantile Journal, of Saturday, and copied into the Courier, of Monday, headed "MYSTERIOUS." And here let me say, that the editors of those papers have never, as I believe, made any apology for the publication of that paragraph, which may have been the immediate cause of the outrages of that night. The editor of the Journal has even undertaken to justify it, and to complain of being injured by the very gentle rebuke for it, contained in the report of the Boston investigating committee. I would now only ask, whether any respectable editor in Boston would dare to publish such a paragraph, implicating the character or conduct of the humblest citizen, upon no better authority than mere street rumour?

The error committed by Mr. Thaxter and myself, in leaving our children that night, to the fury of the most heartless mob that ever undertook to serve the cause of religion, arose, as most errors do, from ignorance;—ignorance of the state of popular opinion in this neighbourhood, in relation to the convent and the Catholics. We were not aware of the spirit of persecution that was abroad—of the shameless calumnies that had been invented, and industriously circulated in the vicinity—of the honest belief, originating in that cause, entertained by the mass of the people, that the nunnery at Charlestown was an immoral and corrupt place, where all sorts of vice and superstition were practised;—and that Protestant parents who sent their children there for instruction were guilty of a heinous sin. Yet such do we now know was the fact. I have myself been told, by a gentleman of very considerable standing and influence in our community, that, in his judgment, "it was more disgraceful for a Protestant parent to have a child at that institution for education, than to have been concerned in destroying it." This person is, indeed, a religious zealot, of the "strictest sect," but an honest man and good citizen; and I mention the circumstance only to show how the minds of persons, who were wholly ignorant of the Ursuline Community, had been imposed on by these abominable slanders. It also shows with how little charity or justice, religious prejudice allows one man to judge of the conduct of others. That all the stories which have been circulated through the country, calculated and designed to bring odium upon that community, are base fabrications, I take upon me to affirm. I do so, as well to vindicate the character of these injured and unoffending females, as to disabuse the minds of that portion of the public, who have been misled by these stories, but who are willing to be informed, and to believe the truth. I am sorry to think that there is another portion, whose ignorance, bigotry, or sectarian zeal renders their understandings blind to all just reasoning, and shuts their hearts to the suggestions of Christian charity. To such I do not address myself. All who have had occasion to be acquainted with the Ursulines, as far as I know, without exception, have a very high opinion of their purity and rectitude, and have never given the least credit to any stories derogatory to them in those particulars. They have seen or heard no evidence of their truth that could, in the smallest degree, prevail against their own knowledge. I have had children there for upwards of six years, and most cheerfully do I bear my testimony, whatever it may be worth, to the excellence of their character and conduct, as far as my opportunities for observation and inquiry have enabled me to judge. Since they were driven from Mount Benedict, I have taken no inconsiderable pains to ascertain the source of these calumnies, and the foundation, if any, on which they rested. I have fully satisfied myself of their utter falsehood, and, I think, I possess the means to satisfy any man, who has his reason and the disposition of the same fact. But the stories, as I have heard them, which reflect upon the morals of these ladies, are, in themselves, either improbable, absurd, or ridiculous, to such a degree, that no educated, intelligent minds would give them credit, but upon evidence that admitted of no question, or except "God had sent them a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie."

If there be a single individual who will venture to vouch for the truth of any stories, discreditable, in a moral view, to the inhabitants of Mount Benedict, as I have heard there is, that person will stand not only unsupported by any other evidence, but will be contradicted, or I am much mistaken, by every person in or out of the convent, Catholic or Protestant, who has had the means of knowing the truth. There must be traits of character beyond the mere affectation of religious duty, to sustain such a witness.

The causes which led to the destruction of the convent—the circumstances attending the transaction—the difficulty of bringing the actors to justice are fit subjects for the investigation of the philosophic historian. The extraordinary fact, that while John R.

Buzzell, the New Hampshire brickmaker, recently accused, tried, and acquitted, as one of the incendiaries, had his pockets filled with money, and received such other marks of popular sympathy and acknowledgment for his services and sufferings in the cause of true religion, as to demand of him a public card of thanks, no minister or member of a Protestant society in the country, as far as I have heard, has ever proposed a contribution for the unfortunate Ursulines who lost their all, by this flagrant violation of their rights. This is a matter for "our special wonder." The time will come, I trust, when all these matters will be rightly understood. As to the state of popular feeling which produced this catastrophe, if that be a mystery, a careful review of some of the religious journals of the day, may in part explain it. On that point, I will take the liberty to refer you to a certain Miss Rebecca Theresa Read, alias Rebecca Mary Agnes Theresa Read, (as Goldsmith says, I love to give the whole name,) a Catholic Protestant, as she termed herself in court the other day, who has been about Boston and the vicinity for the last two or three years, announcing herself as "the humble instrument in the hands of Providence, to destroy the institution at Mount Benedict." As the great object of her pious labours has been accomplished, I doubt not she will be PROUD to inform you how she did it. It is possible that a book, which, it is rumoured, she is about to publish, relative to the nunnery, may afford the desired information; but as there is reason to apprehend that the manuscript, which has been extensively read, may undergo considerable pruning and purgation, to suit the views of the publisher, it is quite doubtful if you will be able to get the whole truth, or, indeed, any unvarnished truth, by reading it, I should therefore advise to apply directly to herself. If she be as obliging and communicative since, as she was before the achievement of the great work, I doubt not that you may be very much enlightened in all the remaining unexplained mysteries connected with a transaction which has left an indelible stain on the character of this part of the country—exciting the grief of our friends, and the pity of our enemies.

I have travelled a step or two beyond the limited object of this communication, but I trust my motive, which is truth, and the correction of error, will be thought a sufficient justification.

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL P. P. FAY.

Cambridge, Jan. 2, 1835.

SECTION XII.

THE DESTROYED CONVENT.

THE Boston papers state, that Marvin Marcy, Jr., the unfortunate young man who was convicted of being concerned in the destruction of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, was sentenced to three days solitary confinement, and to hard labour in the state prison during his natural life.

A petition for his pardon was signed by upwards of nine thousand persons, amongst whom were the Right Rev. Dr. Fenwick, Bishop of Boston, and the Lady Superior of the convent.

For our own parts, where the authorities that could have prevented the destruction, were so negligent, if not worse; where the population of the vicinity identified themselves with the perpetrators, by their sympathy for those who were known to have been criminal by their calumnies and threats against the injured, by their manifestation of that spirit which caused the public prosecutor to declare that he could not expect justice, by their general deportment during the trial, and by their exultation at the result, where amongst so many who seemed to have been more culpable, this unfortunate youth was the only one delivered over to justice, we think it would be only equity to permit him also to escape. Besides, would his punishment secure our institutions from similar dangers? They who have suffered either in their property or their feelings by this atrocious sacrilege, seek not vengeance but compensation for the past, and security for the future; and whilst the band of incendiaries are at large, whilst the same spirit that inflamed their passion is fanned by the bad men who first excited it; we regret to see one unfortunate made the scapegoat of their iniquity. We would not seek the punishment of one amongst them: though we would rejoice at exhibiting to the world that our republican institutions were fully able to protect those who were peaceably pursuing their duties under legal sanction; and repress the riotous criminals, who, without regard to law, order, or decorum, openly congregated to rouse unprotected females from their repose, that they might plunder and burn their dwelling.

We regret to find the following announcement concerning the unfortunate convict, on the very day on which the sentence was passed upon him:

"This afternoon about 3 o'clock, he was discovered insensible on the floor of his cell. Dr. Hooker was immediately called in. He was in the same state at 4 o'clock. The cause is not yet known. He has been

frequently heard to say, that he never would be carried to the States' Prison.—Dr. H. states there is no appearance of poison; some suppose he has eaten ground glass. In the midst of the medical examination, the sheriff called to convey him to Charlestown. He of course was not removed."—*Briggs' Bulletin, Boston.*

We are yet to see what will be done in the way of compensation. The following article is copied from the papers:

"In the legislature of Massachusetts, a bill has been reported, on the petition of Bishop Fenwick, for the payment of a gratuity of $——, to the proprietors of the Ursuline Convent, *not* as a matter of right, but in consideration of the peculiar circumstances under which the property was destroyed."

We should suppose that as no law exists giving a claim to persons thus injured, there is no strict legal right. But the principles of common justice create a claim of moral right; and this we take to be the meaning of the phrase, "peculiar circumstances under which it was destroyed!!"

SECTION XIII.

THE DESTROYED CONVENT.

In our last we stated that the report of the committee on this subject had been received by the House of Representatives of Massachusetts. We find the following particulars upon the National Gazette of March 3d:—

"The House of Representatives of Massachusetts have at length moved in the case of the Ursuline Convent. On Wednesday last, majority and minority reports were presented from the committee on the subject. That of the majority ends with these resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the government of this commonwealth is exclusively a government of laws, upon the maintenance of which depends the security of life, liberty, and property; and that all attempts to violate these laws by the forcible interposition of the popular will, are destructive of that security, and subversive of the first principles of our institutions.

"Resolved, That the right of private opinion, whether in morals, politics, or religion, is one of the dearest and most sacred rights of the citizen, secured to him by the Constitution; and that no interference with the legitimate exercise of that right ought ever to be tolerated.

"And whereas, It has been made to appear, that the convent of the Ursuline Community, situated in Mount Benedict, in the town of Charlestown, with all its appendages, was, on the night of the 11th of August last, destroyed by a lawless and ferocious mob, in defiance of the civil authority, and in open violation of the majesty of the laws; and whereas, there is reason to believe that said outrage was committed under an excitement, generated and inflamed by a pervading hostility to the religious faith of the occupants of said convent,

"Resolved, That the Legislature feels itself bound, in support of the Constitution, and in vindication of the honour of the commonwealth, to declare its deliberate and indignant condemnation of such an atrocious infraction of the laws, and such a bold assault upon the principle of religious freedom.

"Resolved, That although the petitioners cannot claim of the government, as a matter of right, an indemnity for their losses, yet in order to give force and effect to the declaration aforesaid, and to do what may yet be done to soften the reproach which rests upon the character of the state, by reason of the aforesaid outrage, a gratuity of —— dollars be made to the trustees of the said Ursuline Convent, and that the Governor be authorized to draw his warrant therefor."

The report of the minority was adverse. Its complexion may be known by the following extract from the Boston Commercial Gazette's report:

"Mr. Blake, of Boston, thought there were many points in the minority report which were of an objectionable character, and not in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, and that should such a document go forth under the sanction of this House, it would be highly improper. He had no objection to printing the report, but thought it were best that there should be some corrections made by the commitee who reported it, rather than to disseminate such doctrines throughout the commonwealth. (The points and doctrines alluded to above were not distinctly explained by the gentleman, but as nigh as we could understand, the objectionable premises were, —"*That the Catholics, acknowledging as they do the supremacy of a foreign potentate or power, could not claim under our government, the protection as citizens of the commonwealth, but were only entitled to our countenance and aid so far as the rites of national hospitality might serve to dictate.*")

"A motion was at length made by Mr. Chapman, of Greenfield, that the majority report be laid on the table, and that that of

the minority be returned for correction, if the gentlemen should deem proper; and after which that both reports should be printed for the House. This motion prevailed, and the House proceeded to the consideration of the orders of the day."

"The next day, in the House, Mr. Field, of Charlemont, again submitted the report of the minority on the petition of Bishop Fenwick and others, the same having been revised and corrected. It was then ordered, on motion of Mr. Foster, of Worcester, that both reports, with the resolve accompanying that of the majority, be printed for the use of the House."

The following is the report of the physician respecting the unfortunate convict, Marcy.

Copy of a letter from Dr. A. Hooker, received at the Mechanics' News Room.

East Cambridge, Feb. 23, 1833.

"MR. BRIGGS:—Young Marcy, confined in East Cambridge Jail, was attacked on Thursday between one and two o'clock with delirium, and has continued in that state till this morning, occasionally struggling violently, at other times remaining very quiet for some minutes.

"I do not believe his attack to be induced by pounded glass, or any other poison, but to have been brought on by the great anxiety he has felt about the decision of the court—so great as to prevent his sleeping but very little the past week, by the sentence of the court, and by the agony of his mother, sister, and friends, the recent death of his father, and his great horror of the State Prison.

"A. HOOKER,
Physician, Cambridge Jail."

"N. B.—He will recover in a few days."

The trial of Pond and others upon the charge of being concerned in the destruction, was continued from the sitting of the Supreme Court in East Cambridge, in February, to its session at Concord, in April.

"A motion to admit H. Buck as state's evidence, to bail, was rejected by the court, and he was remanded to prison to await the final termination of the trials."

The U. S. Gazette published in Philadelphia, March 4, after relating the sentence of the unfortunate Marcy, adds:—

"The above is from the Boson Daily Advertiser. Marcy of course, was guilty, and deserved the sentence that was passed upon him according to law; but close and disinterested observers will be at a loss to reconcile the acquittal of Buzzell, the ringleader in the crimes, with a *verdict* of guilty against Marcy. It is true that the same jury did not decide in both cases, but Buzzell had been, as we have heard, a regular tenant of the New Hampshire state prison, and his conspicuous exertions on the night of the destruction of the convent would hardly, we should suppose, recommend him to the sympathies of the jury and people; yet he was acquitted, and the next day, at the doors of the court-house, the *great* wretch received contributions in money, showered into his hat, to pay him for his endurance of imprisonment, and he even returned thanks on the next day for this manifestation of *sympathy* and kind feeling towards him—and Marcy, the *little* rogue, is to be shut up for life."

SECTION XIV.

THE DESTROYED CONVENT.

THE Legislature of Massachusetts has come to a decision upon the petition of Bishop Fenwick and that of the nuns. It was proposed to give $10,000, or about a tenth part of the actual loss.

The Boston Mercantile Journal, of March 14, gives the following as the result:—

"THE CONVENT QUESTION.

"The question was taken yesterday afternoon on striking out the resolves granting indemnity for the destruction of the Ursuline Convent, and was decided by yeas and nays as follows:—yeas 402, nays 60. Thus the house, by an overwhelming vote, refused to appropriate the sum of ten thousand dollars as a remuneration for the destruction of the convent.

"The debate on this subject excited much interest. Messrs. Kinnicut, Cook, Winthrop, Baylies, and Rantoul spoke at length, in favour of the resolutions, and argued with much force and eloquence. Messrs. Roberts of Salem and Everett of Boston spoke against the resolutions."

The resolves which were finally adopted in relation to this subject are as follows:—

"Resolved, That the government of this commonwealth is exclusively a government of laws, upon the maintenance of which depends the security of life, liberty, and property, and that all attempts to violate those laws by the forcible interposition of the popular will, are destructive of that security, and subversive of the first principles of our institutions.

"Resolved, That whereas, it hath been made to appear that the convent of the Ursuline Community, situated upon Mount Benedict, in the town of Charlestown, was,

with all its appendages, on the night of the 11th of August last, destroyed by a lawless and ferocious mob, in defiance of the civil authority, and in violation of the majesty of the laws:

"Resolved, That this Legislature feels itself bound, in support of the Constitution, and in vindication of the honour of the commonwealth, to declare its deliberate and indignant condemnation of such an atrocious infraction of the laws."

We have no room for remarks to-day, but we cannot refrain from comparing this *indignant condemnation* to the sorrow of a certain company, in which the misfortune of a companion was mentioned. Every one declared that he was exceedingly sorry,—filled with regret, &c. About two or three thousand dollars would afford relief. One of the least wealthy said, "Gentlemen, we are all very sorry, but the value of that sorrow has not yet been estimated. I shall begin. Let us relieve our companion. I am sorry five dollars. I should like to know the worth of your sorrow." One, and another, and another stole away, and it was found that their regret was like the *vindication of the honour of the commonwealth of Massachusetts*—VALUELESS!

The indignant legislature *rejected* the following parts of the original resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the right of private opinion, whether in morals, politics, or religion, is one of the dearest and most sacred rights of the citizen, secured to him by the constitution, and that no interference with the legitimate exercise of that right ought ever to be tolerated.

"Resolved, That although the petitioners cannot claim of the government, as a matter of right, an indemnity for their losses, yet in order to give force and effect to the declaration aforesaid, and to do what yet may be done to soften the reproach which rests upon the character of the state, by reason of the aforesaid outrage, a gratuity of —— dollars be made to the trustees of said Ursuline Convent, and that the governor be authorized to draw his warrant therefor."

The following part of the preamble was also expunged:

"And whereas there is reason to believe that said outrage was committed under an excitement, generated and influenced by a pervading hostility to the religious faith of the occupants of said convent."

We copy the following paragraph, expressing our hope that the statement is unauthorized. The Bishop of Boston and his advisers are of course far more competent to judge of the case than we can pretend to be. We should however think that if the convent were in the city of Boston, it not only would be in perfect security, but would be well sustained.

"THE CONVENT.—We understand that those concerned have abandoned the idea of rebuilding the convent in this city or in New England, and that the Ursulines will go either to Canada or to Florida, at which latter place it is contemplated to purchase a large tract of land, to be connected with a nunnery."—*Boston Whig.*

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From the Boston Advertiser.

THE DESTROYED CONVENT.

Legislature of Massachusetts.—In the House of Representatives on Wednesday, the special assignment being taken up, on the report and resolutions of the committee on the petition of Benedict Fenwick and others, Mr. Foster moved to amend the resolutions, by striking out the last, which proposes to indemnify the trustees of the convent. Mr. Kinnicut thought the debate might as well arise on that motion as on the resolutions. As chairman of the committee, he felt it his duty to explain the reasons by which they were actuated. He would state that if the motion did not prevail, it was his desire to fill the blank, not with the amount lost, but with $10,000. Mr. K. went on to explain the principles on which the report was founded. The committee did not believe that the Catholics had any claim against the state, and the considerations which dictated his appropriation were applicable to ourselves rather than to them. He examined the allegation that the Catholics stand in the relation of foreigners to our government, contained in the report of the minority. This allegation he denied. The subject was investigated very fully a few years ago in England, when the parliament was so well satisfied of the falsity of this pretence of divided allegiance, that they freely removed the disabilities of the Catholics. The testimony then produced, that the allegiance of the Catholics to the Pope was merely spiritual, was unquestionable and conclusive. The minority of the committee had been somewhat unfortunate in their reference to an oath of allegiance, formerly existing in the constitution, but which had been abrogated in obedience to the public sentiment, and because it was in contravention of the first principles of toleration. Why, they asked, was the Ursuline Convent pushed into this community? He answered, because the constitution invited it to come, by holding out the promise of toleration and protection. The minority had charged the majority, most disingenuously, with desiring

to enlist the commonwealth in behalf of the Catholic interest. It was not so. They wished to enlist the commonwealth in the vindication of her own honour. He thought it the duty of the legislature to express an honourable sentiment, and express it strongly. A deep reproach was fixed upon the commonwealth; the offence of a few rested upon the whole people, and something should be done, by an open and decided act, to remove the stain. The question must be met. Let us, said Mr. K., meet it like men.

Mr. Cook stated that he had the honour of being a member of the Boston committee, and in the course of his inquiries, as such, he became convinced of the propriety of indemnity. He had taken much pains to inform himself of the history of the convent, and of the particular circumstances attending its destruction. Mr. C. gave a sketch of that history, and in the course of it stated that he had the authority of Bishop Fenwick for declaring that not a dollar had ever been received from the Pope for the erection of any church or convent in the United States. As to the Ursuline Convent, he would read a portion of its constitution, to show that it was erected for the sole purpose of female education. (Mr. C. here read extracts from the rules, illustrative of this point.) The destruction of the convent was an act of wanton cruelty. In sight of the monument erecting in memory of the warriors of Bunker Hill, stands the monument of the wrongs of the Catholics; there he hoped it would stand, until those wrongs were publicly redressed. The theory of the constitution was, that every person was protected in his person and estate; but it was the very neglect and indifference of all the civil officers by which the inmates of the convent lost that protection. If, when the property of classes is destroyed by an infuriated mob, there is to be no such thing as protection or indemnity, what could be done? Mr. C. went on to urge the propriety of adopting the resolutions with much earnestness; but we are compelled, by want of space, to omit a very considerable portion of his remarks, and of the subsequent debate. In alluding to Bishop Cheverus, Mr. C. stated the fact, that when the cholera invaded Bourdeaux, the episcopal palace was, at his solicitation, converted into a public hospital. Every one of the ladies of the convent, with the exception of the superior, who was a native of Canada, was born in the United States. Bishop Fenwick was a native of Maryland, and was a relative of Col. Fenwick, an officer of distinguished gallantry during the late war with Great Britain. So much as to the remark that we are asked to legislate for foreigners.

Mr. Mosely thought that we ought not to inquire into the religious faith of strangers, who had thrown themselves on our protection. Thus far they had paid for that protection. If these petitioners are equitably entitled to relief, undoubtedly they should receive it. Where was the danger of the precedent? When was there known such a mob as this? The gentleman from Salem need not fear that such things will be of every day occurrence. After the great Roman orator had saved his country, he was driven into banishment by a faction; his villas and his property were destroyed by the same Clodian mob. As soon as he was recalled, an indemnity was honourably paid him by the senate. In England, by immemorial law, an indemnity has been paid by the hundred. In this commonwealth, when the house and furniture of Governor Hutchinson were destroyed by a mob, the legislature ordered every farthing of the damage to be paid. Such was the example of our fathers. When the town of Newburyport was destroyed by fire, another precedent was given, in the form of a liberal donation. A good name was better than riches: let the good name of the commonwealth be preserved.

Mr. Knapp had nothing to say on the religious question. He thought the measure proposed was one of prudence and humanity, and fully authorized by the Constitution. He dwelt upon the importance of preserving the high reputation which this commonwealth had acquired. He believed that there was a general desire that indemnity should be given to these unfortunate persons. Mr. K. enlarged upon the calumnies which had been heaped upon the Catholics, the nature of their application, and the circumstances which gave it a title to attention. The flame on yonder hill might break forth in a still more fearful conflagration.

Mr. Winthrop said that the materials for a speech were by no means wanting, but he should abstain from everything which could produce excitement of feeling. He would first ask the attention of the House to the report of the minority. Mr. W. then commented on certain portions of that report with severity. He was, he said, an advocate of the claim of these petitioners. On the principles of the bill of rights, they were entitled to indemnity. The government had guaranteed to them protection in the enjoyment of their rights. Protection had not been afforded, in this instance, to every practicable extent. This was not the momentary violence of a reckless mob; it

was the result of a deep and strong feeling, and one which extended to thousands of people. It was a sin, like that of Adam, which had touched and tainted the whole people of Massachusetts. Mr. W. begged the House to consider the consequences of avoiding anything which might tend to check this spirit of outrage. In the name of the living children and dead fathers of the state, he called on the House to rescue the state from ignominy.

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From the Boston Advocate.

DEBATE ON THE URSULINE CONVENT.

Remarks of Mr. Baylies, of Taunton.

Mr. Baylies resumed—He would now refer to the character of the Catholics as a religious sect, and would say that in this country they might well challenge comparison, as to obedience to the government, propriety of deportment and moral worth, with any sect of Protestants. I go into this subject, sir, because the minority in their report have brought into direct issue the two sects of Catholics and Protestants. I am, sir, no Catholic. I have no belief in the infallibility of the Pope, no faith in the creed of the church, and no reliance in the power of man to forgive sins; nor do I believe that any miracles have been performed since the days of the Apostles. But there are other sects besides Roman Catholics who have had their martyrs and their miracles, their list of damnable heresies and their infallible creed. Let us see how the character of the Catholics as a sect, will stand beside that of the Protestants. I will go back to Henry the VIII., of England, a prince who was so zealous in the cause of the church, as to acquire the character of Defender of the Faith. What first produced the Reformation in England? It was a cause that did honour to the Pope of that day. It was because the Pope would not become the instrument of the unhallowed lust of royalty; because he would not legalize adultery. It was for this cause that Henry VIII. defied the Pope, and declared himself the head of the church in England, and the clergy of that country followed him in order to save their livings. But the king still adhered to the faith of the Church of Rome. He only declared himself the head of the church and took the place of the Pope, and then had his own way. What piety was there in this? None at all. The corrupt fountains of the heart were not broken up—the star that afterwards came down from heaven had not then descended. The king changed because the Pope would not legalize adultery; and the clergy changed because the King changed.

Then go to the reign of Queen Mary, who was a Catholic sovereign. The flames of Smithfield, the massacres of Protestants, and the persecutions of that reign are familiar to all. But I undertake to say that the Pope was not to blame for this—the Pope did not sanction it, and I do say that his legate, Cardinal Pole, interposed all his influence to induce Mary to forbear, but she would not. In consequence of the persecutions of this reign, the Protestants fled to the Continent and became acquainted with the Calvinists of Geneva. They returned to England, carrying back the feelings and views they had imbibed in their exile, and in the reign of Elizabeth the Puritans sprung up. They were not separatists from the church, but were dissenters from some of the doctrines and practices of the church, still remaining in the church, as the evangelical portion of the Episcopal Church do now. What did Elizabeth, the Protestant do? Among other things, she put the Parliament up to making a law that if the people did not attend upon the ministry of the parish priests, they were to be fined, and on a repetition of the offence, were to be put to death without the benefit of the clergy. Was there not bigotry and persecution in this? Persecution led to investigation, and men found out that they had a right to their own opinions in matters of faith. It was then that Brown, the first real reformer, and the first separatist appeared. He was brought to the gallows several times, and was saved by Lord Burleigh, whose relation he was. True, he recanted afterwards, but his doctrine was taken up by others. They were persecuted and driven to take shelter in Holland, and finally planted themselves on the rock of Plymouth. In relation to that church formed at Plymouth, I will say they had some toleration; at least they were wise enough to tolerate slight differences of opinion. And yet they were held in extreme contempt while they resided there. The great master spirit of the drama, Shakspeare, who embodied the spirit of the time, in expressing a strong degree of comparison in contempt, says, "I had as lief be a Brownist as a politician."

The original church of Massachusetts Bay, was different from that at Plymouth. John Endicott, governor of the colony, was the pioneer there, and when I allude to him, I hope that his descendant, the worthy gentleman from Dedham (Mr. Endicott) will not think I mean any disrespect. John Endicott was himself a separatist, but he esta-

blished a church in Salem from which he would allow nobody to separate. Nevertheless, some walked apart, and denied his ecclesiastical authority. They denied his right to put the articles upon them, and to punish their obstinacy, he accused them of sedition, and sent them back to England. This was the first germ of intolerance in this country, and it did not die here.

Roger Williams was one of the most extraordinary men of the age, and when we consider his liberality at that period, we cannot but regard him as almost a prodigy. He contended that church and state were separated, and that the land could not be lawfully taken from the Indians without their consent. These were alarming doctrines! He was summoned before synods, and threatened with excommunication, but he stood firmly to the faith, and after repeated trials and persecutions, he was banished as a pest in society, and an officer was despatched to put him on board a vessel and send him to England. He was warned of his danger, and rising from his sick bed, fled and built his wigwam within the jurisdiction of the Plymouth colony. But Massachusetts demanded that he should be delivered up, and Governor Winslow, not having sufficient firmness to protect him, secretly advised Williams to leave the jurisdiction of Plymouth. He threw himself into a canoe, with his companion, floated down the stream, rounded the point of Tockwotton, proceeded up the river, and landed in the cove, and there he chose his place of rest. "The world was all before him, and Providence his guide." He landed at a spring; he found earth and water, and in gratitude to Heaven, he called the place *Providence*, and there he founded his little Commonwealth. No cross was reared, no standard was planted, no monument was erected, no coins were buried, and not even a record was made, for these wanderers were destitute of paper and books. And this was the spot on which one of the most thriving cities in the United States now stands. It was here the true principles of toleration were planted and have since flourished. The Indians had no such quality as intolerance among them, and with them Williams was free to enjoy his own opinions unmolested. But scarcely had he gone, when the Antinomian controversy sprung up in Massachusetts. This was the most unintelligible jargon [of which] I [have] ever heard, and the mysticism was increased by women being drawn into the controversy. Ann Hutchinson became the leader of the sect. She was called a prophet by some, and a Jezebel by others. She and her brother, of the name of Wheelwright, were bitterly persecuted, and in this contest, as is not unfrequently the case now, Boston was on one side, and the country on the other. Finally the country succeeded, and put down Antinomianism, and they passed an act to disfranchise every Antinomian. Ann Hutchinson persisted in her doctrines. She had every clergyman in the country, except Mr. Cotton of Boston, upon her, but she sustained herself, and on my word I think that she had the best of the argument, and the reason was, because her nonsense was more ingenious than their nonsense, and confounded it. She held a discussion for three days before the Ecclesiastical Council, and the woman did not come out second best in the argument. But she was put under the surveillance of the ministry of Roxbury; from thence she fled to Newport, and there laid the germ of another commonwealth which was afterwards united to Providence. Wheelwright fled to Exeter, N. H., and thus it was that persecutions for religious opinions peopled several of the colonies.

A man by the name of Gordon, with his eleven followers, fled to Warwick, in Rhode Island, out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, but Massachusetts sent there and took Gordon and his men by force, and on their trial they barely escaped sentence of death in the council, by a majority of two votes, and were sent to work on the highways with balls fastened to their legs. The persecution of the Quakers came next, and that was continued until women were hung in Boston for the crime of being Quakers.

This is not a flattering picture of our forefathers, I admit, but they were a wonderful people, and all this bigotry was not their bigotry, but the bigotry of the age, the fault of the times and not of the heart.

I will now go to another colony; I mean the colony of Maryland, founded by Catholics, and whose fundamental laws were made by Catholics, from 1634 to 1660. I wish to contrast this colony with Massachusetts, and see whether the Catholics have been as intolerant as Protestants when they had the power. Sir, it reconciles man to himself and to his species, to find such a green spot. Maryland was an oasis in the desert, and we can dwell on her early history with delight. When the Catholics came there, they fairly purchased the land of the Indians. They dwelt in the same village with Indians, they cultivated the fields in common, and there were no quarrels between them. They dwelt together in peace, and every civil right was secured to the Indians without any feudal services being re-

quired, and it was here that Calvinists, Antinomians, and other Protestants, found an asylum under [a] Catholic government, which tolerated all alike.

Now, sir, let us come home to the Catholics of Massachusetts, and ask what have they done? Bishop Cheverus and Mr. Matignon, who formerly resided in this city, and who were the founders of the institution at Charlestown, were the two most perfect men I ever heard of. The virtues of Cheverus bring him near to Fenelon, who was the beau-ideal of a Catholic priest. When and where have you seen such an instance of exalted virtue and benevolence, as was exhibited by Cheverus, now Archbishop of Bourdeaux, in France? When the cholera was raging in Bourdeaux, he threw open the archbishop's palace, and transformed it into an hospital for the infected. He has spent his life in doing good, and all who knew him here can testify that a purer and a more perfect character never existed among us.

I say, sir, the Catholics may safely challenge comparison with any sect among us, as good Christians and good citizens. The pretended danger of a foreign influence through them is a mere fancy. It has no foundation but in ignorance and prejudice. The notion of allegiance to the Pope, in any matters relative to our civil concerns, or politics, is idle and unmeaning. It has no meaning. It has no real existence. Why, sir, suppose the Pope should undertake to interfere in our politics, he would be confoundedly puzzled to know which side to take. No, sir, the Catholics are good citizens. They perform all the civil duties enjoined on them: America is their country, and I trust in God we shall do nothing to make them regret or ashamed that it is their country.

SECTION XV.

From the N. Y. Evening Star.

LETTER OF "AN EPISCOPALIAN."

Miss Rebecca Theresa Reed.—As much curiosity on the subject of Miss Reed has been excited in consequence of her book, entitled "Six Months' Residence in a Convent," and as some severe reflections have been made by the "Journal of Commerce" against the superior of the Ursuline Community, it becomes the duty of the writer of these remarks, to say a few words in her defence, and to enlighten the world on the subject of this Miss Reed.

Although an Episcopalian, I have known the character of the superior, and have had constant access to the convent for the last seven years, and I have great pleasure in saying that her conduct has been irreproachable during that period;—that she has been in the daily practice of every Christian duty; and although I might differ from her in some articles of faith, yet I have considered her example a model worthy of imitation, in the order, regularity and propriety which has prevailed through the whole establishment.

Miss Reed is a person of very obscure parentage, brought up amid scenes of poverty and want. She was wholly uneducated, and, for the greater part of her life, left to her own guidance. Her father lived in a part of Charlestown, called "Milk Row," near Cambridge; he is a very ignorant man, and he had not the means of instructing his daughter, even if he had been so disposed. The most he could do for her, was to furnish her a shelter, when she chose to be at home. She was occasionally employed in families to look after children, and perform such offices about a house, as are usually put upon the children of the poor.

Her habits of life had been very desultory, from the circumstances of her father's poverty, and her mother's ill health; and by the frequent changes which took place in consequence of being employed as occasional "help" in the houses of her acquaintances, she acquired that love of change, and independence of mind, which led her to seek a temporary asylum in the convent. While her sisters were employed as permanent domestics in respectable families, she was roaming about from one place to another, not content with the quiet routine of domestic life. At the age of eighteen her mother died; and such was the extreme poverty of her father, that he was obliged to break up housekeeping, and Miss Reed was then thrown upon her own resources. This was about four years since. At that time she was wholly ignorant of even the commonest rudiments of education; she could hardly read, still less could she write, and if her book is written with anything like grammatical accuracy, she owes [it] to the committee of publication, who have prepared it for her.

Such were Miss Reed's opportunities; and this young woman is looked up to by the whole Protestant community; her opinions are received with [the] greatest avidity; and the question is never asked, if she is competent to decide on the momentous question which now agitates the public. The tuition she received at the convent, during the time she remained there, composed nearly the

whole of her education, and all these circumstances of her life are susceptible of the most unquestionable proof.

She was baptized at the Episcopal Church in Cambridge, as may be seen by the records of that church, and called herself an Episcopalian.

From her previous habits of life, she had no disposition to earn her living by hard work, and she had not been accustomed to the performance of household duties;—she therefore thought if she could get a "little learning" she might obtain a living by teaching school. She had been brought up within two miles of the convent—she had heard much of the benevolence and piety of the superior, and of the advantages of that school, and she was very desirous of being admitted as a pupil. As she had not the means of supporting herself, and of paying anything for her education, she thought of exciting an interest in the mind of the superior, by professing a wish to become a Catholic. She also applied to some Catholics for assistance, and declared her earnest wish to become acquainted with the Catholic faith. By an appearance of great piety, and an ardent wish to understand their doctrines, she prevailed with some very respectable Catholics in Charlestown to take her into their family, that she might be near the church, and receive the instruction of the Rev. Mr. Burns. In this family she remained five months, where she was supported without labour of any kind, being so intent on her religious duties that she could not work. At this time she was abandoned by her relations, because (as she stated) she had become a Catholic, thus throwing herself entirely on the bounty of the family who sheltered her; and she was in so destitute a situation, that they continued to support her even after it became burdensome for them to do so.

While she remained in Charlestown, she attended all the religious services of the Catholic Church. She had frequent conversations with the priest, and earnestly desired to become a member of his church. This privilege, however, he refused, on the ground that she was not sufficiently instructed in the Catholic faith, to be received into their communion. He, however, directed her reading, and believing her sincere, he afforded her such instruction as he deemed needful for her. During these five months, she made repeated application to be admitted into the convent on any terms. In order to interest the superior, she told her it had been her mother's dying injunction that she should go to the convent, and that she never could be happy unless she fulfilled her "dear departed mother's dying request." The superior repeatedly told her it was against their rules to take a pupil of the age of Miss Reed, she being then eighteen years old, and that it was impossible to receive her into the community, without the consent of her friends. She, however, continued her importunity, and she at length told the superior, that she was wholly abandoned by her friends, on account of her determination to become a Catholic, and if she did not receive her into the convent, she should perish, as she had neither a home, nor friends, nor even health—she was, therefore, unable to earn her living by hard work. The superior consented to write to Miss Reed's father, and told him the representation his daughter had made, and offered to give her six months' board and tuition on charity, if he wished her to come to the convent. To this letter no answer was returned. The superior, becoming interested in a young person so abandoned by her relations on account of her religion, at length received her as a pupil on charity. She supplied her with clothes, books, and everything needful for her comfort and improvement. She soon found, however, that this young woman was extremely ignorant—that she could scarcely read or write, or even sew. She had some taste for music, and as she seemed ambitious of improving herself, every facility was afforded her, that she might the sooner be enabled to support herself.

After four months' instruction, and her whole time devoted to study, (for she was not required to perform any labour,) when she left the convent her handwriting was scarcely legible, and her spelling would disgrace a school-girl of seven years old.

I would now ask any reasonable person what motive the superior could have for wishing to *detain* a young woman whose connexions were in the lowest rank of society, without money, without friends, without health, without industry? The ladies of this community are all highly educated, intellectual women, and of exquisite refinement of manners. They frequently bring to the institution fortune and influence. What possible advantage could they derive from Miss Reed? Her conversion could give no eclat to the establishment—she was only a trouble to them! It is true, she became wearied, though "not with kissing our mother's feet," (as the editor of the Journal of Commerce expresses,) she became wearied with the society of ladies whose conversation and manners were so refined, that, as she herself said, they almost appeared to her like angels of light and purity, so superior were they to the society

to which, all her life, she had been accustomed. She indeed became wearied, and after all her professions, she was ashamed to ask for permission to go away, and absconded.

It is to the disgrace of the Protestants, that they received the accounts of this irresponsible young woman, with the thousand exaggerations growing out of them, without asking if it were not possible that she was either imposing on herself, or on the public. She was first an Episcopalian, then a Roman Catholic, now an Episcopalian; what next she will become it is not easy to foresee.

It is not true that her mother had enjoined her to be a Catholic—it is not true that her father abandoned her because she became a Catholic. She imposed on the benevolence of the superior by false pretences, and she now imposes on the credulity of the public by artful misrepresentations, and makes a good living for herself, by the avidity with which the Protestants listen to anything derogatory to the institutions and principles of the Catholics.

The writer of these remarks is well acquainted with the whole history of this young woman, and does not hesitate to say, that the calumnies uttered against the convent are entirely unsupported by any authority except her own. It is obvious that Miss Reed could not appreciate the motives which induced the Ursulines to give her shelter, from the ungrateful return she has made for their kindness to her; and it is painful to see enlightened Protestants of all denominations listening to the accounts of a young woman who finds her best interest in gratifying the credulity of the public.

The committee of investigation, appointed by the city of Boston, and the committee appointed by the Legislature of Massachusetts to inquire into the character of the Ursuline Convent, all declare, and they make their report public, that they can find no fault with the institution—that they have "invited inquiry," but that nothing appears against them. Yet we find editors of newspapers assailing the character of an institution which has been without reproach from its foundation, because an ignorant young woman, after four months' residence in that institution, fancies herself called on to enlighten the public on the subject of Catholic practices, (abuses as she calls them.)

Certificates from among the most enlightened Protestants of Boston have been sent to these committees, giving the most unqualified approbation of the morality and propriety which reigns in every part of that establishment, and yet editors persist in raising an excitement against this humble abode of industry and peace, because Miss Reed did not find their rules of abstinence and self-denial, and religious observances, to her taste! *And who is Miss Reed?*

It should be observed that the superior of the Ursuline Convent did not obtrude herself on the public. She was assailed in the asylum where she had sheltered herself from the world. She asked no patronage—she knew no spirit of intolerance towards her fellow-Christians—all she asked, was the privilege of enjoying the home she had chosen in peace. Not content with having driven her from this asylum—after having been insulted in every way by the Protestants—she is not now allowed the privilege of complaining, and her attempt to justify herself is called by way of derision, "an amiable effusion." The least the Protestants can do, is to listen with respectful attention to the justification she feels called on to make in support of her own character, and they should also remember that she has been brought into this painful notoriety not by her own will, but by a brutal mob, and the intolerant spirit of the age.

Being but a temporary sojourner in this city, and [as it is] *from a sense of justice this communication is made*, I do not intend again to be drawn before the public; but should any one question the validity of the facts stated, I think I could convince any one in a personal interview of my ability to maintain the positions I have taken.

AN EPISCOPALIAN.

SECTION XVI.

SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT.

OUR readers will find on our columns the communication of "An Episcopalian" to the editor of the "New York Evening Star," respecting this publication. We have not seen the compilation: but we have read extracts from it, inserted in the "Observer and Southern Baptist" of this city, which have perfectly satisfied us of its character. The rules there given are quite as appropriate for the brigade encampment that is to take place near this city, as they are for an Ursuline convent; the persons who form their notions of our religious establishments upon such data, are worse informed upon the subject, than they are of the composition of the planets: because they are misinformed. The speculation, however, of the compilers and the printers, is not a bad one; an immense number of copies will be sold, large profits shared—and if the public be misled, the fault, it will be said, is their

own. To any person who has ever known a convent, the story of pebbles in the shoes is indeed amusing.

Since writing the above, we have received some northern papers, from which we make the following extracts:

From the N. Y. Truth Teller of the 4th.

"In another column will be found an article from the 'Evening Star,' in reference to Rebecca Theresa Reed, who has just published a flimsy work, in which the Lady Superior of the Ursuline Convent has been unjustly vilified, and the objects of that institution have been palpably misrepresented. The article we refer to, is—as it purports to be—from the pen of an Episcopalian, an aged and respectable lady, whose ability to write, and good sense in judging, can be ascertained from her communication, and whose liberal, dignified, and truly American sentiments entitle her to our warmest commendation. We state on authority which cannot be effectually disputed, that she is a lady of high standing: and of course her statements claim our most implicit belief. Her daughters were four years in the Ursuline Convent, whither they went for intellectual improvement. When they entered that institution they were Episcopalians, and when they left it the same, as no attempt was made to lure them from the creed which their parents professed, and in which they were desirous to be educated. Notwithstanding the bigotry which the sick fancies of our enemies conjured up as existing in the convent, the daughters of the Episcopalian, whose article we refer to, spent four years within its walls, were treated with uniform kindness, instructed in what they sought to acquire; and yet not the slightest inducement was offered to either of them, for the purpose of changing their religion. How effectively this little fact tends to prove, that those who assert we are desirous to promulgate and disseminate our creed, at all hazards, are individuals possessing no real regard for truth. We are extremely pleased in publishing the remarks of this Episcopalian lady; she cannot be accused of too devoted adherence to what is insultingly termed 'Popery;' she surely is not engaged in subverting the 'civil liberty' of this Union; she has no desire to obtain the influence of the 'Pope' in political matters: and of course we must credit her statement, when she informs us that her communication was originated solely by 'a sense of justice.' She is undoubtedly a liberal and noble-minded female, whose philanthropy elevates her above the petty prejudices of some Protestants, and whose education causes her to contemn and deprecate fanatic slaves of bigotry. How great and striking the contrast between this lady and the *celebrated* Miss Rebecca Theresa Reed."

From the N. Y. Catholic Diary and Register.

"Her narrative abounds in every species of gross misrepresentations, foul falsehoods, and a total want of even a decent regard to the common notions of morality and intelligence and feelings of an enlightened community. The incredible inventions of malignity—the barefaced fabrications of improbable tales—the defamatory assertions and criminal lies uttered against the virtuous and enlightened ladies who once inhabited the peaceful convent, cover the pages of this slanderous vehicle. The book, as might have been expected, met a ready sale; five thousand copies were disposed of on the first day of its publication. Portions of the narrative have been copied into the daily journals of every complexion, and made the subject of comments of increased virulence and fatal fanaticism. The superior of the convent has since published a card, branding the work as a tissue of inventions and exaggerations, and promising an answer to the book, 'as soon as possible.' The communication inserted in this day's paper, from an 'Episcopalian,' in the 'New York Evening Star,' of last Saturday, the editor of which says to be 'from a highly respectable source,' is eminently calculated to thwart the base designs of an illiterate and ungrateful and fickle, and we would wish to say, duped woman, and to prepare the minds of the public for a complete refutation of the lying and infamous 'impostor.'"

The Rev. Mr. Crosswell, of Boston, was charged by several persons with being the compiler of this book. The "Boston Transcript" contains the following disclaimer:

"To the Editor of the Transcript.

"The name of the Rev. Mr. Crosswell, of this city, has been frequently mentioned as the author of 'Six Months in a Convent.' In consequence of this supposed connexion with that publication, he has been assailed with the most opprobrious epithets. You are authorized to say, that he had nothing to do with the publication of that book, in any way or manner. On the contrary, the MS. was in his hands two or three years ago, and it was in consequence of his influence that the book was not *then published*. After the destruction of the convent, the character of Miss Reed was assailed, and the Rev. Mr. C. was applied to as her pas-

tor, for his certificate of her being a communicant at Christ Church, and his opinion of her character. This certificate he gave, as he was bound to do, and he has done no more. He had no hand in the writing or revision of the book, was not one of the committee of publication, and has had no instrumentality whatever in the publication.

"Editors of other papers are requested to give insertion to this disclaimer."

The following article from the "Essex Banner," furnishes a few more facts, tending to place the narrative in a correct point of view:

"A book has recently issued from one of the Boston presses, purporting to be a 'Narrative of Rebecca Theresa Reed,' who is said to have been an inmate of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown some few months. We have not seen the book, but have seen copious extracts from it in several of the papers, which we presume are fair specimens of its general contents. From these and other circumstances, we judge that the book should be read with caution. It should be remembered that Miss Reed is a discontented deserter from the Ursuline institution. She joined the Catholics for reasons best known to herself: but becoming dissatisfied with what she conceived to be the rigorous discipline of the monastery, she took the liberty to depart; and under the influence of her disaffection, she furnishes a narrative of her experience in the Catholic connexion. It is, therefore, even charitable to suppose that much colouring would be given to her story. Another circumstance that should not be forgotten by the reader of the 'Narrative,' is, that its ostensible author, Miss Reed, is sister-in-law to Prescot P. Pond, who is now awaiting his trial as one of the rioters who burnt the Ursuline Convent. It is natural that she should feel a strong sympathy for her relative, and an intense anxiety for the future prospects of her sister, Mr. P.'s wife. The stronger and more prevalent the prejudice against the Catholic religion, and especially against the convent, the more difficult will it be to get a jury to agree to convict him, and the greater will be his chance of escape. Everything, therefore, that tends to increase this prejudice, renders more probable Pond's final acquittal. Here, it will be seen, Miss R. had a powerful temptation, to say the least, to tell a *great story:* to show up the convent in a most revolting light. Besides, such is the state of feeling of a large portion of the community towards the Catholic institutions, that a book of the character of Miss R.'s narrative would be sure of an extensive sale. Motives of speculation, therefore, might operate to produce such a work at the present time."

SECTION XVII.

LETTER OF THE REV. MR. BYRNE.

To the Editor of the [Boston] Courier.

SIR:—I find in Miss Reed's book about the convent, recently published, she attributes language to me, which, if used as stated by her, would be highly unbecoming and exceptionable; and from the perusal of it, some may suppose that I used, or endeavoured to use over Miss Reed, undue and improper influence. I pray you to allow me through the columns of your paper, to endeavour to exculpate my character, by relating in what, and how far, I have been concerned in her regard. Let a candid and impartial public then judge.

In March, 1831, Mrs. Graham, with whom I was then but slightly acquainted, after the service and instructions I gave on a Wednesday evening in the church, went into the vestry and told me there was a young lady in the church who wished to be introduced to me, but that she would not do it without my consent, at that late hour, and especially as she knew but little of her herself. She then introduced Miss Reed, to whom, after a short conversation, I said, I would gladly see her at my house, when she could conveniently call, and would give her any information she required about the Catholic religion. Mrs. Graham afterwards informed me, that Miss Reed had called on her before, to accompany her to the evening instruction in the Catholic Church, but that she could not go on that evening; that when Miss Reed called on her on the evening she introduced her, she told her she could not go on account of her daughter's sickness; but, seeing Miss Reed burst into tears at the disappointment, she requested a friend to remain with her daughter, and accompanied Miss Reed to the church, not knowing all this time that Miss Reed wanted to be introduced to me; that it was only on the termination of the instruction, Miss Reed expressed her wish to that effect; and that, on remonstrating with her on account of the lateness of the hour, Miss Reed declared she would not leave the church until introduced. Would it be unreasonable now to suppose that Miss Reed acted thus in consequence of the resolution she had formed, as mentioned in page 52 of the narrative, to become acquainted with some one who would introduce her to the superior of the Ursuline Community, and of having been foiled in her interview with Bishop Fenwick, alluded

to in page 58—that it was for this purpose she got herself introduced to Mrs. Graham —and that it was not Mrs. Graham that first urged and requested her to see me, as intimated in pages 60 and 61?

Miss Reed, in page 186 of her narrative, leaves it to the reader to judge of her motives for becoming a member of the Ursuline Community. She has not, at least as far as I have been able to discover, told the reader what motives first induced her to think of becoming a Catholic. She states in her letter to her friends, page 36, that her mother, previous to her death, reminded her of the solemn obligation she had taken upon herself at the time of her baptism in the Episcopal Church, in Cambridge; and also that she had consulted with Rev. Mr. Crosswell, pastor of Christ Church, Boston, previously to her joining the Catholics. She informed me, whilst coming for instruction, that she had seen the Rev. Mr. Crosswell two or three different times. For what purpose did she consult with the Rev. Mr. Crosswell previously to her joining the Catholics? Would it be a wrong conclusion, if the attentive reader of her narrative were to attribute her motives for becoming a Catholic, to her strong desire of becoming an inmate of the convent?

In a few days after being introduced to me, Miss Reed called at my house, accompanied by another person, (I believe a Miss Hawkins.) When questioned as to her motives for wishing to join the Catholic Church, she told me several times, that it was in compliance with her mother's wishes and request, expressed to her (Miss Reed) on her death-bed. Will not this appear strangely in contradiction to what she has stated in her letter to her friends? She also told me, more than once, that her mother would have died a Catholic, had she had an opportunity; and that her mother had told her so. I said to her, that in choosing her religion, it was well to pay some attention to her parent's advice; but that she must be influenced, not by any worldly motives or considerations, but chiefly and solely by a love of truth, and a desire to serve God in the best manner; and in giving her books, I desired her to examine them carefully, to compare the passages of Scripture in them with her Bible, not to pass over anything until fully satisfied and convinced of its truth, and if she should not understand any part, to mark the page, that it might be explained when she called again. When Miss Reed first came to me, she was staying, or, as she would have it, visiting, in a family of the name of Hawkins; and, I believe, she did not live with her father from that time until she left the convent. She stated to me, that her father had driven her from his house, or that she was obliged to leave it, on account of his ill-treatment to her in consequence of her determination to become a Catholic. In a few weeks after being introduced to me, she came to reside at No. 29 Austin Street. I was informed that this arrangement was made by persons who heard her account of the ill-treatment, and of her fear of her friends, and who, witnessing her desire, wished she might have a better opportunity of coming to me for instruction. She continued to reside in Mr. Hoyne's family in Austin Street, and occasionally in Mr. Payne's, opposite the Catholic Church in Richmond Street, until she went to the convent. As she states in page 65, that she employed herself while there in doing ornamental work for her Catholic friends, and also, in working lace for the bishop, the altar, &c., and again in the next page, that her time was wholly employed in working for the Catholics; some may suppose that a part, at least, of this work was for me, or for the altar in our church; I never received from Miss Reed anything for myself, or for the church, or for the altar.

Having directed her attention to it, and inquired about her former baptism, I considered there was a reasonable doubt as to its validity, from the *manner* in which she informed me it was administered; and not as some might be led to suppose from what she mentions on the subject, page 66, because Catholics consider baptism as administered by Protestants generally invalid. I informed her, she might be received by the name of Rebecca Theresa, or any other she preferred; and she herself chose Mary Agnes Theresa. Then, after about three months instruction, I administered baptism to her by this name, using the conditional form, "If thou art not baptized, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." I was not her sponsor. She continued receiving instructions for about three months longer, before she was admitted to the holy Eucharist or communion.

After Miss Reed went to Mr. Hoyne's she came to me for instruction generally once or twice a week, and sometimes oftener. On many of these occasions she used to express the strongest desire that she could get into the convent; she did not care in what capacity. She often said that if she could not succeed in this, she would go and retire into a cave or grotto in Boscawen, New Hampshire. I always advised her not to think of joining any religious order, at least for some years, until she would be fully and thoroughly ac-

quainted with the Catholic religion, and with the duties that would, in such a place, be required of her. After seeing some specimens of her writing, and being able to judge, as I then imagined, of her disposition, I used to tell her that I thought she would not, and could not be received as an Ursuline at Mount Benedict; and every time I said so to her, she would hold down her head, and appear to cry and sometimes to sob. On the same page, 61, where she mentions having heard an affecting sermon on Good Friday evening, (which was April 1st,) she says, that by this time she had became a constant visiter at the convent. And from other parts of the narrative, a person might suppose that she had frequently visited, and been well acquainted with the superior, even before she was introduced to me. This, however, I believe, was not the case. Miss Reed had been a considerable time at Mr. Hoyne's, before I yielded to her oft-repeated entreaties to give her a letter of introduction to the superior; and when I did so, it did not procure for Miss Reed the desired interview; it was only when I next saw the superior, and told her that I did not consider Miss Reed a fit person to become a member of their community, that is, an Ursuline; that my object in wishing her to see Miss Reed, was, that perhaps she (the superior) might succeed in disabusing her of her notions about becoming a nun; it was, I say, only after this explanation that the superior consented, and even then with some reluctance, to see Miss Reed.

In her letter to her friends, Miss Reed mentions, page 37, that when she began to write her narrative, she was able to make only memoranda. I suppose she meant to show how good her memory was, by marking as quotations, language that she attributes to me as well as to others. Now, if it be shown that her memory failed her, that she contradicts herself—and that, too, in matters which may well be supposed to have made, on a mind like Miss Reed's, a deep and lasting impression—will it be unreasonable to conclude that she mistakes, to say the least of it, in other parts of her narrative? In page 72 she says, that on Sabbath morning, August 5th, 1831, she was attended to the gate of the convent by her friend Mrs. Graham, that is, when she went to reside at the convent. After sighing so long, and desiring so ardently to become an inmate of the convent, surely Miss Reed would not easily forget the happy day when all her wishes were realized. To show that she did not, she marks the day and date; and as if to show the more particularly, this is the only date she gives in the whole of her narrative, at least as far as I have been able to discover. Now I beg you to observe, first, that the 5th of August, in 1831, fell not on a Sabbath or Sunday, but on Friday; next, she states, page 66, that she stood sponsor for Mrs. Graham's daughter—now this, according to the record made of it at the time, was September 4th, 1831. Further, I received three notes from the superior relative to Miss Reed, bearing date August 12th, September 2d, and September 12th, 1831. In the one dated September 2d, the superior writes: "I think it best that Miss Reed should make her confession and communion before she enters;" and in the one of September 12th, "If she (Miss Reed) has made it (her first communion) to-day, you will be kind enough to direct her to come here, immediately after High Mass." Now let the impartial reader compare these dates with that given by Miss Reed, and judge.

In page 67, Miss Reed says she was questioned by the superior with regard to a conversation which took place between her brother and herself on Charlestown Bridge, an account of which was published in the Jesuit, highly exaggerated, as she says. If you look at the following pages, you will, I am confident, say that the interview at which the questions were, if at all, asked, must have taken place some time before she went to reside at the convent. Now, if Miss Reed was right in stating that she went to the convent August the 5th, how did she know of the publication in the Jesuit of August 6th, relative to that conversation? Did she read the Jesuit in the convent? Does she say that such reading occupied any part of her time while there? When did she ask me, as mentioned in the note at the bottom of page 67, to explain to her what that publication meant? When did I promise her to have it corrected? By whom was the conversation exaggerated? By way of explanation, let me relate how the meeting with her brother occurred, and the account given of it at the time by Miss Reed herself. For some time previous to June 12, Ellen Munnigle, of Milk Row, then about fourteen years of age, used to come with others to the church to get instructions preparatory to receiving communion and confirmation. On one of these occasions, this girl called to see Miss Reed, who then, living very retired, (see note page 70,) was advised to accompany this girl, for the sake of a walk, on the Prison Bridge leading from Charlestown to the Canal or Craigie's Bridge. When she saw her brother, she desired the girl to go off quick. There was, then, no one to give any account of the

conversations but Miss Reed and her brother. By whom was it exaggerated? Miss Reed returned to Mr. Payne's in tears, much excited, and apparently in danger of swooning. She urged Mrs. Payne, in the most pressing manner, to go for me immediately. Not being at home at the time, I did not see Miss Reed until after nightfall. When I called, I found Miss Reed still in tears, and was informed by her and by Mrs. Payne, to whom she had already told the story, that her brother met her on the bridge, shook her violently by the arm, and threatened to throw her over into the water. Thinking the story to be true, I mentioned it a few days afterwards to Dr. O'Flaherty in Boston, without the least intention or expectation that it would be made public. And though the meeting occurred in the beginning of June, nothing relative to it was published in the Jesuit until August. Now, if no such conversation took place between her brother and herself, why did she say that it did? Was it to excite in her behalf the greater sympathy of the Catholics? Let the candid reader judge if she was likely to ask me to explain what the publication of it meant.

The next morning after Miss Reed left the convent, Mrs. Graham's brother, Mr. James Manson, called on me, told me the circumstance, and requested I would go and see her. I told him in reply, that, from the manner in which she left the convent, and the language he said she used at Mr. Kidder's, (the house to which Miss Reed went on making her escape,) I supposed Miss Reed did not want to see me, and I declined going. He said Mrs. Graham felt very anxious and apprehensive lest she might be blamed for what she had done in regard to Miss Reed, and wished to ask my advice; I then promised to go in the afternoon. I would here remark, that neither Mrs. Graham nor her brother were members of the Catholic Church at that time, nor for a long time after; and I believe that Miss Reed's language and conduct contributed not a little to induce them to become Catholics. When I went to Milk Row, Mrs. Graham repeated to me the circumstances of the preceding evening, and said Miss Reed wished to see me. At this interview with Miss Reed, during which I took care that other persons should be present, I expressed my regret for her leaving the convent as she did, knowing that she might have left it otherwise, if she wished; and my hope that she would not make it more public, fearing lest it might redound to the injury of the convent. She accused the bishop and the superior, but in general terms, of being bad, wicked persons. When pressed to tell what the superior had done to her, she said she deceived her, by promising her at one time that she would be admitted to become an Ursuline, and telling her at other times she would not. I said to her, that even if the superior had acted wrong towards her, I hoped she would not do so, by now forsaking the religion she had embraced after mature deliberation. Miss Reed appeared to get angry, even at the suggestion of such an idea, and said she would die sooner than abandon her religion. Seeing a sheet of paper on the table by her side, with a few words written on it, I asked her what she had been writing. She then showed me a slate on which was written the draught of a letter, she said, to Miss Kennedy in New York, (the person so often mentioned by the name of Mary Francis,) informing her of the step she had taken, and asking her advice and assistance to get to the Sisters of Charity at Emmetsburg. I did not say, as she states in page 178, that I had conveyed a novice to the Sisters of Charity. Not only I had not done so, but at that time had not advised or recommended any persons to go to that institution. I did not offer to convey Miss Reed to them, for I knew they would not receive her. She expressed her fears that the Catholics would kill her for having run away from the convent. I told her she need not be the least alarmed or uneasy on that account. Had she really any such fears? Besides Mrs. Graham's daughter, there was another Catholic, Mr. Barr, in the house: and after remaining five weeks in that house, she spent more than a week with Mr. and Mrs. Payne, both Catholics. It was not until the next day after this interview with Miss Reed, I informed the superior where she was. On Saturday, the 21st, I again went to Milk Row, saw and conversed with Miss Reed in the presence of Mr. Barr, who offered to retire, but at my request remained. The account of this second interview, as given in pages 181 and 182 of the narrative, is entirely incorrect. It is not true that Miss Reed did not consent to see me until after much persuasion from Mrs. Graham. Mrs. Graham was not at home at the time. She had gone to the convent in compliance with the request in the superior's letter which she received the preceding day. I then knew nothing of Miss Reed's father or relations but what I had learned from Miss Reed herself; so that even if I had spoken, as she states, which I deny, it must have been upon the strength of her own information. I did not ask her to go to the superior, for I well

knew the superior did not wish to see her. So far from saying she did not then believe in the Catholic religion, she expressed her hopes of getting to the Sisters of Charity, through the assistance of Miss Kennedy. She did not say she believed I would take her life, or that she would not trust herself in my clutches again. No, no. She did not, at least, seem to entertain such a bad opinion of me. For the next morning after she received the letter mentioned in page 184, she came to my room *alone*, to show me the letter and to ask my advice. In that letter Miss Kennedy expressed her regret for the manner in which Miss Reed had left the convent, and advised her not to let it be known to any one, but to the good lady (Mrs. Graham) to whose house she had gone, and to her confessor. I asked her why she did not follow Miss Kennedy's advice in this respect, as she pretended to have done in leaving the convent; and reminded her that I was not her confessor since she had gone to the convent. I have thought it was this expression of mine that induced Miss Reed to go to confession to me in the afternoon of the same day. In a few days she came again to my room, and *alone*. She did not appear much afraid to trust herself in my clutches, or that I would take her life. She asked my advice what to do, and wished she could get to New York. I again directed her attention to Miss Kennedy's letter, and showed her that Miss Kennedy promised nothing specific—but only that she would do all in her power to procure her (Miss Reed) a situation if she did go to New York. I told her that, considering all the circumstances, the only advice I could give her, was to try to get into some family where she might support herself by her work, or to return to her friends; and that I feared, if she did the latter, she would be prevailed upon or induced to forsake the Catholic religion. When I mentioned this, she held down her head, and seemed to cry, as formerly; and declared, as she did at Milk Row, that she would never abandon her religion; and hoped I had a better opinion of her, than to think she would ever do such a thing.

Having by this time some suspicions of her sincerity, I watched her more closely than I used on former occasions, and perceived that not only there were no streams of tears flowing down her cheeks, but that not a drop even appeared in her eyes. Next day she sent Mrs. Payne again to ask my advice. Mrs. Payne told me that Miss Reed had sent her the day before with a message to her sister in Boston, and that her friends did not appear very anxious for her return to them. Miss Reed often expressed a wish, since she left the convent, and particularly to Mrs. Payne, that I would employ her as organist in our church. I desired Mrs. Payne to tell Miss Reed, that I had no advice to send her but what I gave herself the preceding day. Miss Reed, now finding she would not be supported idle by her Catholic friends, sent for her brother, with whom she left Mrs. Payne's. Her father, I was told, had called to see her a few days before.

Since Miss Reed left the convent, I have heard much of her crucifying herself, and other of her antics, before she went to the convent; but as they did not come under my own observation, I will not mention them here. I will say, however, that unquestionably, had I been informed of them at the proper time, I would not have so easily received her, nor admitted her to communion, even after about six months' instruction.

Now with regard to the facts, and circumstances, and conversations which I have mentioned as having occurred in the presence, and within the knowledge of other persons, I can confidently appeal to these persons to confirm the truth of them as by me stated. As to the conversations that took place between Miss Reed and myself when no other person was present, and concerning which she is either silent or gives a different version from what I have stated, I would ask the reader to bear in mind that, besides the difference of her stories to me, and I may add, to others, concerning for instance, her mother, the conversation with her brother, and what she states concerning these in her book, she herself acknowledges that she acted with duplicity and dissimulation in the convent, and then I do not hesitate to leave to a candid and impartial public to judge between Miss Reed's veracity and mine. When it is considered that she acted thus in the convent, according to her own acknowledgment, will it appear incredible to suppose that she was capable of acting with similar dissimulation on other occasions?

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

P. BYRNE.

Charlestown, March 31st, 1835.

SECTION XVIII.

SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT.

WE have read this production of the persons who assume the name of Sister Mary Agnes, alias Miss Rebecca Theresa Reed. And, to say the truth, we have seldom been

more amused by any work of fiction. To any person who knows anything of any convent, but especially of a convent of the Ursuline Order, of the same congregation as that whose house was destroyed in Massachusetts, this cannot fail to be a supremely ridiculous little morsel. Those who have not had the opportunity of such acquaintance, necessarily lose the enjoyment.

The committee of publication compare their effort to that of Martin Luther; and flatter themselves that their measure, like his, must, by "the more thinking and judicious part of mankind," be looked upon as the wisest step which, even in a mere worldly and prudential light, could possibly have been taken to render contemptible and abortive the expected fulmination of the Roman court!!! Yet they "do not propose to institute a grave comparison between Luther's little treatise in the sixteenth century, and the narrative of a Six Months' Residence in a Convent in the nineteenth century; but there are some points of resemblance in the treatment of the two cases that are not altogether unapt."

The first point of resemblance is, the denunciation of both treatises, not only "by the Catholics and their friends," but even the startling of many of the apparent friends of truth, and the New Testament, at the boldness of presuming to publish "the little treatise of Mr. Luther, and the little narrative of Miss Reed." The next point of resemblance is, that in each case the statements of the abuses and follies of convents and monasteries rested, for some time, on the *individual* assertions of Mr. Luther and Miss Reed. The third point is, that the little treatise and the little narrative, were both denounced and condemned, by those who knew nothing of their real contents, as "heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears." A fourth is—that Luther ventured to doubt the infallibility of the Pope, and the advisers of the publication of the narrative venture to doubt the infallibility of convents. All which, we assure them, they may venture to deny without "heresy, scandal, or offence of pious ears:" for they are both denied by good Catholics. Another point of analogy is, that the great man three hundred years ago, and the great committee to-day, "conscientiously believed that it was their duty to give the little treatise and the little narrative to the Christian public." And now the great committee "anticipate, as a matter of course, from a portion of the community," all manner of denunciations and excommunications as "obstinate heretics, fit only to be delivered to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh." Upon this point we are anxious to dissipate their apprehensions, and we do so with pleasure. We have communicated with the inquisitor upon the subject, and he has authorized us publicly to declare that, so far as his authority extends, they shall never be molested, denounced, excommunicated, or even looked after by a familiar of the holy office; and, as to the destruction of the flesh, they shall suffer less than did the unfortunate Marcy—they shall be as safe as Buzzell; nor will it be necessary for them, he supposes, to hold out their hats as Buzzell is said to have done, to receive the contributions of his grateful fellow-citizens; for their publisher has the means of affording them abundant compensation.

The publishing committee assign, in the following passages of their introduction, what we consider a joint motive with that of good profit, as inducing the publication.

"We earnestly hope and believe that this little work, if universally diffused, will do more by its unaffected simplicity in deterring Protestant parents from educating their daughters in Catholic nunneries, than could the most laboured and learned discourses on the dangers of Popery."—p. 13.

"If the facts were such as ought to put Protestant parents on their guard against educating their daughters at Catholic cloisters."—p. 22.

"Protestant American citizens, who regard it as a *heinous moral offence*, to tell the truth, and expose the danger and folly of educating the daughters of free republicans at Catholic convents, must assuredly approve of the eulogium the infidel historian, Hume, pronounces on Pope Leo the Tenth."—p. 32.

"And, least of all, are we called upon to pronounce panegyrics upon nunneries and Catholic seminaries, in order to indemnify the sufferers, by inducing more Protestant Christians to neglect our own schools, and send their daughters to be educated in a convent."—p. 47.

The object of the publication is to tell the truth, as they say, to disclose facts, for the above purpose.

Let us test some of his statements of fact made by the committee:—

They tell us, p. 44, that a Protestant senator of Ohio, standing in the streets of Cincinnati, was compelled to take off his hat in honour to the Catholic ceremony of the passing *Host*. The papers that circulated this *fact*, asserted that it was in honour of the passing *bishop*. Next.—It was not a senator, but some one else. Next.—It was nobody that could be found;—just as an Irish Catholic priest, Father Sheehy, was hanged

in Clogheen, for the murder of a man named Bridges, whose dead body could be found nowhere; but, as Father O'Leary remarked, whose living body was subsequently discovered in Newfoundland. In pp. 23, 24. They say "it was the determination of the friends of Miss R., in conformity to her wishes, not to give publicity to her narrative unless it became indispensable to the cause of truth, nor then until such disposition had been made of the pending prosecutions of the rioters, as to render such a course free from all just imputation of an attempt to interfere with public justice." Yet the Boston Transcript is authorized to say, that the narrative "was in the hands of the Reverend Mr. Crosswell, her pastor, two or three years ago, and it was in consequence of his influence that the book was not *then published*." And the Essex Banner informs us that Prescott P. Pond, the brother-in-law of Miss Reed, is now awaiting his trial upon the charge of having been concerned in burning the convent.

The committee say, p. 14 of the narrative, that "not one of those at whose suggestion it is now published, had ever heard of it until *after* the destruction of the convent, and we are well assured that very few persons, indeed, knew that it had ever been written until after the outrage at Charlestown had been committed." They say, p. 4, "soon after she left the convent, (two years and a half before the destruction,) the young lady had committed the narrative to writing, although that fact was known to but few persons, including her pastor and her immediate friends and advisers." In p. 28, they say, "It was not until this publication of Judge Fay appeared that Miss R. fully consented that her friends should publish her narrative." In her own letter, in reply to Judge Fay, p. 31, she says of the narrative, "If, however, it should be published, there will be no 'pruning or purgation,' as is feared by the learned judge, but it will, on the contrary, be more full and explicit than was originally intended; for, when written, it was not intended for publication." And in the same letter, p. 30. She says, "I did not permit even my own sisters to read the manuscript which I had written concerning it." In the reply, p. 29, she says—that up to the time of the destruction of the convent, "no conversation of importance with regard to it had ever been held by me with but two persons. One of them is the reverend gentleman of whose church I am now a member, and the other is a resident in the country." Who, then, let us ask, were the immediate friends and advisers, besides the pastor?—p. 4.

In the month of last October, the committee received from Miss R., they inform us, p. 36, a communication which it would appear accompanied the narrative, and in that communication we read, p. 37, "At the time I related the facts contained in this narrative to the Rev. Mr. C., he advised me, as soon as I was able, to put in writing all that I had learned and experienced of Roman Catholicism while among them, and while in the convent. At first I was able to make only memoranda, but I have at last endeavoured, in my own simple language, to place them together in something like the form of a narrative, for your perusal." Thus it would appear, that it was only then *at last* the *memoranda* were placed in the form of a narrative. And yet the committee tell us, p. 36, "The form in which it is now published is a revision of the original draft," not memoranda, "by Miss R." She tells us that "it is in her own simple language." They tell us that what is published is a revision "under the advice of judicious friends,"—"with a few unimportant corrections." How then was this narrative ready for publication, and in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Crosswell two or three years ago, and the *publication then* prevented only by his influence? How did it happen that it was given to the publishing committee of judicious friends for their perusal and unimportant correction in October, if it was only when the publication of Judge Fay appeared on the 5th of the subsequent January, that she consented to the publication, which publication was prevented three years before, by the Rev. Mr. Crosswell?

But we have been led from our purpose. We said that Miss Reed's narrative amused us. We have the honour of knowing the mother superior of the convent: and a more intelligent woman, [or one] of [more] highly cultivated manners, we have seldom had the good fortune to meet. Imagine a girl who, we are informed, had been herself a servant, introduced by her own servant to a lady of this description. And on the first interview, page 55, "taking my hand, she said, 'O, it feels more like a pancake than anything else.'" Miss Reed was not yet a Catholic, and yet the lady asks her "in what capacity I desired to enter the institution, whether as a recluse or a scholar." To any one who knows a convent, nothing is more amusingly ridiculous. Amongst the Ursulines there are no recluses; and a very pious Catholic lady would have to make several applications, before making such mighty progress. However, Miss Reed could work miracles. She entered the convent in 1831, and killed Sister Magdalene,

at whose funeral service Father Taylor officiated at the altar, though our respected friend Taylor had quitted Boston, sailed from New York in November, 1826, lived at Bourdeaux, and died in Paris, yet in p. 137, Sister Mary Agnes makes him officiate at the altar of the convent, near Boston. This exceeds her story of changing the meat under the pewter plate into fish, p. 158.

The account which she gives of the interment, p. 138, is as amusingly incorrect, as if Miss Mary Agnes had written it purposely to mislead: and the declaration respecting the omission of the usual prayers, because the bishop said Magdalene's soul had gone immediately to heaven, is we suspect, the work of the judicious friends who made the unimportant corrections.

We recollect a prosecution of two men for an assault and battery, and divers other high crimes and misdemeanours, under the following circumstances. They pretended to be freemasons, and undertook for a stipulated sum to have some poor gull "arched." At a determined time and place, they commenced operations—and amongst other proceedings in the ceremonial, they shaved one side of the novice's head, clothed him in some strange robe, and placed him in a coffin, which they covered with a pall, whilst they sat down to supper. This probably was what suggested the notion of the note at p. 139. "I learned that the usual custom was to place them in a black coffin, covered with a black pall, when they were to take the *black vows*." The very mode of administering extreme unction, as maintained in p. 131, is described in such a way, as shows the grossest ignorance. And giving the viaticum after the anointing; saying Mass before and after the administration, is just as exact a description as is the blunder of saying Complin at five in the morning, before Prime was recited.

In page 93, she got as penance from the Lady Superior, to make the sign of the cross on the floor with her tongue, and to eat a *crust* of bread in the morning for her portion; but she cunningly made the sign of the cross with her hand instead of her tongue—and as respects the *crust*, deponent sayeth not. This, however, is by no means as good as what she relates in p. 109, where the superior "showed me a phial, which she said, contained some of St. Theresa's tears; she said if I would save my tears while in devotion, she could tell by them, whether I should ever arrive to the perfection of a saint." In p. 123, her reception took place. This is a most amusing series of blunders. She refused the white veil because the Sisters of Charity did not wear it, and it was omitted. And she made vows, the substance of which she gives. The reception is the ceremony of giving the white veil, at which no vow is made. But we should fill our sheet by the mere enumeration of the notorious blunders, not to allude to notorious and monstrous falsehoods.

The committee would have done better to lay the scene in Italy or Spain, and to give the ceremonial of some order in the clouds. This was the old fashion; and it was far safer for fiction.

We shall wait for the answer of the superior; though we regret that she condescended to answer.

One of the Boston papers has the following paragraph:

ANSWER TO SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT.—John H. Eastborn has just published "An Answer to Six Months in a Convent, exposing its falsehoods and manifold absurdities—by the Lady Superior, with some preliminary remarks." This is a large pamphlet, of 66 pages, including an appendix containing various documents, besides the preliminary remarks, which occupy thirty-seven pages, smaller type. We have not yet read this production, and of course cannot judge of its merits. The following is an extract from the first paragraph:

"It is a duty that I owe to myself, and the community of which I form the responsible head, to assert before the world, the falsehoods and baseness of Miss Reed, and to prove them to be so, so far as the nature of the charges against us will admit of proof. Of herself, Miss Reed is nothing; as an instrument in the hands of designing men, she is capable of extensive mischief and injury. Her falsehoods did us no harm, as long as they were circulated by her alone, among those who *were acquainted with her character*; they become potent only when adopted by an irresponsible association, well known, however, as leading agitators and sectarians."

SECTION XIX.

From the Portland (Maine) Daily Advertiser.

THE CONVENT CONTROVERSY.

Miss Reed's Book—The Lady Superior's Answer.

WE have received, by mail, a copy of a pamphlet from the press of Eastburn, Boston, entitled an "Answer to Six Months in a Convent, exposing its falsehoods and manifest absurdities. By the Lady Superior: with preliminary remarks."

We have taken no part, and hardly per-

mitted ourselves to express an opinion hitherto, in this controversy. We have seen the gradual growth of the excitement in Massachusetts, arising from its agitation, and while we have had our own views of the case, we have forborne to express them until we should have an opportunity to see both sides. The publication of the "Answer" affords us this opportunity.

Our sympathies have, from the first, been enlisted in favour of the community at Mount Benedict; not as religionists—for in this light we differ totally from them—but as upright, defenceless, and conscientious women, by their sex, situation, occupation, and profession, entitled to our kindness, protection, and respect. The conflagration of their building, by a portion of the people of Massachusetts, we have ever looked upon as disgraceful in the highest degree, being unprovoked, inhuman, and offensive, against all laws, human and moral. We deplore that it was so difficult, from the over-excited state of popular feeling in the vicinity of the outrage, to bring the perpetrators to justice, and must confess that we were among those who thought that some redress from some quarter should be proffered the Ursuline Community, by way of restoring to them some portion of what the popular frenzy had deprived them of so madly. We will not deny that the strong asseverations of some of the editors and contributors of newspapers in Boston, that disclosures would be made, showing the convent at Charlestown to have been a *Catholic school*, for the inculcation of Catholic principles and doctrines, upon Protestant minds, had some effect towards raising in our minds a doubt on the subject—and the publication of Miss Reed's "Six Months in a Convent," with the "Introduction," by the publishers, somewhat deepened this doubt, and affected our judgment. The temperate and able reply of the Lady Superior to that work, has entirely restored, we are free to say, our confidence in the pure intentions, and upright character of the community of Ursulines, late of Mount Benedict, now residing at Roxbury. It is an entire refutation of the stories of Miss Reed; and this refutation is not made out upon Catholic testimony alone, but upon the evidence coming from disinterested Protestants—or, if not disinterested, yet deeply interested in knowing and promulgating the truth as to the character of an institution to which they have entrusted the education of their daughters.

Almost every page of Miss Reed's book is shown to be false; not only by the assertion of the Lady Superior, but by corroborating circumstances of so direct and obvious a character as to leave no doubt on the candid mind, [concerning] the aspersions they are cited to confute. The claim to the character of a professed nun, on the part of Miss Reed, is successfully disproved, she having doubtlessly assumed it, in order to gain that credence with her readers, which she could not expect, unless it could be made to appear that she had been admitted "within the veil." The very title of her work, "*Six* Months in a Convent," is shown by positive evidence, deduced from her own assertions as well as facts based on the strongest circumstantial proof, to convey a falsehood, she not having been at the school in any capacity, much more than four months.

One of the most striking, absurd instances of Miss Reed's mendacity, seems to us to be presented in the report of the language of a low, uneducated, and vulgar character, which she finds it convenient, in different parts of her book, to put into the mouth of Mrs. St. George, the superior of the convent. This troubled our credulity a good deal, when we first perused the "Six Months," &c., for we had heard from high authority, that that lady was very accomplished, well educated, and of elegant and polished manners. The style of her "Answer" confirms, at once, our impression of her character, and that which we had been led to form of Miss Reed's unworthiness of credit. Again, it is a strong circumstance against Miss Reed and her stories, that, after pretending to escape from the alleged cruelties of a convent, she should profess so strong a desire (as from letters extant, in her own handwriting, it appears she did profess) to continue in conventual life. It cannot be made to consist with probability, that so strong a hostility to Catholicism, and so warm a devotion to it, could exist in the same bosom at so nearly the same time. We cannot but admit the force of this argument, upon our deliberate opinion. The story of Miss Reed's abduction, and the intention of the Bishop of Boston and the superior to have her carried off in a hackney-coach to Canada—the ridiculous, made-up story of the conception and progress of the Morgan plot, where the conspirators talk with open doors, and without taking the least heed to conceal their conversation from listeners—the escape, too, over a wall when the gates were notoriously wide open all day on Mount Benedict, all seemed to be coined for the occasion. They are all flagrantly inconsistent with reason, common sense, and human nature. The ease with which detection and certain destruction of

the convent, as well as Catholicism in that part of our country at least, would ensue, is in itself an adequate reply to these charges, even if the character and conduct of the parties had not been uniformly what it has ever been.

The great and main charge of Miss Reed, as to the treatment of all concerned or connected with the convent, and especially of herself, and some others who are named, and whose cases she describes as being peculiarly horrible,—is refuted by the most ample testimony. One of these cases was that of a nun, now dead, and of course not accessible for disproof. The surviving sisters of the deceased testify to the utmost kindness on the part of the whole convent towards their departed relative, and their testimony is corroborated by that of Dr. Thompson, a Protestant physician. Another of these charges was referred to a domestic, who flatly contradicts Miss Reed; and another to a young lady now living at the South, who has constantly corresponded on terms of the greatest intimacy with the Lady Superior. The latter, in her "Answer," tells us that the evidence of that lady will soon be presented to the public.

As to the treatment of the Protestant scholars at the convent, the evidence of Judge Fay, Messrs. Thaxter, Whitmarsh, Mrs. Russell, Judge Thacher, and many others, of the highest character and credibility is adduced, and to our minds entirely clears the institution of the odium which has been heaped upon it, on the ground of its improper interference with the religious opinions of its pupils. As to the cruelty of the order towards novices and nuns, there is a piece of testimony, which to our minds is of the most conclusive character. We mean that of Miss Alden of Belfast, who was four years in the convent, which she entered with a view of taking the veil. After residing there two years, she altered that intention, but continued at the convent two years longer, from personal regard and affection for the Lady Superior. She broadly contradicts all allegations of cruelty, or even of any departure from the most affectionate kindness towards all connected with the institution, on the part of the bishop, the superior, and the sisterhood. The letter and statement of Miss Alden are accompanied by a letter from her father, (a Protestant,) expressing the highest opinion of the mode of treatment and instruction pursued at the convent school.

All things duly weighed, we cannot but look on Miss Reed as a romantic, nervous, passionate, and obstinate girl, who, without any fixed principles of action, has taken advantage of a popular prejudice to benefit herself in a pecuniary way, while she at the same time gratified her love of romance and the marvellous by her impositions upon the credulity of the public. This, we have little doubt, will turn out to be the case, and in coming to this conclusion, with all our prejudices in favour of Protestant doctrines, and opposed to the education of Protestant children in Catholic seminaries, we have yet endeavoured to be as impartial as possible, and to state our views as fairly and clearly as we are able. We have no doubt that there are many who honestly believe the story of Miss Reed—and many, whose repugnance to the Catholic religion is so great as to lead them to believe almost anything which may be alleged against its professors; but we cannot believe that even they will deny a hearing to both—that they will not remember that toleration is the grand characteristic, the presiding genius of all our institutions, and that "persecution for opinion's sake" was the plea upon which our fathers expatriated themselves, threw up their allegiance to country, their regard for personal comfort and convenience, and embraced suffering and death to maintain their independence of opinion. We write here as Americans, not as religionists, sectarians, or politicians: and we have given utterance to these sentiments from an honest conviction, that in the case which has suggested their expression, there has been a manifest and flagrant departure from the true republican principles which are the ark of our safety, as a united people, and the covenant of our existence as a free and independent nation.

SECTION XX.

THE DESTROYED CONVENT.

If the publishing committee once imagined that their "Six Months in a Convent," could redeem the character of their state and institutions, they have been wofully disappointed. The internal character of the house has, however, been laid before the American people, by those whose aim was to show it in the worst light possible, by all the evidence they could amass. It has been promptly met by the Lady Superior, and *we* will not say triumphantly refuted. There are other and abler pens, who relieve us from the task, and whose statements may be entitled to more credit, as impartial judges, who have heard both sides, and all of whom are not Catholics. Thus the convent has passed through its ordeal, and by impartial Americans has been declared pure; whilst the foul stain fastened by its

demolition on the scutcheon of the commonwealth, shall never be wiped away. We refer our readers to another column, for an able article from the "Portland (Maine) Advertiser," whilst we here subjoin two others from many more, of a similar tendency, before us; first, merely remarking that on the day of its publication, 5000 copies of the Lady Superior's Answer were sold in Boston.

From the National Gazette.

We insert this morning a very liberal and just article from a Maine journal, respecting the Answer of the Lady Superior of the Ursuline Convent, to Miss Reed's famous narrative. We received and read the Answer, last week, but awaited an expression of opinion from some source which could not be denied to be, at least, impartial. Our impressions are the same as those of the Portland editor. It appears to us that Miss Reed is completely discredited by this reply, embracing Preliminary Remarks, by an able hand—the Lady Superior's statements, and an appendix of testimony. There is one fact which might be deemed sufficient for every intelligent and dispassionate reader —"that for several weeks after Miss Reed had left the convent at Charlestown, she continued a Catholic, and endeavoured to procure admission into another convent." The subjoined specimen of her literary proficiency, copied from the original in her handwriting, is furnished among the Preliminary Remarks:

"TO OUR REVERRENT MOTHER.

"My dear ma mare you shall always find
In me a child affectionate kind,
So with cheerful heart, I come to say,
That I wish you a very happy day.

"And so I do to all the rest
I must not love one sister best,
They are all as one to me,
And I wish I could with them always be.

"Therefore I have one request to make
Fearing lest any rash step I take,
That I may in your prayers shaire
The holey habbit for to wear."

—

From the New York Star.

"ANSWER TO SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT, BY THE LADY SUPERIOR."—The reply to Miss Reed's book, contradicts, in the most positive manner, every important declaration, whether in relation to her own story, or the customs of the convent, the religious ceremonies, police regulations, habits, views, &c., set forth by Miss Reed. and it is impossible to read the Answer without arriving at the conclusion, that the committee who have superintended the publication of "Six Months in a Convent," have been imposed upon by the very artful representations of this young woman. We are aware that prejudice against Popery gives a strong interest to Miss Reed's work, and makes her an object of interest, and has surrounded her by partisans of a sectarian character. We do not complain of this farther than if prejudices are to be encouraged between two branches of the Christian religion, they should not originate in any misstatements relative to the transactions in the convent. We, of course, have neither prejudice nor preference, nor can be suspected of favouring one party to the injury of the other. This convent is nothing more than a school for the education of young ladies, in all important accomplishments, and where for several years forty or fifty young ladies of every religious denomination have been annually and carefully educated, and entirely to the satisfaction of their parents. A few religious women, associated together for these objects, choose, by ballot, a matron or chief manager, who is dignified with the name of the Lady Superior—music, dancing, drawing, languages, and everything appertaining to a genteel education are taught—they live like ladies in every well-regulated boarding-school—they have their religious worship, their exercises, their recreations, their rules and regulations—the doors are open to all who wish to see the pupils or teachers—there appears to be nothing more than what is generally found in similar institutions on a large scale. Miss Reed, a poor girl, day after day, entreats to be admitted—an enthusiast in favour of Catholicism, is finally offered six months' gratuitous education and boarding—is treated with kindness—runs away, changes her religion, and publishes a book.

The Answer is made up of flat contradictions, in which much excitement and indignation are observable, arising, no doubt, from wounded sensibility, from a deep feeling of injuries inflicted, for not only is the peaceful asylum of these innocent women burnt over their heads, and their property destroyed—an act worthy only of Goths and Vandals—but they are charged with high crimes and misdemeanors, by one whom they received and cherished when a houseless wanderer. In the appendix to the Answer, are certificates from highly respectable Protestants, who have had children educated at that school, and who speak in terms of unqualified praise of the ladies who belong to that community.

Just such women who lived in that convent, we meet occasionally in our streets, with a pensive, downcast look, a black

hood, nearly concealing their faces, black dresses, nearly covering their feet, raiment decent, but coarse, generally with a book in hand, hurrying to some engagement. They are called *Sisters of Charity*, and are not found in the mansions of the great, nor at the sumptuous tables of the rich, but in the hovels of the poor—attending the bedside of the sick and helpless, administering to their temporal and spiritual comfort; they arm themselves with fortitude and reliance on the protection of Almighty God, and visit those afflicted with cholera, when all the terrified world desert the unhappy victim; they go not where there is music and dancing, gaiety and fashion—but "plague, pestilence, and famine," where the boldest shrink, and the most courageous shudder. Shall we stop to ask whether these women are Catholics—whether they sprinkle themselves with holy water, or kneel before a figure of the Virgin; or with a spirit of toleration—of Christian charity—of common justice, assign them the distinguished rank to which they are entitled as benefactors of the human race? When will Christians rightly understand their own religion?

SECTION XXI.

From the N. Y. Churchman.

When the account of the conflagration of the Ursuline Convent first reached us, we read it with a glow of sympathy with the sufferers, and of indignation against the inhuman perpetrators, but we confess, without being overwhelmed either with anguish or consternation; it was a tragic event; but tragic events, either real or imaginary, past or present, one is continually hearing; and not being gifted with the ability which, as Coleridge tells us, is the chief distinction of genius, to regard everything that exists in nature or happens in life, with the surprise of a child who never saw it before, we could denounce the outrage without being lost in wonder at its occurrence. We were not insensible either to the atrocity of the act, the anguish of the immediate sufferers, or the grievances of the large body of Christians whose feelings had been outraged. We thought, however, perhaps with an unpardonable apathy or an unenviable hebetude, but still we thought that the story would be a nine days' wonder, and then be either forgotten by the public at large, or remembered by them without any strong emotions, either of exasperation on the one side, or condolence on the other. That the foul perpetrators of the catastrophe would be arrested, tried, condemned, and punished—ay, and punished with the deep and stern execration of an offended community, we did not doubt for an instant; not a suspicion of any other result crossed our mind. We read the assurances of the high-minded citizens of Boston in the midst of the excitement, that JUSTICE should be done, and we supposed, in the simplicity of our heart, that the sufferers would be indemnified, either by legislative provision or private munificence. At length the trials commenced, and we read the proceedings at first with no great interest, being tolerably certain of the result. But the interest, faint at first, soon increased, and new and painful trains of reflection were awakened. It soon became manifest that strong, virulent, and organized efforts were making to influence public feeling, and to bring an unrighteous influence to bear upon the trial, with a view to defeat the ends of justice. The most absurd and contemptible stories were circulated in the religious press, of cells and engines of torture that had been discovered under a Romish church in Baltimore, with sundry other tales and horrors. In regard to the Ursuline Convent, the darkest surmises were thrown out. Deeds of darkness and death were whispered, and it was more than hinted that coffins or skeletons, we forget which—we believe both—had been found on the premises. The doctrine too was broached—we do not say it was maintained in print—that there were evils which the law could not reach, but which required the summary interference of the people; that the people so interfering were justified; in short, that mobs which would stop after they had achieved a work of judgment, were not only innocent, but righteous avengers of justice! Advantage, too, was taken of some weak and pernicious points of Romanism, which were represented to be as prevalent in practice as they are wicked in theory, and the whole body of Roman Catholics, from their bishops and most respectable citizens down to the most ignorant bigots that are vomited from abroad, were declared—deliberately and seriously declared—to be unworthy of belief under oath! The great point is, said one of the prints which led the van in this crusade, the great point is, in regard to the convent trials, to convince the members of the jury that the oath of a Roman Catholic is absolutely good for nothing! As we witnessed these efforts, our confidence in the result of the trials was gradually abated, and we finally heard without surprise that the culprits were acquitted. We saw without surprise that the proposal to indemnify the sufferers was not only negatived in the legislature—for that there may have been

sound political reasons of which we are incompetent to judge—but was never presented to the public, either as an act of justice which is obligatory somewhere, or, as a measure of benevolence which would be honourable to all. And we have thus seen a stain fixed upon the character of Boston, of Massachusetts, of our country, which is likely to remain for ever.

From the commencement of these events and throughout their progress, the question has often occurred to us—What was the remote cause of this disgraceful catastrophe and its more disgraceful termination? The convent was set on fire by villains, and the villains were impelled by a mob, and the mob was produced by a local excitement in the minds of the people. But what caused the excitement? Undoubtedly there is a general predisposition to exasperation among that class of people, embracing both the rich and the poor, the lettered and the illiterate, the minister, doctor, and lawyer, as well as the mason, the carpenter, and the day-labourer, whose easy credulity, strong passions, and weak judgment, entitle them to the appellation of the vulgar. This hostility belongs neither to 1835 nor to New England. It is neither temporary nor local; though in a new country jealous of its religion and its laws, averse to what is secret and mysterious, and suspicious of what is strange and foreign, it may more easily be brought into activity. It is interwoven with the Protestant mind. It is a part of the reformed mind of man acting under the influence of a lesson which has been dearly bought, and will be for ever remembered. And this hostility predisposes the vulgar mind to excitement. But what evolved this latent hostility? What threw in the sparks and fanned the flame? What excited it into activity, and prepared the way for the eventual explosion of the mob? Much was said at first of a paragraph in one of the daily papers, and of the mysterious disappearance of one of the inmates of the convent. But the longer the matter was talked of the more evident it became that these were but proximate causes, and that others more remote and of longer standing were yet to be discovered. The trial was far from affording us the light we wanted. It brought out statements and counter statements. On the one hand we had assurances of the excellent character and deportment of the ladies of the convent; on the other we had hints and rumours that excited the darkest suspicions. One thing, indeed was sufficiently manifest, that the convent had long had a bad name in the neighbourhood; that stories extremely prejudicial to its character had been for some time in circulation. But whether these stories were probably true, or if false, what were the ground and origin of them, it was impossible for us, who lived at such a distance from the scene, and had neither known nor conversed on the subject by word or letter with any person of the neighbourhood, to divine. Thus the matter continued under a cloud of mystery.

In this state of things we saw the announcement of the book, the title of which we have placed at the head of the present article, and which has probably attracted more notice and found more readers,* than any other publication of the last half century, "Six Months in a Convent." From previous notices of Miss Reed, we had some vague suspicions of the nature of the book, and we sympathized in the general curiosity to obtain a peep at its pages. Accordingly one morning, in prospect of a rainy day, we stepped into a bookstore, paid our half dollar, brought home the wonder, and having comfortably composed ourselves, *ante lares proprios*, proceeded very leisurely to note the contents. Prefixed to the narrative were "Preliminary Suggestions for the Candid Reader," and being willing to be classed under that denomination, we gave the suggestions a patient perusal; albeit in violation of our better judgment, that the candour of the reader would be best preserved by giving him the narrative without any suggestions at all. However, we read the preliminary essay, and although we had heard it eulogized as able, dispassionate, and judicious, we were so insensible to its merits as to characterize it forthwith as a production which combined the dry special pleading of one profession, with the narrow bigotry which too often disgraces another. These were the identical words which we had written down on paper before we had seen the Answer which describes it as "marked with the chicanery of the lawyer, and the zeal of the sectarian." All that we deemed of importance in the introduction, were the certificates to the character of Miss Reed. These, therefore, we examined with care. They are three in number, and we give them all in the order in which they stand.

"I hereby certify that Miss Rebecca T. Reed has been, for more than two years last past, a communicant at Christ Church; that I have always regarded her as a devout person, and exemplary in her Christian walk and conversation; that I repose great confi-

* Twenty-five thousand copies of the work, we learn from the Boston Recorder of last week, have been sold, and the demand from the West has not yet begun to be supplied.

dence in her sincerity and intention to relate, on all occasions, what she believes to be the truth.

WILLIAM CROSWELL,
Rector of Christ Church, Boston.

October 20th, 1834.

Cambridgeport, Oct. 3d, 1834.

This certifies that Miss R. Theresa Reed attended the Cambridgeport Academy several months within the last year. It gives me pleasure to add that, so far as my knowledge extended, her conduct during this time was uniformly good.

SAMUEL ADAMS,
Principal of Cambridgeport Academy.

We, the subscribers, having been acquainted with Miss Rebecca Theresa Reed, previous to her becoming a member of the Ursuline Community at Mount Benedict, Charlestown, and since leaving that institution, feel it due to the cause of truth and justice to say, that we consider her a person entitled to our confidence, sustaining as she does a character distinguished for love of truth, for unexceptionable morals, and for meek and modest deportment. And we feel it our duty to give, and cheerfully do give, this our testimonial, to be used by her and her friends as they shall deem most expedient.

September 26th, 1834.

Boston—James Day, Ebenezer F. Gay.

Lexington—Jonathan Munroe, Rhoda Munroe, Susan E. Munroe, John Viles, Sally D. Viles, Sarah H. Viles, Wm. L. Smith, Solomon Harrington, Betsey Harrington.

Woburn—Luke Wyman, Ruth Wyman, Ruthy B. Wyman, Lucy Wyman, Sarah R. Wyman, Bill Russell, John Wade, Hannah Wade, John F. Harris, Phœbe Harris, Edmund Parker, Thaddeus Parker.

Medford—Anna Teel, Anna Briant, Leonard Bucknam, Anna Bucknam, Matilda Johnson.

Craigie's Point—Elijah Wheeler.

Charlestown—Stephen Symmes, Priscilla Symmes, John Swan, Samuel Gardner, Priscilla Reed, Charles Gordon, Ezra Welsh, Caleb Harrington, Sarah Gardner, Patience Gardner, Abigail Tufts, Caroline Griffin, Nathan Field, Jacob Page, John Tapley.

Cambridgeport—E. F. Valentine, N. C. Valentine, Martha Valentine, Moses B. Haughton, Almira Houghton, Moses Ward, Ira Ward, Amos Hazeltine, Phœbe Hazeltine, Susan Hazeltine.

Cambridge—Josiah Johnson, Jonathan Hunt, Betsey Hunt, Ozias Morse, Sullivan B. Ball, Wm. Hunnewell.

The certificate to which we, as Episcopalians, looked with most interest, was that of the Rev. William Croswell. We have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance* with Mr. Croswell, but his character as a clergyman and a scholar stands so high, that we were prepared to place an almost implicit reliance on his judgment. But this confidence in Mr. Croswell tended to abate our confidence in Miss Reed. Mr. Croswell certifies fully his belief in her piety and sincerity, and for these qualifications we did not hesitate a moment to give Miss Reed full credit. But, as to the pith of the matter, Mr. Croswell certifies to his confidence in Miss Reed's "intention to tell what she believes to be the truth." This, it struck us, was a most curious expression; and, if such a certificate is to be a passport to public confidence, we may believe all the religious gossips and marvel-mongers and lunatics in the land. *Intention* to tell what she *believes* to be the truth! Who has not read or heard a thousand embellished and exaggerated tales, and without believing a syllable, giving the narrator most ample credit for sincerely *believing* the whole, and most piously *intending* to tell the truth? It did not strike us as strange Mr. Croswell should give such a certificate, for a clergyman would naturally desire to say as much in favour of a communicant as he conscientiously could. But it did strike us as passing strange, that gentlemen who had shown so much acuteness as the committee of publication, should be satisfied with such a certificate. If Mr. Croswell, with the ability and opportunities which he had had of judging of Miss Reed's character, believed her to be a person of veracity, a person entitled to belief, they had a right to demand of him his opinion to that effect; and instead of publishing to the world, they ought to have returned to the author as an insult, or else, for the credit of their protégée, have concealed a certificate which would apply to thousands of persons of diseased imagination, some two or three of whom are to be found in every country village, occupying a sort of undefinable position between idiocy and insanity. What effect the certificate of Mr. Croswell had on others we cannot say, but the chief feeling excited in our mind, was a sense of obligation to him for so admirably hitting off a class of character with which every clergyman is brought in contact daily in visiting his people, and weekly if he subscribe to the religious papers—peo-

* We mention this in order that the view of the subject which we have taken, may be understood to rest on our own individual responsibility. We have had no communication with any other person on the subject.

ple who never can see any object in its true light—whose mental vision is perpetually jaundiced, and for ever perverted by changing fancies and standing hallucinations, but who, withal, are perfectly sincere, and have "an intention to tell what they believe to be the truth."

The certificate of Mr. Adams extends only to the good conduct of Miss Reed for several months previous. It contains not a syllable on the subject of her veracity.

The remaining certificate is more full. It says expressly, "Miss Reed is entitled to our confidence." To those who know the signers, the certificate may have proved entirely satisfactory. It was not so to us, because we were not sure that we should agree with the persons who signed the certificate in the qualifications required in a witness. They, for aught we know to the contrary, might be incompetent to appreciate the important distinction which Mr. Croswell has kept in view between an *intention* to tell the truth and an *ability* to do so.

In spite, then, of all the light which the committee of publication had attempted to throw on the subject, we were obliged to approach the narrative in the same neutral frame of mind that we should have done if it had come unfathered into the world. We read it, accordingly, and read it with great interest, determined to decide on its credibility according to its internal evidence. And we must own, that we were never more puzzled to form an opinion of any literary production than that of Miss Reed's book. On the one hand, there was such an evident air of sincerity, a freedom from bitterness, and simplicity of style, as fully sustained Mr. Croswell's certificate of the narrator's intention to tell the truth. On the other hand, some of the statements were so absurd, the conduct attributed to the Lady Superior and her associates was so inhuman, and two or more of the chief incidents in the narrative had such a tinge of romance, as to awaken no little suspicion that Miss Reed had sadly failed of carrying her good intentions into effect. This we were the more willing to believe, as it appeared from Miss Reed's own showing that she was a romantic young girl of excitable imagination. One thing there was towards the close of the narrative that strengthened this suspicion, and awakened a worse one. How was it possible, we asked, that one who had just escaped from a wicked Popish plot to deprive her of liberty, and confine her for life, instead of flying to her own family, "her father, and sister, and brother," and putting herself under the protection of her natural guardians, should take refuge with Mrs. G., a lady who had advised her to enter the convent, and who recommended her immediately to return to it, and that while a resident at Mrs. G.'s, she should consent to receive the visits of a Popish priest, and even call upon that priest and visit him, alone and unprotected, as it would seem, at his confessional? There seemed some incongruity in this; however, we resolved to keep our mind, as much as possible, in a state of equilibrium, until the promised reply to Miss Reed's narrative should be published.

Meantime we made up our mind to one thing, and that is, that in the narrative of Miss Reed we had found the remote cause of the excitement, which we had before looked for in vain. The stories of Miss Reed might be true or might be false: this was a point on which we were undecided; but whether true or false, it seemed impossible to doubt that they had been long currently talked of in the neighbourhood, and had served to inflame the minds of the people against the convent. It is true, that Miss Reed assures us, that she had never before made any disclosures. But this was really too much of a tax on credulity. That such a fund of scandal should remain for two years unappropriated, and guarded with vestal purity in the penetralia of a New England village, is what we could not believe, though attested by all the canonized saints among the Romanists, or the uncanonized ones among the Puritans.

At length the reply has made its appearance, and we have lost no time in reading it. To go through with its leading statements would extend to an unreasonable length an article which will at best take more room than we can conveniently spare. We can only give, therefore, in a word the sum total of our views, which is, *that the reply has destroyed the credit of the narrative in its most important statements.* We do not say that we subscribe to all the views set forth in the reply, any more than we believe all the incidents given in the narrative. Both the Lady Superior and the author of the Preliminary Remarks, have treated Miss R—— with needless severity; inclining to the opinion that she is a crafty, hypocritical, and mendacious impostor. To us it seems that the chief incidents of the narrative may be explained on a simple hypothesis. Miss Reed, in one word, is a spiritual Cherubina, always moving in a world of romance, of which she is herself the heroine. She can see what to common eyes is invisible, and hear what is inaudible, and believe what is incredible, and remember vastly more than

ever happened, and never lacks a willing intention to tell her discoveries and experiences to all whose attention has been sufficiently awakened by dark hints and mysterious looks. We do not say that this supposition reconciles all the discrepancies between the statements of Miss Reed and the Lady Superior, but only that it explains the most marvellous of Miss Reed's stories. It was under the influence of a perturbed and inflamed imagination that she became enamoured of a religious life, and it was under the same influence that she beheld all that transpired in the convent, and was led to envelope the most trivial incidents with a veil of mystery. One of the nuns, Sister Mary Francis, alias Miss Kennedy, was unhappy and often seen in tears, and forthwith her character and fortune are invested with an air of romance, she is the victim of secret machinations, and Theresa is to be the companion of her sufferings and the instrument of her liberation. Once she had "small balls of a darkish colour" for dinner; she "ate them and strove to exhibit no fearful sensations." A few days afterward, her mouth is seen cankered, and the reader is made to imbibe the impression that Theresa was poisoned. One night she heard thumping and the barking of a dog, and she would fain have her readers believe the Lady Superior and the bishop, in concert we suppose with the dog, had laid a plan to test her courage. All this serves to prepare her mind for greater adventures. Accordingly, a short time after, being in some place, "at a wrong hour," she overheard a conversation between the bishop and the Lady Superior. "The bishop, after taking snuff in his usual manner, began by saying, 'Well, well, what does Agnes say? how does she appear?' I heard *distinctly* from the superior in reply, that, 'According to all appearances, she is either possessed of *insensibility* or great *command*.' The bishop walked about the room, seemed much displeased with the superior, and cast many severe and improper reflections upon Mary Francis, who, it was known, had influenced me: all of which his lordship will well remember. He then told the superior that the establishment was in its infancy; and that it would not do to have such reports go abroad as these persons would carry; that Agnes must be taken care of; that they had better send her to Canada, and that a carriage could cross the line in two or three days. He added, by way of repetition, that it would not do for the Protestants to get hold of those things and make another 'fuss.' He then gave the superior instructions how to entice me into the carriage, and they soon both left the room, and I heard no more."

Now, it appears from other parts of the story, that all the parties concerned had often talked of Miss Reed's call to another order, where she might rejoin the unhappy sister, Mary Francis. Mary Francis is in part the subject of conversation between the bishop and the Lady Superior; and when the latter afterwards waits on Miss Reed, for the purpose of carrying the dreadful plot into effect, she tells her that, "as she had often talked of going to another order with such a person as Mary Francis, she had better go immediately." And Mary Francis's veritable name was Kennedy. Now, whether the bishop had said to the Lady Superior, "We had better send her to Kennedy," or something to that effect, we cannot divine; but we have much mistaken Miss Reed's character, if she needed any greater materials than would thus be afforded her, to frame to her imagination a most iniquitous plot in which she was to figure as the heroine. Accordingly, a few days after, she hears a carriage drive up to the door, and soon after the Lady Superior waits upon her; and now the conspiracy approaches its denouement—the artless and inexperienced girl is to be forcibly seized and transported out of the country. But, strange to tell, though the plot is perfectly ripe, the carriage ready, the guards secured, and nothing wanting but to gag the unfortunate girl, and carry her off, nothing is done! Miss Theresa still remains in the convent, though still possessed of course with the belief—in which we doubt not she was very sincere—that some great designs were yet in agitation against her life and liberty. She now watches an opportunity to make her escape. Accordingly, one day, she asks permission to leave the room, and it was readily granted. She told one of the nuns, who might detect her plan, that the Lady Superior wished to see her, and the compliant sister retired. She then unlocked and passed out of the back door, the key of which she obtained without difficulty. So far, no obstacle is thrown in her way; but Theresa is determined to be a heroine. Accordingly, when she gets into the yard, she "climbed the *slats* which confined the grape-vine to the fence;" the slats gave way, and Theresa fell to the ground. She was therefore obliged to adopt the very common and unromantic method of going out of the gate. "I then thought," she says, "I would try the gate, which I found *unfastened*, and there was no one near. I ran through and hurried to the nearest house." Soon after, she hears a bell ring,

and this is the alarm for commencing a search. She looks out of the window, and sees a couple of men with long poles, who, within "a few moments" after her escape, are searching for her dead body in the canal. She sees dogs, and they undoubtedly are "scenting her course," though, as they did not find her, they were probably bereft of their usual instinct. Thus Proserpine and Pluto and Cerberus, and all their grim associates, were completely outwitted, and Theresa was again permitted

"Revocare gradum, et superas evadere ad auras,"

again to revisit this world of dry realities. We cannot indeed add with the poet, "Hoc opus, hic labor est," for there is this difference between Theresa and all her predecessors,—she effected her return without encountering the least obstacle.

Ours is said to be a gullible community, but never before have we seen the truth of the remark so amusingly and yet so painfully exemplified, as in the avidity with which all classes of people have swallowed the marvels of this vain and visionary girl. We had intended to make a few extracts from her book, with the counter passages in reply, but as these are now in everybody's hands, and have been read by tens of thousands, we may as well let the reader, if he will take the pains, refer to the originals.

The story of the conspiracy is a dream. The account of the inhuman treatment of Mary Magdalene is sufficiently refuted by the testimony of Dr. Thompson, the attendant physician of the convent. When these horrors are subtracted, there yet remain a fund of folly and a mass of mummery charged on the Ursulines, on which, whether true or false, we do not care to detain our readers by expressing an opinion.

And now, that we have done with Miss Reed, we would ask, what can be gained by these miserable attempts to influence the passions of the vulgar?—*Quo ruitis? Quæ tanta insania, cives?* For surely it is nothing short of insanity—of sheer fanaticism—that thinks to conquer Roman Catholics by such weapons as these. The Romanists are undoubtedly making extensive efforts to establish their faith in this country; we are told by some, that these efforts have assumed an organized form, under the sanction of the crowned heads of Europe. Can they who believe this, believe also that Prince Metternich and his council of Jesuits are so stultified as to open their campaign in America with *such* a convent as Miss Reed describes? It would really seem as if the genius of credulity had deserted the Romanists, and enlisted under Protestant banners. We confess we are every day more and more astounded at the contemptible bugbears that are continually circulated, with the most pious "intention," we doubt not, to tell what is believed to be the truth, in order to prejudice the vulgar against the Romanists. For the eighteen months during which we have had charge of the Churchman, it has been our lot to read scores, if not hundreds of extravagant and inflammatory descriptions, without ever being able to find one that was worthy the notice of an intelligent reader. We, too, believe that the Romanists are endeavouring to acquire for their faith an ascendency in this country; but we believe that they are laying their foundations broad and deep, with a view to the future, rather than to the present. At St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia, they have established periodical journals that are acquiring an influence which will last after all the excitement of fanaticism [shall] have passed away. They are planting schools and colleges, and are putting forth their best talents and energies to secure in all the states, what they have already secured in the state of Missouri, the means of educating a large majority of the youth. For ourselves, we hardly know which is the more lamentable,—the folly that can inveigh against the policy of Romanists, and yet suppose that they would frame their best schools, schools intended to operate on the most wealthy and influential portion of the community, on such a model or under such teachers as Miss Reed describes, or the madness which seeks to defeat their policy by hurling the feeble, paltry shafts of a dreaming, flighty, gossipping, sickly religionist: *Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ.* This is just the opposition which the Romanists desire: and if indeed they do not encourage it, would purchase at any price. They are awaiting with confidence the results of their large and well-laid plans, but on nothing are they calculating with more certainty than on the revolution of public sentiment which will inevitably take place, and which in fact has already commenced. The above schemes of their fanatical opponents will be sure to recoil on their own heads; public sympathies will be enlisted in behalf of the Roman Catholics as a suffering and persecuted people; the silly and wholesale calumnies which are brought against them will be exploded; the people who are taught to believe them murderers, finding that they neither swell up nor die at the venomous bites they

receive, will change their minds and say they are gods; and Protestants, when their momentary stimulants are exhausted, will seek in vain to regain a confidence which by their blind and mad policy they will have irrevocably forfeited.

SECTION XXII.

From the New York Times.

THE DESTROYED CONVENT.

We have read with much interest "The Answer to Six Months in a Convent, by the Lady Superior." It is generally calm in its temper and language, and denies the truth of every important allegation in Miss Reed's book. The publication to which it is a reply has had an unprecedented circulation, more than twenty-three thousand copies having already been sold, and the publishers having received orders for five thousand more. The book has proved a fair speculation, whether the statements contained in it are true or not. We are not surprised at its immense sale. There are so many well-disposed people whose imaginations have been acted on by tales of horror, connected with monasteries, convents, and nunneries, that the curiosity to ascertain how far these stories are founded in fact, is enough to secure an immense sale to any work which professes to reveal the secrets of those dreaded prison houses, and to show how far the reality corresponds with the fiction which has so often disturbed their fancies. We doubt not that Miss Reed's book has confirmed the suspicions of many who have regarded these institutions as the hiding-places of bigotry, cruelty, and blind and stupid superstition. There are many who are willing to believe all that is charged against these institutions, who grasp at the first evidence that is offered in favour of their prejudices, and consider it conclusive. With such, Miss Reed's book has done much harm. It has confirmed them in prejudices long entertained and deeply rooted; and, unfortunately for such inquirers, they seldom require further testimony than that which tallies with their preconceived opinions. The bane has gone forth, and the antidote has followed it. If Miss Reed is to be believed, there are heavy charges against the convent. But we do not believe her. She was a poor, deluded, weak-minded, ignorant girl, who availed herself of the charity and protection of the individuals whom she has maligned; received from them shelter, food, raiment, and education, without fee or reward, and then requited the benevolence of her protectors by assailing the individuals who fostered and maintained her. A romantic, giddy girl, passionate and obstinate, with little or no fixed principles of action, fond of the marvellous, and ready to take advantage of popular prejudice and excitement, has chosen to lend herself to designing or too confiding individuals, and to gratify her vanity by appearing in a book. There are many who will believe her, and there are many who would believe her were her stories ten times more exaggerated than they now are. But they are generally of a class to whom a nunnery is a monstrous bugbear, and whose repugnance to the Catholic religion is such as to induce them to believe anything that may be alleged against its professors. To reason against such prejudices would be worse than folly. But we repeat that, from a calm and considerate examination of Miss Reed's book, and the Answer by the Lady Superior, we can come to but one conclusion. We regard the first as a catchpenny publication, the statements of which have been derived from a weak, credulous, ignorant, nervous girl, of most unsettled principles, whose imagination has in a great degree supplied her with the alleged facts contained in the book of which she is the reputed author. Without prejudice or partiality, we can come to this conclusion alone. We deeply regret that this publication has appeared. Unfounded as we deem it to be, and unworthy—from the source from which it emanates—of serious consideration, it can have but one effect, that of embittering prejudices already too deeply rooted, of alienating the affections of many who, although differing upon minor points, claim the common name and cling to the common faith of Christians, who worship at the altar of the same God, and trust to the same creed to sustain them throughout the troubles and trials of this world. Controversies like the one under view are painful and humiliating, and in nine cases out of ten the blame should rest on those who commence the controversy. They are not, and they cannot come to good. They make no proselytes. They convert no believers. They are addressed not to the kindly feelings of our nature. "Hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness" are the only feelings they awaken.

From the beginning of the Charlestown affair to the present time, every incident that has transpired has been of the most painful character, and every liberal individual of every denomination must grieve that they have transpired. In the book before us, the author is at best a weak enthusiast; in the first instance half mad in favour of the Catholic religion, and in the next as

mad in opposition to it. In either case the fanaticism of a silly girl is scarcely worthy of contempt. She is but a poor instrument, either in favour or in opposition to any cause.

The character of the Charlestown convent was simply this. It was a seminary for the instruction of young ladies—everything appertaining to a genteel education was taught in it. The accomplishments of music, dancing, drawing, &c., were part of its system of instruction. In a word, in its system of education, in its recreations, in the rules that governed its scholars, it differed in no respect from any genteel ladies' boarding-school of the day. The children of parents belonging to all sects were sent to it, and the inculcation of the exclusive tenets of any particular sect was unknown. Protestants encouraged and contributed to its support, and they have yielded it their hearty commendation. It is true that within the walls of this institution ladies were received and permitted to remain, (provided with all the comforts of life,) who chose to isolate themselves from the world, and to dedicate themselves either to the cause of education or to occupy themselves with the duties of religion. But their entrance and their departure are voluntary acts—and who shall interfere with their choice? They are governed by their own will, and they are there, as elsewhere, under the protection of the laws. Such is, and must be, a convent in the United States.

It is a delicate and painful matter to allude in a newspaper to the subject of religious controversy. In most instances, the discussion of sectarian tenets excites but little interest, except between the contending parties. In the present case, however, incidental circumstances of general interest have induced a discussion, which, while it seems to be confined to matters connected with the internal police of the Charlestown convent, involves a controversy in which we have no idea of entering. We trust that the discussion may here cease. The book of Miss Reed is, as we have expressed ourselves, worthy of little reliance. And we trust that the Answer—(although it professes to be but an answer in part)—may meet with a circulation as great as that of the book which has provoked it. Let the public hear both sides, and then let the discussion rest.

SECTION XXIII.

THE DESTROYED CONVENT.

THE following are translations of two articles which have appeared in the French Quebec Gazette of the 4th instant, relative to the plundered and burned convent at Charlestown. We present them in their native dress, that others may know what opinion *people at a distance* have of the republicanism, the liberality, and honesty of Massachusetts.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.—We have read in some of the American journals, long extracts from the pamphlet of Miss Reed, which we have noticed in our last number. This pamphlet, it appears, is not the work of Miss Reed herself, but of a committee of persons, who were actuated by the same hatred to religion as that which prompted a lawless mob, FURIOUSLY FREE, to burn down the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown. This is easily perceived from the wicked misrepresentation which they have given of the rules of said convent, which we know to have been precisely the same as those which are followed by the Ursulines here. Nothing but the most deep-rooted and unchristian prejudice could invent it. We hope that the Lady Superior will not persevere in the intention which she has of answering any persons who are guided by such a spirit. Nothing is to be gained by it. Their ignorance or their malice is sure to misconstrue every word. The resolution of the Ursuline Community to leave their native land, New England, when forced to do so by a government which declares itself free and "*liberal*," but which, in fact, exercises a more vile and despotic tyranny than any government, even in Europe, has ever dared to attempt, is a sufficient answer to the dreams of such miscreant enthusiasts, who care not for what they do, much less for what they say. Miss Reed, who, through charity was received into the convent, of her own accord became a Catholic; but now seems to have returned to Protestantism! The pamphlet has been published from a mere pecuniary speculation on the part of Rebecca Reed and the committee, at a time when they thought they could the more easily increase the unexampled prejudices to which the destruction of the convent has given rise.

TOLERATION! THE URSULINE CONVENT AT CHARLESTOWN, MASS.—In the English Gazette of this city, the reader will find some extracts from the report of the minority of Massachusetts Assembly, relative to the petition for indemnity of the loss sustained from the destruction of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, by an infuriated mob.

We would not, in fact, have noticed this, were it not that the majority, instead of weakening, had actually proved the justice

of the minority who voted for an indemnity.

In a civilized government it is not sufficient that laws should be enacted for the personal safety, for the protection of property, and for the punishment of the guilty. No: the subjects or citizens of every *civilized* state, even strangers, when there residing, have a right to claim protection from such laws, at least against brutal violence, committed by large assemblies of men, and especially when such deeds of horror are perpetrated in the *very presence* of the public authorities. The laws of England, under which we have the happiness to live, are quite different. They are grounded on good sense, and confirmed by the experience of ages, and therefore maintain that those who represent them are responsible in such cases: that they are to be held guilty of the infraction of the same, and that, of course, the injured party should be indemnified.

Those who prefer the malicious sophisms of their own misguided intellect, to the tried and permanent experience of ages, and who forge, accordingly, *new* doctrines to suit their own designs, especially in a matter of right and justice, should certainly be viewed in a suspicious light. It is a sure sign of a vicious and corrupt heart, which has some forbidden, dishonest object in view.

But, laying all other considerations aside, could not the representatives of Massachusetts *honestly* refuse an indemnity to the injured Ursuline Community without bringing the Catholic religion *sur le tapis?* (*Does not this pitiful sectarian plea prove their dishonesty?*) There is no more law religion in Massachusetts, than in any other part of the United States. What then, I would ask, has the religion of any man to do with their legislatures? Their legislatures should attend to the protection of the persons and property of its citizens; and not to the speculative religious belief of any man; particularly when the legislature *pretends* to declare that, in this respect, every man should be FREE. What right has the legislature of Massachusetts to pry into the conscience, and know the religious opinions of any of its citizens? Does that legislature pretend that, because one of its citizens believes in *this* or in *that* religion, he should not, on that account, be protected as to life or property? Is not such procedure a direct violation of common justice? Is it not the most intolerant religious persecution? Have not pagan tyrants persecuted Christians on the same principle? We all well know to what extent such principles have been carried.

From the Norfolk Beacon.

ANSWER TO "SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT," BY THE LADY SUPERIOR.—The destruction of the Ursuline Convent near Charlestown, Mass., was an event that is destined to be long remembered with feelings of the strongest horror. The excitement was sought to be kept up against the members of the Catholic Church, by the publication of a pamphlet entitled "Six Months in a Convent," which was written ostensibly by a girl who had remained but a short period in the convent. This pamphlet was charged with containing gross falsehoods and palpable contradictions. It appears that the Lady Superior of the convent, urged by considerations drawn, not from the pamphlet itself, but from the improper use which was likely to be made of it, has deemed it proper to reply to the same, and her pamphlet is before us. At this distance from the scene, there can scarcely be but one opinion among impartial men, of the triumphant manner in which the Lady Superior has repelled the accusations of the temporary occupant of the convent. We trust that Massachusetts will make an effort to bury this whole affair by appropriating a sum of money sufficient to compensate the Ursuline Community for the loss sustained by the destruction of their convent, and the property lost by the conflagration.

SECTION XXIV.

From the N. Y. Catholic Diary and Register.

DR. VARELA'S REMARKS

On the book entitled "Six Months in a Convent,"—attributed to Miss Reed.

THAT Miss Reed was not very much advanced in her education when she entered the convent, is evident from the following passages in the very book attributed to her. "I answered, that I did not consider my education complete, and that I wished to go into the school attached to the nunnery," (p. 55.) "The superior wrote a letter to my father containing offers of two or three quarters of schooling, free from expense," (p. 68.) "Mary Francis reminded me of making a false syntax." "I wrote to my father; the letter was corrected by Mary Francis," (p. 102.) She was very much displeased, and therefore, she confessed that she did not study. However, immediately after she left the convent she became the author of the book in question. Great power of conversation! A girl who could not write a letter to her father, *all at once* becomes a fluent writer!

"The prayers," she says, "were repeated in the Latin tongue, of which I knew nothing" (p. 74); and in the same page she brings a Latin text and its translation; and what is more remarkable, she also translates into English the very *prayers* which she said she did not understand. Finally, in the letter addressed to the Irish, which is at the end of the book, she says—"I could quote to you what Roman Catholic councils have decreed, *for I can read Latin as well as your priests*," (p. 190.) It is true, that said letter is formed of materials taken from a newspaper; but the expressions, *I can quote—I can read*, certainly denote the person who wrote the letter.

There are several other passages in the book, which prove that its author is still much less acquainted with Catholic doctrine and ceremonies than Miss Reed herself. I will quote a few of them. "Midnight Mass and midnight matins are said at night during Lent," (p. 90.) The most ignorant Catholic knows that we have no such practice, and Miss Reed could not write this palpable falsehood, in which she could find no interest. Of the same nature is the assertion that *Complin* was said in the morning, (p. 81.) Speaking of the administration of the extreme unction to a nun, she says, (p. 131,) that the bishop "put the *tabernacle* upon a little altar, * * * * and Sister Clare bared her neck and feet, which the bishop crossed with holy oil. He then gave her the *viaticum*, and ended the ceremony as he commenced, with saying Mass." No Catholic can read this passage without laughing. It would be rather inconvenient for the bishop to carry a *tabernacle*. The extreme unction administered at the middle of the Mass is a *new thing*, indeed; and so is the inunction of the neck. It is also against the present discipline of the church to administer the extreme unction before the *viaticum*, although such has been the practice at some former period, as we learn from ecclesiastical history. There is not a syllable in the above passage which does not prove that the person who wrote it was not present, and does not know anything about Catholic doctrines and practices. I do not think that Miss Reed is well informed; but she cannot be so very ignorant as to write such things.

Any man of sense will conclude that Miss Reed is not the author, but that she gave some materials, to which the real author added a great many more of his own invention. There is a contradiction between two passages, which I am inclined to attribute to Miss Reed herself. "Mary Francis," says she, "desired me to consult my friends about going to the Sisters of Charity" (p. 111); and then she says—"the bishop said that I could not go to the order that she (Mary Francis) mentioned, and that I would be more happy with the Sisters of Charity, who were coming to reside here," (p. 140.) From the latter passage it is plain that Miss Reed told the bishop the order to which Mary Francis advised her to go; and therefore either it is false that Mary Francis told her to go to the sisters, or it is false that the bishop said that she could not go to the order mentioned by Mary Francis, but to the sisters. The falsehood is plain.

We must also notice the candid confession Miss Reed makes of her religious sentiments even a few days before she left the convent. "I was using some deception," says she, "in order to effect the escape; therefore, I did not feel worthy to attend communion," (p. 163.) We need not say much to prove that she regarded her conduct as criminal, and the communion not as an act of idolatry, but as the holy body and blood of Christ. Had she said that she did not wish to receive communion, because her faith was altered, it would have answered better to her purpose; but it would not have been consistent with her real feelings; which she entertained for some time after she left the convent.

She then wrote to Mary Francis, (that is, to Miss Kennedy,) that she was out and unsettled, though very kindly treated, and that she would be glad to find some situation in New York. Miss Kennedy showed me the letter, and requested me to speak to my friends in order to find some situation for Miss Reed. She observed to me that I could not propose Miss Reed to teach any high branch, but that she might do for a junior class. I immediately perceived Miss Reed's capacity. I observed to Miss Kennedy, that, although from Miss Reed's letter I could not suspect any alteration in her faith, I suspected that those very persons who had abandoned her before she went to the convent, would come forward to assist her for the only purpose of altering her religious principles. I anticipated that the question of *believing* would be turned into a question of *eating*, and that the latter would carry the point. A few days afterwards Miss Kennedy brought to me another letter of Miss Reed, stating that she had given up Popery, but without giving any reasons. Had I found immediately a situation for Miss Reed, the "Six Months in a Convent," would not have appeared.

As to the book itself, I consider it as the best argument in favour of the Catholic faith and religious institutes. The life of the nuns is described as a life of mortification, self-

denial, constant work, and prayers. They are charged with no crime. The holiness of some of them is exalted, as that of Sister Mary Magdalene. The work is against the superior of the convent. She has satisfactorily answered it. But let us suppose that all [which] Miss Reed said against her is true. What then? It would only follow that the Ursuline Convent of Boston had a bad superior. But was the superior the community? Was that convent the whole Ursuline Order? Even suppose the whole Ursuline Order to be wicked, does it follow that the Catholic doctrine is false?

Several ministers of the *holy* Presbyterian Church had spread many calumnies against the nunneries, and there is no kind of impurity that they have not attributed to the nuns, as a fact to which they could testify. No sooner did they hear that such a book as the "Six Months in a Convent," was to be published, than they began to call the public attention, and to prepare the minds of the people to receive a document which they thought would bear them out. But what disappointment! The book contains none of those crimes which the *holy* ministers charged the nuns with. This has been a terrible blow to the *elects;* for the argument is unanswerable. If a girl, actuated by the horrible passion of revenge, and desirous to please the Protestants, and to make up for her former defection from them, did not dare to suggest to the writer of the book any such thing as crimes; and if the writer himself did not dare to add any such thing as impurities, is it not evident that Miss Reed observed none, and that the writer could not know of any? My opinion is, that the book, "Six Months in a Convent," should be reprinted with the approbation of the Right Reverend Bishop of Boston, as a defence of the Ursuline Convent and of the Catholic cause.

FELIX VARELA.

SECTION XXV.

THE DESTROYED CONVENT.

WE copy the following paragraph from a Boston paper of Tuesday, June 2.

"TRIAL OF THE RIOTERS.—A letter from a friend at Concord, which should have been delivered to us on Monday evening, mentions that the Supreme Court met at that place on Monday morning for the trial of Kelly, Pond, Bud, and Hadley, indicted for burning the convent, &c., in August last. Chief Justice Shaw and Judges Putnam and Wild, on the bench. A jury was empannelled and the attorney-general was opening the case for the government when the letter came away. Counsel for the defendants, E. G. Prescott, Farley, Mann, Sumner, and Field."

The accounts which we have seen on the papers lead us to conclude that the Ursuline Community, which has received so bright a sample of Massachusetts hospitality and liberality, has altogether retired from the land of the Pilgrim fathers. We deeply regret their determination. Yet we will not complain of their decision. They have had also an excellent exhibition of the vindictive justice of Cambridge, and of the compensative justice of the Massachusetts legislature. This ought to suffice. There should be no more judicial farces; and the unfortunate boy Marcy ought to be set at liberty. Should the four men arraigned at Concord be convicted, we are of opinion that they too should escape. The Catholics, if we know their feelings, desire not the punishment of a few scape-goats from a mob of miscreants. They only desire that which the genius of our institutions will, sooner or later, insure for them, protection from the persecution of men who, under the pretext of religion, would do the work of demons.

Let our readers not imagine this protection is yet afforded in Massachusetts! The Catholics of Lowell, and in them the Catholics of the world, have been insulted by those who, invading the sacred repository of the dead, destroyed the monuments which piety and affection had placed over the remains of departed kindred, and this because they bore emblems of that redemption which was effected by a loving Redeemer on the cross!

The Boston Catholic Sentinel also informs us that at Wareham, we believe, the house in which a number of Catholics were assembled with their priest, for the purpose of performing divine service, was assailed by men calling themselves *Convent Boys*, and who by their threats, compelled the priest to desist, and the congregation to disperse.

SECTION XXVI.

THE DESTROYED CONVENT.

BY the following paragraph, which we copy from the New York Truthteller of last Saturday, it will be seen that the last act of the legal farce which followed this tragedy has been concluded. Is it possible that the unfortunate boy Marcy shall be kept in confinement? Surely it would be cruel injustice to keep under punishment one of the youngest and least guilty of the mob, whilst the instigators, the abettors, and the most atro-

cious criminals are left at large, protected and honoured!

"THE RIOTERS—CHARLESTOWN.

"Again we are forced to call the attention of our readers to the impotence of the law in Massachusetts, or the unwillingness of those who administer it, to punish men guilty of the most unparalleled outrage ever recorded. Hadley, Budd, Pond, and Kelly, four of the incendiaries who assisted in burning the convent, were tried lately in the Judicial Court of Massachusetts, and all acquitted. The result does not by any means astonish us—we were prepared for it—we knew that Buzzell, the ringleader of the ruffians, had been acquitted—that many of his accomplices had been discharged without trial—and that many known to have been concerned in the outrage were liberated, and consequently we were fully confident that these last incendiaries would merely be forced to undergo the ludicrous ceremony of a mock trial. It was proven at the trial that Budd, in a conversation concerning the destruction of the convent held with Maria Hull, said, 'We are going to burn all the Catholic churches;' that he said he went to the fire, and described the part he took in the affair. But why need we state what testimony was adduced against either of these individuals? It is sufficient for us to inform our readers that, during the whole day of the trial, the American ensign was hoisted in front of Bunker Hill Tavern, and when the result was announced, a party of young men fired fifty guns as a *feu de joie*. This is a sufficient indication of the state of public feeling in Charlestown, and the extreme delight experienced on learning that the persecutors of the Catholics had been suffered to go unpunished. It is useless to debate or argue in reference to the Charlestown affair; the truth is, it was really agreeable to the feelings of a very large portion of the inhabitants of that place, and of the entire state of Massachusetts. There exists in that state a most deadly and implacable hatred of the Catholic religion, and a most fiendish prejudice against those who profess and practise its doctrines. An outrage committed upon the feelings, persons, or property of the Catholics, is looked upon as a matter of little moment, an offence of no enormity,—and regarded rather as an act of honourable, than a malevolent and diabolical nature. We cannot approach this subject without feeling our indignation raised, and it every day happens that from the same spot where the convent was burned, we receive tidings of some new act of oppression and persecution visited upon the unoffending and suffering Catholics."

The Montreal Herald of the 4th says:

"The Rev. Mr. Maguire, chaplain of the Ursulines of Quebec, arrived here on Friday, and proceeded last night to Quebec, accompanied by three of the sisters of the Ursuline Convent of Charlestown, near Boston, and several pupils from the same establishment."

SECTION XXVII.

From the Boston Post of Monday.

DISGRACEFUL AND FATAL RIOT.

A TERRIBLE conflict commenced yesterday afternoon, about 3 o'clock, between engine company No. 20 and a very large Irish funeral procession in East Street. There are nearly as many rumours in circulation as to the origin of the disturbance, as there were parties engaged in it. As far as we could arrive at the facts, they appear to be as follows:

No. 20, the Extinguisher, had just returned from the fire at Roxbury, and had their engine in the middle of the street in front of the engine house, when the procession came down the street. Some at the head of the procession ordered the engine to be removed from the street, and the company refused to do so. One engineman was laid hold of and pushed aside. This was resented by his comrades, but being greatly outnumbered, they retreated into their houses. The procession then moved on. The Extinguisher's men, in the mean time, prepared to resent their defeat—rang their own bell, and sent a man to ring the Rev. Mr. Young's bell, as if for an alarm of fire.

This plan was immediately successful in calling out No. 14, Cataract, which accidentally fell in with the junction of Summer and Sea Streets; but as the hearse was not in sight at this point, the company were not apprised that the large collection of people they ran in among were connected with the funeral. The Irishmen, however, supposed that they came to renew their former conflict, and at once commenced an attack on the men at the ropes.

The company defended themselves as well as they could, and were soon reinforced by Nos. 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, and straggling members of other companies. The funeral was by this time entirely broken up, and the Irishmen fell back into Broad Street, where they made a stand. Bricks and stones then began to fly, and deadly wounds were given. The Irish made nu-

merous sallies, discharging their missiles, but gradually gave way to the south. As they gave ground, the dwellings occupied by their countrymen were attacked, and the windows and every movable article demolished. There is no reason whatever to believe that the houses thus assailed were occupied by the Irishmen who were engaged in the affray.

This outrageous attack was chiefly made by lads about sixteen and eighteen years of age. Feather beds were ripped open, and their contents poured out at the windows, forming an exact imitation of a snow storm. This work lasted upwards of two hours, the Irish occasionally making ineffectual sallies in defence of the houses. The mayor was early on the ground, and in one of the sallies was knocked over. The military were ordered out, but as the members of the various companies were naturally much dispersed, they could not be formed till about 6 o'clock at Faneuil Hall.

The Lancers, under General Davis, formed the van, and were supported by the Boston Light Infantry, and the New England Guards. The mayor, aldermen, and city council were also in line. They cleared the street instantly, and no further violence was committed after their appearance. They were soon reinforced by the Washington Light Infantry, City Guards, Rangers, Mechanic Riflemen, and Lafayette Guards.

Of the fire department, the most severely wounded are Charles Sears, of Franklin Hose Company, who was knocked into a dock by a club—taken up insensible, and is not expected to live; and John Russell, 2d foreman for No. 10, badly hurt in the forehead. Captain J. C. Tallant, of the north watch, was knocked down by a random brick, and carried off insensible.

A large number of Irishmen were taken to jail. Some were severely wounded,—but some were conveyed there for protection.

Last night the entire regiment of Light Infantry, under command of Colonel Smith, were under arms at Faneuil Hall, with the exception of four companies on guard, in Broad Street, and several adjacent streets, where no person was permitted to pass unchallenged. The Lancers rendered very essential service throughout the night in dispersing small collections of people, and by conveying necessary orders and information from point to point.

12 *o'clock P. M.*—The Irish are perfectly peaceable. Native citizens, labouring under the excitement of the occasion, are insolent to the sentinels.

The last general rumour reports four Irishmen dead, and one engineman.

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From the Boston Daily Advertiser.

RIOT.—We have to record the occurrence of one of the most serious riots that has been known in our city for a great length of time. There are contradictory accounts as to the origin of the difficulty, but we believe the following statement may be relied on as in the main correct.

About three o'clock yesterday afternoon, after engine company No. 20 had returned from Roxbury, and housed their engine in East Street, a portion of them proceeded to the shop of one of their members for refreshments. Most of them had returned to the engine house, when Mr. Fay, the shopkeeper, following on alone, encountered, at the corner of East and Broad Streets, a number of Irishmen, who were waiting to form a funeral procession. Some difficulty occurred as he was attempting to pass through them, and he was pushed off the sidewalk. He proceeded to the engine house, and another member returned with him, and a fight was commenced, in which the other members were soon engaged. One of the officers succeeded in separating them, and the members were proceeding to the engine house, when a large body of Irishmen followed them, and the enginemen, finding themselves greatly outnumbered, raised the cry of fire.

Meanwhile the funeral procession was formed, and had proceeded as far as Summer Street, when Company No. 9 came down with their engine, supposing there was a fire. A serious encounter then took place between the two parties, which lasted for some time, but the firemen being considerably reinforced, the Irishmen retreated to Broad Street, and in a short time an immense concourse of people had assembled. Brickbats and every kind of missiles were thrown from the windows by the Irish within, and an attack was made upon the houses by those without. The affair began to wear a very serious aspect indeed, as many were severely injured, and the excitement increased every moment. A number of houses were entered, and everything within thrown into the streets. The scene was one of the greatest confusion, and the excitement began to be more general, as it was currently reported that a number of lives had been lost on both sides.

The mayor and city officers were present, and did everything in their power to arrest the ringleaders, and put an end to the difficulties,—but they met with poor suc-

cess, and some of them were seriously injured. The bells were then tolled, and the militia called out.

A number of companies were formed at Faneuil Hall, and preceded by the Lancers, a company of horse, together with the mayor and a large body of citizens, they proceeded down State into Broad Street, the whole length of which they paraded with very little difficulty; and thus at 7 o'clock dispersed the people who were still engaged in destroying furniture only, as the Irishmen had some time before ceased resistance.

It is said that a large number have been very seriously injured on both sides, that a fireman has since died of his wounds.

Mr. Charles Sears, an active member of the department, was among the wounded, and Mr. Sheriff Summer was twice thrown down and considerably injured.

A very large number of Irishmen were arrested from time to time, and conveyed to Leaverett Street Jail.

At 8 o'clock last evening everything was quiet. An effective body of militia, with the Lancers, were on service a part or the whole of last night, to prevent any renewal of the riot.

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From the Boston Advocate.

What a pity that, at a time like this, a casual street insult should lead to a general commotion, and cause the whole city to be put under martial law, as it was in effect last night, soldiers and horsemen being stationed at all the streets leading to Broad Street. Let us beseech our young men to avoid cherishing any national prejudice, and to resort to law rather than take it into their own hands, even if insulted. They owe this to themselves and to their country. Let the sensible men among our Irish citizens use their influence to keep their countrymen from everything that may tend to irritation. When we do quarrel, let us have something worth a brave man running the risk of a broken head for.

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SECTION XXVIII.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

"Nothing was farther from our thoughts than to outrage the feelings of any religious denomination, and above all, the long-suffering and much injured Irish Catholic, the blood of whose countrymen still cries for vengeance from their native soil. He must be a BRUTE, in disposition, who would seek to insult them here in their land of refuge."—*Letter of Cuvier to the Charleston Courier.*

In our opinion, no city in any quarter of the world better deserves the prefix which we have here taken the liberty to suggest, than does the notorious capital of Massachusetts.

Scarcely had the destruction of the convent, the acquittal of the incendiaries, the ridiculous expression of its valueless indignation by the legislature, and all other evidences of deep-rooted and widely-extended bigotry passed before the eye of the citizen and the stranger, and a little semblance of quiet made its appearance, when we were told, that a people should not be condemned for the depravity of a few miscreants; that the wise, and the good, and the generous citizens of polished Boston should not be reproached with the crimes of the brickmakers of Charlestown; that the good people of this Western Athens regretted and condemned the rioters, as they were soothingly called.

We must confess, that we could never see the ground of this unmeaning expression of acquittal. The crime was deliberately planned, was systematically executed, and occupied about eight hours in the perpetration, and during all this time, not an effort was made to arrest its progress, by the *polished and liberal* people who lived within half an hour's walk of the scene of the wanton and wicked destruction. If a foreign foe had invaded Bunker's Hill, and, during seven hours were occupied in destroying its monument, and Boston made no effort for its protection, we presume the good folk who now seek to have it called liberal, would then insist upon its being styled brave and patriotic! The principle is precisely the same. Were the jurors, and the lawyers, and the judges of the court which tried Buzzell and his comrades, the rabble of Charlestown? Were the committees of protection for the accused, and the contributors of money for their aid, and the men in high places who expressed their gratification at the ruin the rabble of Charlestown had made? Were the legislators of Massachusetts; were its Governor and the others who agreed with them in their conduct, the rabble of Charlestown? The greatest enemy of liberality is he who consents to bestow the appellation of liberal upon the bigot, as the worst foe to virtue is he who would decorate a villain with the title of virtue. This person destroys one of the best incentives to good, he takes away its worst punishment from vice, and he enervates all the vigour of healthful public moral sentiment. Such a habit turns compliment into mockery, and establishes by tacit convention a general practice of vile hypocrisy. We could neither believe nor say that Boston was not notoriously illiberal and greatly bigoted.

And if farther proof was wanted, our columns furnish it to-day. The Irish population in Boston is emphatically a Catholic population; and the assault upon the Irish is, in simple truth, an assault upon the Catholics, and we are convinced, an assault not by accident, but by design and by concert. And an assault consequent, not merely in time, but as a moral effect, from the impunity of the perpetrators of the former outrage.

The facts appear to us to be, that a number of Irish Catholics were peaceably proceeding in mournful convoy to pay the last sad honours by the interment of one of their dead. What a moment was selected to create the occasion of an assault upon them! The engine companies of Boston understand each other: they assisted at Mount Benedict to witness but not to impede the burning of the convent. These same companies are the present aggressors. Seeing the approach of the funeral, which even a savage would respect, they place, or at least, leave their engine as an obstruction in the mourner's path. The friends of the afflicted endeavour to remove it, and this effort is the pretext seized upon by the select and chosen amongst the efficient men of Boston to assail a funeral procession! They are repelled—they ring their alarm—their brothers know the signal as well as they knew it when the tar barrels blazed on Mount Benedict. The Irish have passed the first obstacle, another engine with its gang obstructs them—new assailants, prepared for the occasion pour in and overwhelm them. They retreat as well as they are permitted; they defend themselves as well as they can. Their bigoted enemies pursue them; and now when resistance is no longer offered, the pursuers enter the houses of the Irish; they destroy the furniture; they rip up the beds; they pour their contents from the windows, and the clouds of feathers borne through the city proclaim their triumph!!! It is difficult to suppose that such gangs had not amongst them many whose cupidity was proof against the occasion for pillage. At all events, there was a complete sweeping of the furniture of the dwellings, besides the wrecking of the habitations! And this is Boston! The liberal!—the enlightened!—the peaceful!—the generous!

But the armed companies were called out, and persons from both parties were committed to prison. But many more of the Irish than of their assailants. Yes—but for what purpose? Some of the papers tell us that the Irish were so committed in order to save them from the fury of their enemies. This may be useful to a certain extent. We would ask what created this enmity? Their religion rather than their country; for the Irish Protestant, the Irish Presbyterian, the Irish Methodist is not thus hated and hunted by the New Englander. We refer to the admirable extract from the communication of an American Protestant of our own sunny South, which we prefix to this article to show that here, at least, an Irish Catholic will find some sympathy.

But what is the result of the arrest of the assailants? We shall give a couple of extracts. A New York paper, by no means friendly to the Irish Catholics, says:

"The examination of the Boston rioters was going on with great diligence, but nothing definitive had been done with them at the date of our last Boston papers. It is almost impossible to judge at this distance from the scene of the outrage, but we are strongly under the impression that the blame rests originally and principally upon the Americans. So far as we can see, the Irish, in this instance at least, were not the aggressors. They were full of fight of course, for it is their instinct to be so; and they were insolent and cudgelly about the head after the affair began; but it really seems to us that they had some cause. To interrupt a funeral procession, and especially an Irish one, was a wanton and indecent provocation, calculated to produce precisely the state of things it did produce. Bloody noses and cracked craniums are of course the concomitants of interference with an Irish funeral or an Irish wake. The attack upon the innocent and defenceless families in Broad Street was mean and cowardly in the extreme."—*Gazette.*

"The Riots.—The Police Court was engaged most of the day yesterday in hearing the evidence of one person, concerning the riot of Sunday last. The evidence as yet amounts to nothing; and if nothing more is elicited, there will be no conviction of anybody."—*Courier, June* 17.

That is, in plain English, "There will be no conviction in Boston or its vicinity for burning a convent or for demolishing Catholics." Now we have reason to know that even if an editor in Boston desired to publish the truth in defence of Catholics, particularly of Irish Catholics, he dare not do so, save at the peril of his income, perhaps of his establishment, it may even be of his body. We know that one paper in that city lost upwards of fifty subscribers, within as many hours, because it had the honesty to publish even an imperfect defence of the Irish Catholics. Yet with a press so enslaved, Boston itself gives us the following information:—

"No persons were killed. Thirty-four were arrested. Nineteen were bound over, and fifteen were discharged."

From the Boston Advocate.

"The city has been quiet since the disgraceful street fight of Sunday. Some ten houses in Broad and Purchase Streets were most wantonly attacked, the windows broken and furniture destroyed. Cases of individual suffering of a painful nature occurred. Sick women were driven into the streets. Some lost all the money they had saved, which was scattered in their drawers."

From the Boston Gazette.

"The principal scene of the riot presented yesterday morning a dismal aspect. The street, says the Transcript, was covered ankle deep with feathers and straw from the beds of houses which had been sacked, and the furniture destroyed and thrown from the windows. Loose stones and brickbats covered the pavement in immense quantities, and the city cartmen were busily engaged nearly all the morning in sweeping the streets and carrying off the 'wreck of matter' which encumbered them. Many houses are left without a pane of glass in a window-sash, and much glass is broken in the houses each side of Purchase Street, from the Rev. Mr. Ripley's church to Broad Street. Every door and window in the house on the south corner of Purchase and Broad Streets, which was occupied by several Irish families, is dashed out. It was entirely sacked, and beds and every article of furniture thrown into the street and destroyed, the occupants having previously abandoned it. The building opposite was served in the same manner. The stores of Wm. Rhoads, Holmes and Hemmenway, John Keating, John Worcester, Edward Keays, Daniel Badger, and several others, have all the glass broken."

Now putting aside the holy hatred of Catholics, we should suppose the citizens of Boston amongst whom those crimes, unwhipt of justice, are perpetrated, would have the common sense to perceive that this impunity and protection will bring upon themselves very disastrous results. Let the reader peruse the following:—

"A Boy Condemned to be Hung.—We published on the 8th inst. an account of the trial at Lowell of two boys, Michael Monohon, 13 years old, and Michael Whaylan, 10 years old, for the crime of arson, in burning the almshouse at Cambridge. The jury did not agree on a verdict and were discharged. A new trial was ordered which was closed on Friday night, and resulted in a verdict of guilty against Monohon. The Lowel Advertiser of last evening says: 'After a patient and thorough investigation of the circumstances of the case, and a charge from the chief justice, the most minute and comprehensive, the jury retired, agreeing upon a verdict about half-past ten.

"'The rumour having spread abroad that the jury had agreed, a numerous concourse assembled at the court-house to hear the solemn sentence of the law. The attorney-general having recapitulated some of the most prominent evidence, concluded with the request that the bench would proceed to pronounce the sentence which the law adjudges to the crime of arson. Monohon being called, rose and heard with stoical indifference a brief sketch of his past but vicious life.

"'The affecting language of the judge, his appeal to Monohon's feelings for an afflicted mother, to his sense of the awful situation to which he had subjected himself in breaking the laws, his request that he would prepare for the early and ignominious death which awaited him, and the final sentence "that he should be hung by the neck until dead," were altogether a scene of intense interest, which drew tears from many an eye.

"'Not a muscle of the prisoner trembled at his sentence, and he withstood the gaze of hundreds with as much apparent indifference as if unconcerned, but whether this was owing to ignorance or hardihood is a question for a philosopher. Whaylan was acquitted, on account of his extreme youth.'"
—*Boston Transcript.*

The following letter was produced by the attorney-general at the trial of the boys Monohon and Whaylan, at Lowell, to prove the intelligence of the former. The miserable boy's heart appears to have been as light as it has proved insensible.

"Concord County Jail,
August 19th, 1837.

"My dear Mother i now take this opportunity To inform you that i am in Concord Jail and that i am Poor as a Crow and that i want You to send me a half a dollar and send me my Best Suit of Clothes and two pair of Stockings 2 shirts and i want you to starch the Collar of my shirts to Wear When i Go to Court i want you should Wash My Pantaloons and Vest and to send Them up by the stage and i want you To Write me a Letter and Tell Me How you All are Mio is with me i am Happy An Contented and Enjoying Good Health and Hope you are the same i want you to Write and tell me

when Edward Will come down Home and if He Comes Down Before i get out i want Him to come and see me. Remember me to all Your affectionate Son

"MIACHEL MONHAN."

Outside—"Mrs. Bridgeit Richiardson.
"Cambridge Port Mass."

We do not think it unlikely that Master Monohon was perfectly informed of the manner in which the gentlemen who burned the Ursuline Convent were rewarded, not by the rope, but by applause and by contributions; and it would be a curious question to examine how far he calculated upon at least escaping with impunity for burning the almshouse. It is clear at all events that he calculated upon liberation: "If he comes down before I get out, I want him to come and see me."

We are not disposed to call down fire from heaven, even if we could obtain it, to injure bigoted Boston; but we lament its degradation, and we need not claim the gift of prophecy, when we foretell, that the persons who have fostered and protected this bigotry will reap a very unpleasant harvest from this field of fanaticism.

SECTION XXIX.

From the Charleston Mercury.

THE IRISH.

UNDER this head the Baltimore Republican puts forth a characteristic piece of slang on the late riot in Boston. We should not notice anything so far off, if it were not of a piece with some other attempts we remember, to make profit by stirring the dirty waters of national prejudice. The Republican, after the preliminary flourish, that "it has become a practice with *certain persons* throughout the country to denounce the sons of the Emerald Isle," and then proceeding to make his innuendo payable, by quoting a rumour of what "a certain prominent member of the *Opposition* once said," goes on to inform us that his first accounts of the riot "were in the opposition papers, in which the Irish were represented as the aggressors," &c., but he, sagacious man, knew that they were given to lying about the Irish, and believed not a word of it, and his faith was richly rewarded by afterwards discovering that "instead of the Irish being so much to blame, as was represented, they have been most shamefully treated." Now the Post, the Advertiser, the Atlas, and the correspondent of the New York Sun, whose letter is copied by the Richmond Enquirer, all agree in saying that the first *violence* came from the Irish. There is a remarkable accord in their whole account of the riot. There is not a shadow of a reason to suppose that party feeling had anything to do with the account any one of these papers gave of the affray. The *additional light* which dawned upon the Republican, was nothing more than the inspiration that tempted him to indite a scurrilous paragraph. But he is not satisfied with proving that the Irish were abused during the riot, he goes about to insinuate that they were likely to be still worse treated after it.

"The houses of some of them have been demolished, the furniture destroyed, they have been robbed of considerable sums of money, and their families deprived of every article of clothing except such as they had upon their backs, by the mob which attacked them. They were generally poor, but the property destroyed and stolen amounted in value to several thousand dollars. Had they been of wealth and influence, having a residence in the city of Baltimore, and belonging to the party in power in our state, they might expect an indemnity bill to be passed, by which their losses would be more than made good; but as matters now are, they must expect to sustain the loss themselves, and recover from it, if at all, by means of their own industry and economy."

Now, it is next to impossible that the editor of the Republican, when he penned these miserable lines, should not have been aware, that immediately after the riot, the citizens of Boston assembled, and appointed a committee to estimate the losses, with a view of giving full relief to the sufferers. This committee did their duty, and by the last accounts, we learn they have made their report, and recommended that subscriptions be taken throughout the city for this purpose.

BOSTON POLICE COURT.

The examination of the prisoners engaged in the riot of Sunday afternoon, was concluded last evening. About twenty Irishmen, against whom different shades of testimony had been presented, were ordered to recognise in the sum of three hundred dollars each, for their appearance at the Municipal Court in July.

Mr. Mark Adams, a master truckman, of respectable appearance, and, as was understood, of hitherto unblemished character, was arraigned among the rioters, charged with destroying property by throwing it out of the windows of one of the houses in Broad Street. He was arrested in the house of Mr. John Bryant, Jr., and was seized at

the door by Mr. Power, of the Police Court, about the time the military made their appearance in the street.

An attempt was made to rescue him, and in the scuffle he was pushed in among the Lancers. Mr. S. K. Bailey, an officer of that company recognised him, and perceiving the difficulty which his captors were likely to encounter, advised them to let him go, as he was well known in the city, and could be arrested at any future time. The amount of his recognizance is to be fixed this morning.

Mr. Power also recognised two of the Irish prisoners as having been actively engaged in the affray. One of them (Larry) was occupied in beating up bricks, to be used as ammunition, and the other (Sullivan) was one of the ringleaders at the commencement of the affray in Old Broad Street. Mr. Power observed to some one that he thought it was a great outrage that none were arrested and carried off but the Irish; he went further up the street, to endeavour to catch an American, and was in time to assist in taking Adams.—*Courier.*

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BOSTON OUTRAGES.

In detailing the occurrences, the Boston Courier says:—

A gang of stout boys and loafers, who had followed the firemen at such a distance that they might be protected from the dangers, and at the same time participate in the mischief of the affray, attacked the Irish houses in the rear of the scene of combat, tearing to pieces and destroying everything wantonly and recklessly. The houses were sacked, their contents thrown into the street, and everything demolished as speedily as possible. Beds, bedding, furniture, trunks, and the contents of two or three small groceries near by, were strewed about, and almost every person seemed engaged in destroying something or other. A number of Irishmen who had concealed themselves in the cellars, were dragged out, surrounded, and beaten unmercifully with clubs and sticks. Here everything was in the hands of the mob. The only redeeming spirit which was discernible among them, was their conduct towards the women and children, who were led out unmolested, no one offering them harm or insult. Purchase Street, at the foot of Washington Avenue, was covered with feathers, emptied from the beds, apparently several inches in depth. A miscellaneous-looking personage, with a broken wheelbarrow, was engaged in trundling brickbats from one of the houses, the chimney of which had been pulled down, to the scene of action. The contest on the part of the Irishmen soon closed. Most of those who attempted to keep up the fight, were seized by the firemen and others, and conveyed to jail. When the military made their appearance, about three hours after the commencement of the affray, the battle was over, and those who were engaged in the destruction of property, quickly desisted.

It is impossible now to state with perfect accuracy, the origin of these riotous proceedings or to decide who was the first aggressor. The transactions of the day have no parallel in the history of Boston. God grant that they may ever remain so! Whatever party may have been to blame in the commencement, no man can pass through Broad Street, the principal scene of outrage, without sympathy for the miserable beings whose dwellings and furniture were subjected to the resentment of a portion of our population. It does not appear to us that any provocation on the part of the Irishmen, in the first instance, could justify an assault on their dwellings, and the destruction of their property. We looked at the scene for a few moments yesterday morning with a sickening sensation. Several houses, (we did not count them, but suppose there were from twenty to thirty, each of which was probably the residence of nearly as many families,) exhibited, in broken doors and windows, the sad effects of popular indignation. Near the junction of Broad and Purchase Streets, the surface of the ground was covered with the contents of feather beds, which had been ripped open and thrown from the houses, and with the remnants of other household necessaries, which crying women and squalid children were endeavouring to collect. The number of women with infants in their arms, who thronged the streets at the time we were there, we should judge from recollection to be not less than a hundred. These must have been innocent of any provocation, and their circumstances appeal strongly to humanity for relief and recompense. The Irish may be charged with wrong at the commencement of the difficulty, but it will not do to impute to them the destruction of their own property, and the demolition of the doors and windows of their own dwellings. We trust that the proper authorities will not relinquish investigation till some of the offenders shall have been detected, and that suitable atonement will be made to the injured and suffering party.

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From the Boston Post.

THE SUNDAY RIOT.—Under the Police Court head will be found an account of the criminal proceedings against the Irishmen arrested as rioters on Sunday. Nineteen were bound over to answer to-day, and fifteen were discharged. Among the latter was Oliver Welch, an elderly and very respectable man, whose entire personal property, amounting to about $1000, was destroyed. Five hundred dollars of this sum was in money. Several other persons who had laid up money, in various sums, from ten to fifty dollars in bills and specie, have lost every cent of it. We do not understand that the members of the fire department had any hand in this disgraceful pillage; the robberies were undoubtedly committed by that set of scoundrels who are ever upon the watch for opportunities like the above to effect their depredations; nor does it appear the occupants of the demolished dwellings were in any way implicated with the origin of the conflict.

In our account yesterday, the riot was attributed to an interruption of an Irish funeral, by engine No. 20, but we have reason to believe that such was not the fact. As we now understand it, a large number of people had collected in East Street, preparatory to attending the funeral. They occupied the side-walks, and one of them ordered Mr. Fay, of No. 20, off. He refused to leave the side-walk, and was pushed off. The row then commenced, and it was at least fifteen minutes before the procession moved. But whoever were to blame at the outset, or whatever may have been the origin of the riot, nothing can justify the atrocities perpetrated upon the persons and property of the unoffending inhabitants in Broad Street.

It was No. 9, and not 14, as stated by us, that became accidentally entangled with the funeral procession, in Summer Street.

SECTION XXX.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

WE continue this day the record of a few more extracts regarding the conduct of Boston to the Irish Catholics. Besides those which will be found on our preceding columns, we give the following from the "New York Commercial Advertiser:"—

"THE BOSTON RIOT.—We have several letters from correspondents in Boston, giving accounts of the disgraceful affair on Sunday afternoon; but as they do not furnish any material facts not stated in our publication of yesterday, we do not think it necessary to publish them. They agree in ascribing the *first* offence to the Irish, who were certainly impeded by the engine and company, on their way to bury the deceased, but whose measures to remove the obstruction were altogether too summary and too violent. There appears no room for doubt, however, that the continuance of the affray was entirely owing to the firemen, who were much too prompt in resenting the wrong or insult offered to the Extinguisher company. The funeral procession had gone on, and if the firemen had kept themselves quiet, there would have been no farther disturbance of the public tranquillity. The conduct of the native mobites—that is, of those who battled against the Irish—in the subsequent portions of the affray, was brutal and ferocious to a degree. They did not strike the women and children, but they demolished their dwellings, and did their best to kill their husbands and fathers before their eyes."

The *first* offence, we presume, was the impeding of a funeral procession, and we believe it to have been a wilful and insulting impediment, specially intended to provoke a body of citizens already exasperated by repeated insults. We think that no one who knows Massachusetts will for a moment suspect that any others but Catholics would have been thus ill-treated, and we therefore fully concur in the subsequent remarks of the "Commercial Advertiser."

The "Albany Daily Advertiser" says of it:—

"It seems to us, very much like a second edition of the Ursuline Convent affair. We do think that any company, civil or military, ought to respect the sacredness of a funeral procession, and give room to it, without *disputing the walk*. There has been too much of this savage ferocity towards Catholics, exhibited by the Massachusetts people for the last few years—it is unchristian and it is cruel, and a disgrace to that state. Does any one suppose that if it had been a funeral procession of *any other class of Christians* (and the Catholics are *not* heathen) that the side-walk would have been disputed for a single moment, or that the mourners would not have been permitted *to bury their dead in peace*. No—no. An *infidel* would have been permitted to bury his dead without interruption, but the same spirit which *fired the Ursuline Convent* and made war upon the helpless females, was abroad on this occasion. And it is a spirit which all men, who venerate the precepts of the Saviour of the world, ought to reprobate and repress. It seems that the only losers of *property* on this occasion, were the Irish."

We make no comment upon the paragraph. It is sufficiently explicit.

The "Charleston Mercury" informs us that a subscription is to cover the losses of those who have been abused and plundered. There was to have been a subscription also to compensate for the destruction of the convent!—He would do well to inform us, who has contributed? To whom has the amount been paid? For as yet we are uninformed!

It is natural that every American should love his country, and should feel mortified at the misconduct of any portion of his fellow-citizens; but the editor who put this statement before the public, does not love the fair fame of this confederation better than we do,—nor is he more desirous than we are, to repress the outbreakings of *the Irish*. We gave in our last number our opinion upon the evils arising from the effort to conceal or gloss over misconduct such as this. It cannot be concealed. If the public press do not rebuke it, the public will, by foreigners, be identified with the criminals,—and the guilty persons themselves will grow more wicked from the persuasion that their criminality is approved.

Let the following be read. It is all of the report which has met our eye:

"We annex some extracts from the report of the committee appointed in Boston to investigate the circumstances of the recent riot, and ascertain the damages sustained by individuals. It will be seen that the outrages have been excessive, wanton, and wholly inexcusable as regards any conduct of the persons injured; and no one will suspect that the account has been in any particular exaggerated.

"The total amount of loss is estimated at over $3000. It will be understood that in the above statement we do not include the injury done the various buildings, by the breaking of doors and windows. The loss must be very heavy, and will fall upon the owners of the houses.

"In regard to the pecuniary cases of suffering, we can state they are numerous. Twenty-nine families have been more or less afflicted by this lawless attack upon their homes. There are at least one hundred and twenty-two individuals composing these families, seventy-nine of whom are women or children, and the greater part of these have been deprived of all clothing, save those articles they happened to be wearing at the time of the attack. Many individuals have not a single article of property remaining. We feel it to be our duty to mention some of the most flagrant cases which have fallen under our notice.

"A worthy and inoffensive citizen was sitting in his chamber, engaged in reading, when the noise of the rioters drew him to the window. He had just time enough to run down stairs and to bolt the door, when it was assailed, and in a few moments broken open. Everything in that house is now in ruins. Not a single article escaped, for so determined were the assailants, that even a cooking stove was thrown down and broken in pieces. Every bed in the house was cut open, and the contents thrown into the streets. The occupant of the room lost over $200 in cash, the rioters seizing the money.

"Another person, who had likewise taken no part in the disturbance until his own premises were attacked, lost his stock, valued at $500, together with nearly $500 in cash, the greater part of which was in specie, and all his furniture. This man, who was honest and aged, while defending his property was seized and dragged to prison *as a rioter*. After remaining there twenty-four hours, he was discharged.

"In the discharge of our duty of investigation, it seemed to us that, at times, a kind of vindictiveness was displayed which we could hardly have supposed to have existed in this community, had not the proofs of it been before our eyes.—Clothing was in many places found torn into threads; the newly made shoes of the shoemaker had been cut in pieces; tables, chairs, feathers, crockery, &c., had been thrown into one confused mass. There was likewise, as we have already stated, a disposition on the part of the rioters to take money. An honest labourer was robbed of $452, which he kept in a box at home, the result of many years' earning. As a last example of the melancholy effects of this affair, we further state, that a tailor, his wife and child, were deprived literally of everything, the husband being in Charlestown during the whole of the riot. Not merely was their clothing destroyed, but likewise the dresses belonging to his employers were wantonly torn up.

"In conclusion, we feel it to be our solemn duty to state, that the great majority of the sufferers knew nothing about the funeral which had taken place, or of the fact that any disturbance had arisen between any classes of our citizens, until a very few moments before their own dwellings were attacked."

Amongst those held over to answer to court for their offences are twenty of one party and one of the other.

Read the excerpts upon our fourth and fifth pages, and say, whether Catholics are not refused justice in Ireland *because they are*

the majority, and in Massachusetts *because they are the minority*. The subject is exceedingly painful, but it cannot be overlooked.

SECTION XXXI.

OUTRAGES IN BIGOTED BOSTON.

We add to the former extracts upon this subject the following, taken from the *New York Truth Teller*, of June 24.

OUTRAGE UPON IRISHMEN.

When we last week referred to the late riot in Boston, our remarks were made with considerable haste, and did not clearly and fully express the feelings with which we regard that transaction. We have since received from a most worthy Irishman, residing in Boston, an account of this riot, which we have no hesitation in declaring to be entirely correct. It was not written for publication, but is so simple in language, and states so fairly what the writer proposed to describe, that we regret he has requested us not to publish it. The whole details of this riot are now before the world. The various accounts of it, given in the public journals, have been perused by all of our readers—probably by all of our fellow-citizens, without exception. We can, therefore, in alluding to the occurrence, treat it as a subject with which all who may peruse our remarks are no doubt familiar. It is but one more outrage upon Irish—men, women, and children—added to the swelling catalogue of those which they have already suffered in different sections of the Union. Like the razing of the Irishman's house in Charlestown, and the diabolical demolition of the convent in that place, this riot in Boston must be attributed to the increase of that despicable and violent prejudice against the Irish and Catholic inhabitants of this country, originated, kept alive, and strengthened by political and religious bigots, acting under the influence of feelings which are not superior in refinement to those which actuate the Indian savage in his bloodthirsty eagerness to inflict torture upon his deadliest foe. The patriotism, the democracy, the ardent and undying love of liberty, the devotion to liberal principles, the peaceful attention to religious duties, which distinguish the mass of Irishmen in these states, have awakened the envy, the hatred, and the deep malevolence of those wretched political zealots and religious fanatics, who wish to rear in the midst of the American nation an idol for the blind and servile worship of the ignorant, the superstitious, and the intolerant. Some men who witness the influence which our Irish fellow-citizens, as a part of the population of the Union, possess, and who find them exerting that influence in support of the principles, measures, and favourites of real democracy, assail them with the most violent abuse, excite against them prejudices and animosities which no reason can justify, and on all occasions strive to sacrifice them for the sake of a demoniacal persecution. On the other hand, certain ignorant, canting, and profligate fanatics, such as participate in the nefarious impostures of a Matthias, and raise a chorus of adulation in honour of an Avery—men who have suffered themselves from their youth upwards to be guided by impulses of the most unchristian-like and savage nature—men who have the jargon of sectarian hypocrisy on their tongues, while Satanic bitterness and malevolence rankle in their hearts—men who, in the frenzy of demented ambition, would "rather reign in hell than serve in heaven"—such miserable and degraded wretches embrace every opportunity to scoff at the peaceful and unoffending Catholics, to ridicule their ceremonies, misrepresent their tenets, vilify and defame their clergymen, hold them up to the idiotic scurrility of malignant dolts, and use all the means that crafty and degraded hearts can suggest, to torture the innocent victims of their fiendish hate. The prevalence of such feelings, their gratification, the language and the actions which they have elicited, have been the means of arousing the worst passions of the lowest orders of the American population against Irishmen, and have led to many outrages such as that which occurred in Boston.

In this riot the American firemen were beyond all question the originators of the whole disturbance; and when it was once commenced, they seemed by all their actions to glory in the chance afforded them to gratify their brutal ferocity, by outrage upon the "damned Irish." The harmless individuals in Broad Street, whom they so grossly ill-treated, whose property they so wantonly destroyed, and whose persons they disfigured with such ruffianly recklessness, had done nothing to deserve their vengeance. But these despicable rioters had determined that the Irish should feel the force of their bludgeons, and realize the lamentable extent of their hellish passions. They committed crimes at which the humane would shudder; neither the gray head of age, the cries and entreaties of women, nor the helplessness of infancy, stayed them in their savage course. They scoffed at the admonitions of the old, with cowardly meanness dashed their clenched fists in the faces of mothers, and daughters, and sisters, and pressed their

heavy feet on the tender limbs of innocent children. Yes, all this was done by the men who daily boast of their descent from the heroes of '76, while their acts are such as would disgrace the most cruel savage, who ever, during the Revolution, dashed out infants' brains, to complete the horrid sufferings, and lend a new pang to the already intolerable agony of a scalped and dying mother.

We cannot remain cool while such things are occurring around us. We cannot believe that the laws are impartially administered, when we find glaring before our eyes the fact, that while a few Irishmen and hundreds of Americans were engaged in a riot, and while the latter, in the presence of officers, civil and military, perpetrate crimes of the worst character, only Irishmen were arrested, and all the Americans were suffered to escape unmolested. Is this justice? Is this upholding the majesty of the laws? Is this rendering "equal and exact justice to all men?"

A committee of citizens in Boston have declared, after a thorough examination of the causes and incidents of the late riot, that the residents of Broad Street were the innocent victims of lawless violence. This being so clearly admitted, we call upon the authorities of Boston, as they regard the public peace, as they wish that no man should be suffered to violate all law, and outrage every feeling and dictate of humanity unpunished —we call upon them, as they respect and cherish the memory of those who fell on Bunker's Hill, in the struggle for American independence—we call upon them, in the name of the departed Lafayette, of Montgomery, of De Kalb, of Steuben, of Kosciusko —we call upon them, in the name of that God whose synonyme is justice, to avenge the offended laws and the violated principles of humanity, by apprehending and bringing to condign punishment the Americans who lately, in the streets of Boston, abused the persons and demolished the property of those who, as human beings, have at least a claim to the protection of human laws.

The *Charleston Courier* of Monday, the 3d inst., informs us:—

"THE BOSTON RIOT.—The committee of the City Council, of which the mayor, Mr. Elliott, was chairman, has made a report, which completely exonerated the fire department from any participation in it, except that which they were obliged to have for their own individual protection."

About twenty of the Irishmen, it will be recollected, had been bound over to appear at the *Municipal Court*, to take their trial for an assault upon the firemen; and with this trial pending, the *principal municipal officers* pass a verdict of acquittal upon those who are said to have been the aggressors. This may be impartiality in Boston, especially where the question is clothed with the full decoration of party spirit.

SECTION XXXII.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

MASSACHUSETTS JUSTICE.

OUR readers will bear in mind the following facts:—

1. That on Sunday, the 11th of June, in the present year, a number of Irish Roman Catholics were proceeding with a funeral in the city of Boston, to the interment of a deceased member of their society.

2. That a conflict took place between one of the fire companies of Boston and the persons forming that procession.

3. That it is admitted on all hands that the engine of the company was left in a position obstructing the procession.

4. That since the impunity of the persons who burned the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, the hatred and bad disposition of the Boston people, and indeed of the citizens of Massachusetts generally, against the Irish Catholics, has been frequently and openly exhibited.

5. That an effort was made, with what success it is not for us to say, to create a belief, that the obstruction of the funeral procession was not the cause of the conflict, but that two members of the fire company had been previously insulted by the persons waiting to form the funeral procession.

6. That the firemen belonging to the engine were defeated and obliged to retire.

7. That upon this they rung the alarm, as for fire, and the other engines were brought out, and successively interrupted the procession, their firemen assailed those who composed the escort of the dead, broke up the funeral, and grievously wounded many who were there. All this and more occurred on the Lord's day in Boston, the city of the Puritan pilgrims!!!

8. That, thus assailed by numbers, the Irish endeavoured to defend themselves, and to repel their assailants, until they were either driven off or arrested.

9. That the civil and military powers came out to suppress the riot, and about thirty persons were arrested and cast into prison, all of whom were of the Irish party. It was alleged by the editors of the public papers in favour of the Americans, that the

Irish were so imprisoned in mercy to themselves, to save them from being destroyed by their opponents.

10. Almost simultaneously with this disgraceful transaction in one part of the city, another worse outrage was perpetrated in the vicinity, by others besides the firemen. A great number of the houses of the Irish Catholics, who had not only no share in the conflict, but who knew nothing of the funeral or of the fight, were assailed by a mob, we are ashamed to write it, of Americans. Old men, women, and children were shockingly abused, beaten, and otherwise insulted, their houses and rooms were plundered of money to a considerable amount, their furniture broken, their beds ripped up and the contents scattered to the winds of heaven, and such sacking of the houses perpetrated as is only to be paralleled in a city taken by storm after an obstinate defence. And this on the afternoon of the Lord's day, in the Sabbath-keeping city of Boston!!! Boston, the capital of the land of the Puritan fathers!!!

11. To this scene of outrage the authorities soon came, and several of the flying Irish were captured and sent to prison. The Americans were left to retreat unmolested, except that one police officer, by name Powers, indignant at this gross misconduct, loudly complained of it, and by considerable exertions had two of the assailing and robbing party recognised and arrested.

12. The case was brought before the magistrates, about twenty of the Irish were held to bail to answer in the Municipal Court to the charges against them, and four of the accused Americans were likewise bound over.

13. A committee of the civic authorities, of which the mayor of Boston was chairman, made an investigation, and gave, as their conviction, the perfect innocence of the firemen.

Such are the facts that we have hitherto communicated. We have now a most interesting sequel to develope. It is exactly what we anticipated. We prefer giving a few extracts from papers avowedly not more favourable to the Irish than to their assailants.

The Charleston Courier of the 22d inst. says:—

"*Boston Rioters.*—A verdict of acquittal for twelve of the Irish prisoners was returned on Friday, 14th inst. The jury were in consultation until after one o'clock in the morning. Two were convicted. The four American prisoners were then put on a trial."

In another place the same journal gives the following:—

"The Yankees indicted for riot in Broad Street.—In the case of Elisha Gleason, George Prince, and Abel Harrington, at the Municipal Court, charged with riot in Broad Street, on Sunday, the 11th of June, the jury rendered a verdict not guilty."—*Boston Transcript.*

We do not quarrel with our friends of the Courier for suppressing a circumstance which they probably condemn, and would blush to publish; but it is our duty to strive to do justice to the plundered and insulted citizen by adoption. To him his character is everything, and now, especially, when an effort is about to be made to shut out the emigrant from freedom, to make him the helot of such reckless bigots as are the firemen of Boston. We take the following

From the Boston Atlas.

"BROAD STREET RIOT.

"Commonwealth vs. Elisha Gleason, George Prime, Mark Adams, and Abel Harrington.

"The jury came into court on Saturday morning, and rendered a verdict of not guilty as to all the defendants.

"The announcement of the verdict was received with loud applauses by the spectators.

"*Nota Bene.*—This is the same jury which found Whaley, the Irishman, *guilty* of a riot at Prentice Wharf, notwithstanding it was proved, by clear and unimpeached testimony, that at the time the supposed offence was committed, Whaley was attending divine service in the Catholic church.

"The second jury, the same which yesterday rendered a verdict against the two Irishmen, Fanning and Welch, this morning recommended them to the mercy of the court, stating that their case, in the opinion of the jury, was attended by many palliative circumstances."

Thus we find all the native Americans acquitted; whence it is evident that justice has been unable to reach those who obstructed the passage of the funeral,—those who, by a false alarm, congregated a mob of firemen to give further obstruction to the buryers of the dead, to the mourners who, on the Lord's day, in a foreign land, to which they had been allured by the promise of protection, equal rights, just laws, and impartial execution, were performing the last sad rites of humanity and religion. Justice was unable to reach the assailant of the peaceful dwellings in Broad Street, the

vile robber, who on the Lord's day, in the midst of a populous city, plundered the stranger and the adopted citizen of the fruits of years of laborious industry and frugality. Justice was unable to reach the wanton and malicious destroyer who, in open day, under the very eye of the public authorities of a city that once vaunted herself to be a model of peace, of order, of honour, and of civilization, demolished that furniture and other property which he could not secrete and carry away with the same facility that he did the dollars, and the notes, and the gold, and the spoons, and the other small valuables that he pilfered from the industrious Irish. Yes! not one of those has justice been able to reach. Where, then, is the sanction of the law in Massachusetts? In the trial by jury? The jury that acquitted those thus charged have, for aught that we know, found a proper verdict. The four men may perhaps be innocent. We are, however, told that this same jury found Whaley, an Irishman, guilty of being concerned in a riot at Prentice Wharf at the very moment when, the editor of the Boston Atlas informs us, that *it was proved, by clear and unimpeached testimony*, that he was at divine service in the Catholic church! In this we see nothing extraordinary. Quite the contrary. Whaley was proved to be guilty, for the guilt of all; the crime, consisted in their being Irish Catholics. Now, plainly Whaley was an Irishman, and evidently he was a Catholic. The jury had no discretion. How could he expect an acquittal, when his own witnesses proved the case against him, viz., that he attended divine service in the Catholic church. Had they indeed proved that he was in the church of any other religious denomination, or in no church at all, he perhaps might have been acquitted. But the stupid defence before a Boston jury, that he was in the Catholic church at divine service! If any lawyer set up this defence, he should never get another client!

The decorum of the Boston citizens—this emporium of literature, taste, liberality, and love of liberty and of law! As soon as the jury returned their verdict acquitting the four natives arraigned, in order to give a semblance of impartiality to the proceeding, "the announcement was received with LOUD APPLAUSE by the spectators."

Such also was the conduct of the spectators in the case of Mr. Buzzell, who was acquitted of having had any share in burning the convent at Charlestown,—and to compensate whose services so liberal a collection was so enthusiastically made upon the spot. How are the children of the Pilgrims conspicuous for their love of justice! Yet it is rather unfortunate for the discernment of the jury that acquitted Mr. Buzzell, that this gentleman himself should differ in opinion with his benefactors!

On Tuesday, Dec. 23d, 1834, the Boston Morning Post contained the following card:

"A CARD.—John R. Buzzell begs leave, through your paper, to tender his sincere thanks to the citizens of Charlestown, Boston, and Cambridge, for the expressions of kindness and sympathy manifested towards him on his acquittal of the charge of aiding in the destruction of the convent; also would gratefully remember the gentlemanly deportment of Mr. Watson while imprisoned in Cambridge Jail."

Mr. Buzzell does not say that he was not guilty of the crime of which the jury *swore* that he was "not guilty;" this would be going too far, even for Mr. Buzzell; he left the perpetration of that act to his friends; and the kindness and sympathy so bountifully lavished upon him, were not the result of a belief that he was what the jury *swore*, "not guilty." No. Mr. Buzzell was known to be the principal character in the blazing drama, whose enactment had given so much gratification to the good citizens of Massachusetts; and it was therefore that the favourite actor was rewarded by his delighted fellow-citizens; and conscious of this, he was far from derogating from his own merits, or taxing his benefactors with any lack of discrimination. The business of the jury was to *swear* that he was "not guilty." Mr. Buzzell was to use their legal protection,—to commend himself to the *understanding* of his friends, who knew how to appreciate the *evidence*. The trial by jury was the palladium of *his liberty*. Mr. Buzzell was set free, and was rewarded. LOUD APPLAUSES accompanied his acquittal. But did the hero himself agree in opinion with the *swearing* of those who, before the civilized world, and in the face of high heaven, *swore upon the sanctity of the God of heaven*, that he was "not guilty"? The sequel will show.

John R. Buzzell, upon some other charge, it seems subsequently found his way into the state prison or the penitentiary. The offence not being against Catholics, nor Irish, nor adopted citizens, his friends did not feel so interested in his fate. The latest news that we have learned of the gentleman is the following:—

"*Death-bed Confession.*—Most of our readers will perhaps recollect the name of John R. Buzzell, who was indicted and tried some two years and a half ago for having

been engaged in the celebrated convent riot. He was acquitted upon his trial. We learn from the best authority that Buzzell is since dead; and that, upon his death-bed, he confessed to have been one of those who set fire to the convent."—*Boston Atlas.*

Thus we have been taught the value of such an *applauded* acquittal as that of Messrs. Gleason, Prime, Adams, and Harrington. And our notions of Massachusetts' justice have been retained greatly below par.

Our friend, the editor of the Charleston Mercury, some time since spoke of a subscription and compensation to the Irish who had been assaulted and robbed. We would beg to draw his attention to the following statement which we received from Boston:

"The committee of the City Councils of Boston, to whom was referred the petition of sundry individuals for compensation for damages sustained by the recent riot in Broad Street, reported that it was not within the legal powers of the city to grant any such compensation; which report was accepted, and the committee discharged."

We find the following paragraph in the Charleston Courier of yesterday morning:

"The grand jury of the Municipal Court of Boston have presented the Boston Atlas for a libel in regard to the decision of the jury respecting the conviction of certain Irishmen."

We do not know what the obnoxious paragraph is,—but we do know, that it is very probable that the proprietor or editor of the Atlas will be convicted, that the spectators will receive the verdict with loud applause, that an exemplary penalty will be awarded by the court. But all this will go abroad, and will add to the already established fame of Boston!!!

We shall return to this subject.

SECTION XXXIII.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

EXCERPTS REPORTED FOR THE BOSTON ATLAS.

Municipal Court—Thursday, July 13th.

THE BROAD STREET RIOT.

Commonwealth vs. *Barney Fanning, Timothy Larra, James Carrigan, Edward Murphy, Andrew Gerry, Patrick Mahan, Francis Coffee, John Kennedy, Eugene Sullivan, John Welsh, Timothy Herren, William M'Soley, and John Haley.*

HANNAN (recalled by the district attorney) swore that he did not go into Old Broad Street on Sunday. He was wounded early in the affray near Prentiss' Wharf, and went home: is a member of No. 20.

Mr. George Fay, though sent for, did not make his appearance in court this morning. *It was said he was gone out of town.*

These two witnesses of the government, it will be recollected, were sworn to by O'Neal as having been in Broad Street breaking up furniture.

This case was argued to the jury by Harrington, for Carrigan, Murphy, Welsh, Herren, and by E. Haskett Derby, for the rest of the prisoners.

Mr. Derby made a very eloquent and able address. He placed the defence on the following grounds:

First. The Irish in Old Broad Street acted in self-defence. The funeral procession being broken up, and the hearse pursued with showers of stones, the alarm was carried into Old Broad Street, that all the Irish were to be flogged and murdered; and a formidable body of enginemen and others, armed with clubs, stones, and bricks moved down towards Broad Street, proclaiming their intention to execute violence and revenge upon the Irish. Whereupon, the Irish lawfully and justifiably took post at Foster's Wharf, at the very entrance of the Irish quarters, to defend their persons, property, wives, and children. They acted wholly upon the defence. They were attacked by the rioters, and were gradually driven back. The assailants, by degrees, forced their way by different passages into Old Broad Street, and having, as one of the witnesses expresses it, "taken Broad Street," they commenced an indiscriminate pillage of the houses, barely suffering the women and children to escape—though not always without blows—but beating all the men whom they found in the houses, in a most barbarous manner, and turning them out into the street, to be again beaten and stoned by persons who called themselves spectators, and then to be seized and carried off to jail by these kind *spectators*, who were there to arrest Irishmen and quell the affray. Under these circumstances, any acts of violence which might have been proved against any of the prisoners were lawful acts of self-defence, probably justifiable.

Secondly. That as to Coffee, Gorey, Haley, Mahan, M'Soley, and Sullivan, it was conclusively proved that they were forcibly driven out of their houses into the street, the greater part of them were assailed, beaten, knocked down, arrested, and carried off to jail as rioters! As to the other prisoners, there was no evidence which proved anything against any of them in the

slightest degree criminal; in fact, no acts of violence were proved against any of them. Herren was shown, conclusively, to have been a mere spectator; Fanning and Kennedy were attempting to escape from the rioters, when they were knocked down and taken to prison.

This district attorney, in concluding his address, entered into an elaborate and ingenious apology for the conduct of the American party in the riot: and in the heat of argument, he not only suggested a variety of ingenious excuses for the outrages which they committed, but even at one time went so far as to offer palliatives for the sacking of the houses!!!

However, he expressly stated, that he did not mean to justify the conduct of either party; he held both parties to have been guilty of a riot, and on that ground he asked for a conviction of the prisoners.

The judge charged that, in point of law, the Irish could not be justified in proceeding to New Broad Street to revenge any insults which had been offered to their countrymen. Any purposes of revenge could not be justified on the ground of self-defence.

But if the jury believed that what the prisoners, or any of them did, was in defence of themselves, or their houses or property, then they were entitled to a verdict of acquittal.

Also, if they or any of them, were driven into the streets by violence, and so involved in the affray, they were not to be held guilty for acts committed under those circumstances.

The court adjourned before the jury had agreed upon a verdict.

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From the Philadelphia U. S. Gazette.

EVEN-HANDED JUSTICE.—The following proceedings of the Common Council of Boston shows what justice is to be had of the *corporation*, for suffering from rioters:

"The committee to whom was referred the petition of sundry individuals for compensation for damages sustained by the recent riot in Broad Street, reported that it was not within the legal powers of the city to grant any compensation.

"Report accepted, the committee discharged."

The action of the legislature in the case of the convent riots, illustrates the justice of the state—though in both instances, only so far as one class of citizens is concerned.

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From the same.

"We have published a report of the trial of the Irishmen in Boston, for the Broad Street riot, in which *their* houses were torn down and their furniture destroyed; three of them were found GUILTY.—The next day the trial of the Americans who attacked the houses took place. We copy from the Boston papers the result.

"'The YANKEES indicted for riot in Broad Street. In the case of Elisha Gleason, George Prime, and Abel Harrington, tried at the Municipal Court, charged with riot in Broad Street, on Sunday, the 11th June, the jury rendered a verdict of NOT GUILTY.'

"We notice in another paper, that one of the *Yankee* rioters, not having entire confidence in the jury, forfeited his bonds, and was among the missing. The event shows how idle were his fears."

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THE CONTRAST.

Boston, the capital of New England, was said to be the Athens of America, the seat of liberty, the pink of politeness, the example of virtue, the temple of taste, the emporium of fashion, the asylum of the stranger, the city of hospitality, the abode of charity, and the model of liberality.

We copy the following from the "Louisiana Advertiser." We know not how he substituted *Monday* for *Sunday*, except that he thought it impossible such an occurrence could have taken place in the city of Pilgrims on what they style the Sabbath:—

"A disgraceful affair occurred in Boston on Monday week, last, the particulars of which will be found in our columns. Four or five lives have been sacrificed to the headlong fury of the intemperate belligerents. It grew out of the interruption offered to a funeral procession, on the part of a company of firemen. Common courtesy—whatever prejudices may still exist and rankle in the bosoms of those imbued with the Charlestown feeling—should have dictated a different course of action. A deferential respect is paid to the dead, even among *savage* nations. In many places on the continent of Europe, individuals, not merely satisfied with granting a free passage to those in attendance on funeral processions, uncover their heads, and occasionally join the group of relatives and friends paying the last honours to frail mortality. The anecdote from the new work 'Austria and the Austrians' of the Emperor Francis, published in our paper of yesterday, speaks volumes on this affecting subject.

"Thank providence we of the South have none of those prejudices to combat with—they are happily unknown to our community, and long may they continue to be so.

The custom of interring the dead according to the Catholic mode practised in Italy, Spain, Portugal, &c., is still continued by the Creole, French, and Spanish families in New Orleans. No interruption nor indignities have ever been encountered in the performance of so sacred a duty; and the clergymen, with the emblem of Christianity borne before them, by juvenile assistants, calmly and meekly precede the remains of the departed; passing through many of the most crowded streets to their church for the reception of the dead. Were any marks of disrespect shown on such occasions or impediments offered, the hot blood of our population would be like to take fire, and fearful consequences follow."

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THE EMPEROR FRANCIS.—During the cholera, the emperor when walking, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, near Schonbrun, met a bier carrying a body to the cemetery, but not followed by any one. The emperor asked "Why was the corpse abandoned?" "It is probably that of some poor friendless person," replied the aide-de-camp. "Well, then," said the emperor, "it is our duty to attend it to the grave." So saying, the emperor took off his hat, placed his arm within that of his aide-de-camp, and both, uncovered, followed the coffin to the cemetery, where Francis himself threw the first spadeful of dust over the body. "This," say the Viennese, with a thousand others which they tell of him, "shows how sensible our good Vater Kaiser Franz was of human equality."—*Austria and the Austrians.*

The Emperor of Austria was an illiberal bigot who knew nothing of the rights of man! The Boston firemen are enlightened republicans, and the mayor and councils of Boston vouch for their good conduct on this occasion.—Bigoted Boston!!!

SECTION XXXIV.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

WE stated that we would return to this subject. We gave our view of the conduct of the officers of justice, of the value of the trials, and of the spirit of Massachusetts, —so far as regarded the obtaining any justice for the Irish, who had suffered grievously in their persons, in their property, and in their feelings. Our friend of the Charleston Mercury has abandoned the defence of Boston, for he is convinced of the hopelessness of its position, and in the disappointment of his expectations, in the bitterness of his indignation, he describes the conduct of the Bostonians in language stronger than we have used, but not more vituperative than they have deserved.

From the Charleston Mercury of Monday last.

"In reply to the friendly notice of this paper by the *U. S. Catholic Miscellany* of Saturday last, touching the proceedings in Boston on the late riot, we can only say that we have been much disappointed in the Bostonians. Their conduct in this case, and in that of the rascally burning of the monastery, has been shameful, disgraceful, humiliating. We protest, however, against the *political* clap-trap which some of the collar presses would bait with these things. The Bostonians would be equally illiberal and unjust were they all VAN BURENITES."

Nearly three years ago, in a distant land, when the language of astonishment and censure was poured forth upon Massachusetts for the burning of the convent, the writer of this article undertook, in the fullness of his then conviction, to vindicate the great body of the Bostonians, and generally the people of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, from the aspersions cast upon them; he undertook to assure the highly respectable persons whom he then addressed, that ample compensation would be made, not only for the loss of property, but for the passing disgrace which had been cast upon the commonwealth by the outrage upon liberty, upon justice, upon manhood, upon delicacy, and upon religion. He cherished the hope that by the more than fulfilment of that assurance, this republic and its institutions would be vindicated not only to the few to whom he had pledged himself, but generally to the civilized world, that inquired whether this was a specimen of American liberty of religious worship,—whether this was American order and civilization? He was, however, doomed to bitter disappointment, and to humiliating mortification at finding that not only men in high station, jurors, lawyers, judges, the people, and the legislative assembly, together with the governor himself, virtually identified themselves with the degraded rabble that was used as their instrument. From this disappointment of his own, he can enter into the feelings of the editor of the Mercury, whose hopes of Boston have now gone by the board.

The writer of these remarks is far from enjoying the disgrace of a city over which he could weep, or the degradation of a state where Bunker's Hill lifts its head in the vicinity of Mount Benedict!!! where the unfinished column, which would tell the triumph of a people, may be viewed from the ruins which proclaim the deliberate cruelty of a prepared mob, waxing wanton in the assurance of present security and

future protection for their virulent bigotry, their planned sacrilege, and their profitable pilfering, a mob of which the legislature of Massachusetts subsequently said, as if in mockery of justice, "We are very indignant at your violation of law," whilst their action can be fairly construed to add, "And we rejoice that you have escaped its penalties." We then dwell upon this topic for the purpose of doing our duty as the conductors of a public press established to protect and vindicate, as far as we are able, that portion of our citizens whose property, whose persons, whose feelings, and whose rights have been so cruelly assailed. We dwell upon it for the purpose, as far as we are able, of having public attention excited, public investigation made, public discussion continued, and public opinion expressed; for we have still a hope that public opinion is sound as regards religious freedom, and sufficiently powerful for its protection.

We have no political purpose to serve, and our friend of the Mercury has not found us attributing this to either the party of the opposition or of the administration. As journalists we shall have no preference for either; as religionists we owe as little to the one as to the other. Hence our brother editor may be assured that we shall not use the bigotry of Boston to defeat or to thwart his political views. We do not, however, close our eyes to evidence that we have of the fact, that ONE EMINENT POLITICIAN has lent himself to the bigots in Massachusetts, and we have reason to believe, that in doing so he has in this, as in other instances, combined with others of no mean name to try how far the political degradation of emigrants, and particularly of Catholics, could serve the purposes of his own ambition:—but we shall not mix this up with the degradation of Boston; and it is possible that our duty may never demand our publishing what we do know on this subject. We repeat then that we have no motive in fully examining the bigotry of Boston, save the protection of religious liberty, the vindication of abused Catholic victims, and the desire to rouse our fellow-citizens to the protection of the fair fame of our republic.

We now proceed with our remarks.

We have shown,

1. That on Sunday, May 11th, in Boston, the capital of the New England States, a disgraceful riot took place, in which hundreds of native American Protestants and Irish Catholics were engaged on opposite sides.

2. That a great number of the Irish Catholics were cast into prison, whilst not one American was confined.

3. That about twenty of the Irish were brought to trial, of these three were convicted. Whilst the four Americans who were put upon their trial were acquitted, and the spectators received the verdict with loud applause. No American was convicted.

4. That besides this riot, the dwellings of a number of Irish Catholics, who were peaceably at home, unsuspicious of danger, were attacked, plundered, sacked, and destroyed by a gang of native Americans, who demolished or cast abroad whatever property they could not carry away, and grossly assaulted, beat, and otherwise maltreated the Irish.

5. Several of the beaten and flying Irish were seized upon and cast into prison, and one American was taken as he was coming out of a house; he escaped, was however brought to trial and was acquitted!

6. Not one of the assailants or plunderers was overtaken by justice.

7. No compensation was made to the wantonly injured Irish Catholics. The city council answered to their petition for redress—"We have no legal power to assist you."

Before we proceed farther to the special case of Boston, we shall place Baltimore in contrast with this city of the Pilgrim fathers. —A riot occurred in Baltimore, not on account of religion, but of money. The houses of the obnoxious individuals were assailed. The mob was proceeding to extend its judgment and execution, when some persons who it was supposed had no objection to the first destruction, finding their own dwellings and property exposed to danger, procured the appearance of the firemen, who previously could not be mustered. The principle was, that the riot must be quelled to *save their own property*. The legislature of Maryland compensated the sufferers, by levying the amount of their losses upon that community which could and ought to save them, but which did not. In fact it is a just fine for neglecting the duties of the social compact, that of mutual protection. There will be no more wanton burnings or sackings in Baltimore whilst this principle shall be enforced. What is to prevent sacking in Massachusetts?

In Baltimore a number of the rioters were taken up, were tried and convicted. Some masses of them were, after due warning, fired upon, wounded, and dispersed,—and

The Baltimore Gazette says: "The persons who have been found guilty in taking the lead in the recent riots in the city, were this morning called up and were severally sentenced by Judge Brice, to fine and im-

prisonment, which, it is hoped, will have the effect of checking such scenes for the future."

In Boston the accused persons are acquitted, and the verdicts are received with applause, and contributions are made for the ringleaders. No wonder then that we find Massachusetts becoming notorious for its crimes. We do not now advert to the conviction and sentencing to death of boys of thirteen years of age, for arson: we take the two following specimens from a paper now on our desk:—

"The Lowell Courier states that as the cars from Boston were entering that city on Monday last, a gun was discharged, at them from 'Swan's Bridge.' When the evening train for Boston passed the same place, another gun was discharged, and one man in the last car received a few buckshot in one of his arms. Within a month, several pieces of wood have been found on the track in that vicinity."—*Nat. Gaz. June* 15.

"*Murder in Massachusetts.*—The body of Calvin Fuller, of Springfield, Mass., was, on Thursday of last week, found in a pond in Tolland, bearing marks which showed conclusively that he had been murdered—his head being much broken and otherwise injured. Jesse Hull, Jr., who lived in the neighbourhood, and with whom Fuller had had some difficulty, was arrested as the perpetrator. As soon as the body was found, or while the search was going on, Hull absconded and fled, but being pursued, was taken about twenty miles from his house. Just before he was taken, he made an attempt to destroy himself by cutting his throat, and partially succeeded, but was prevented from fully executing his purpose."

What shall we say of the numerous attempts to fire the city of Boston itself? It is unnecessary for us to proceed with this topic. We pass to another.

The firemen of Boston are accused of having caused the riot on Sunday, May the 11th, by having placed their engine in the very road of the funeral procession of the Irish, in order to exasperate and to insult them, and to provoke the occasion for a battle. They created the fight, they were defeated. They rung the alarm to bring out their associates. Overwhelmed by numbers, and borne down by engines, the Irish are now defeated; a detachment from the victors and their associates rush to the distant dwellings of the Irish to consummate by plunder what they had commenced in barbarity.

The cry is raised during the succeeding days against the firemen. The Common Council of the city assembles. A committee is appointed to investigate the charge against the firemen; the mayor is made chairman of that committee, and on Monday, July 3d, the "Courier" of Charleston informs us, for we have not seen the Boston paper which contains the report—

"Boston Riot.—The committee of the city council, of which the mayor, Mr. Elliot, was chairman, has made a report, *which completely exonerates the fire department from any participation in it*, except that which they were obliged to have for their own individual protection."

Thus the mayor of Boston stands before the world as the witness of the innocence of the firemen; for surely, in protecting themselves, they committed no fault! Who now will have the hardihood to asperse the firemen of Boston!—The mayor of Boston, Mr. Elliot, and the Common Council of Boston, are the compurgators of this meritorious body of innocent citizens, who, assailed by the wild Irish, were obliged to protect themselves.

This was *before* the trials took place in the Municipal Court, and surely no one will dare to suspect that this report was calculated to operate upon that most impartial tribunal!!!

To our utter amazement, however, we had scarcely been made fully aware of the result of the trials in this Municipal Court, before we read upon the columns of the *Courier* the following paragraph, copied from the *New York Journal of Commerce*:—

Trouble among the Boston Firemen.—The Boston fire department are in a *muss*, in consequence of an order from the mayor and aldermen, requiring them to dispense with the services of *volunteers* under 21 years of age. To a circular communicating said order, Tiger Co. No. 7, returned an insolent answer, refusing to comply. They were accordingly dismissed from the fire department. This was on Monday afternoon. On Monday evening, meetings were held by several companies for the purpose of giving up their engines. Others were to hold meetings on Tuesday evening, with a view to the same object. The Boston Gazette, whose prepossessions are evidently in favour of the firemen, expresses a belief that every company in the city will be immediately disbanded. "It is understood," say the editors, "that the mayor proposes to fill the places of the discharged enginemen, by hiring companies of thirty men each to man the several engines, and to pay every member of the department the sum of fifty dollars per year for his services."

"Our opinion of the Boston firemen is

generally favourable,—but we would save them the trouble of resigning, were we in the place of the mayor, unless they could make it consistent with their views of duty to obey the laws. There is quite too much of this turbulent disposition manifested by the firemen of more cities than one, and it is time it should be corrected. It is better to pay firemen for their services, as we do watchmen, than to have such freaks of insubordination displayed."

What, we asked, can this mean? The innocent firemen had lads under 21 years of age as volunteers, and most of the plunder in Broad Street was perpetrated by lads under 21 years of age. Could it be that whilst the firemen were participating in the riots for their own individual protection, their youthful associates were participating in the robbery for their own individual enrichment; and participating in the assaults upon women, and children, and old men, for their own individual amusement?

But, in addition, the opinion of the editor is favourable to the Boston firemen, yet, though he is their friend, if he was in place of the mayor of Boston he would disband them.—For what? "Unless they would obey the laws." But surely, if they only protected themselves from the Irish Catholic rioters, they disobeyed no law.—"But they manifested a turbulent disposition, and it is time that it should be corrected." Would the editor have them lie down quietly and allow the Irish funeral to walk over them? What turbulent spirit was it time to correct? We saw at once that all was not clear. We saw that the mayor looked upon the firemen to be turbulent, and that it was necessary to disband them. But in what did this turbulence consist? This was the difficulty. The mayor and his committee had exonerated them from any participation in the riot except that which they were obliged to have for their own protection. This was no turbulence which needed correction. Indeed, it would be quite a different case if the firemen were a formidable band of bigots, bound together by compact and hatred to Catholics, and especially to Irish Catholics, who, by their combination, could superintend the burning of a convent, or the sacrificing of adopted Catholic citizens, and who had under their training a set of youthful miscreants to do the robbing part of the duty, while their teachers and guardians were occupied in the fighting and protection. And this was precisely the charge made upon the firemen, but from which charge they were completely exonerated by the truly honourable Mayor Elliot and his equally honourable associates, the compurgators of those peaceable and orderly citizens, the firemen of Boston!!!

The difficulty, however, still recurred. The firemen were not accused of any turbulence except against the Irish Catholics, and if the mayor completely exonerated them from this charge, the only one brought against them, why, then, did he condemn them?

Our friend, the *Charleston Courier*, of July 26, again informs us:—

The Boston Firemen.—The excitement in the fire department continues. We learn from the *Centinel* that all but one or two of the engine companies have been disbanded.

The following article also caught our eye:—

(Correspondence of the New York Journal of Commerce.)

Boston, July 21, 1837.

THE BOSTON FIREMEN.

I was very much pleased with your remarks in the Journal of Commerce of Wednesday last, in relation to the firemen of this city. That the press here has preserved such a silence in regard to their late extraordinary movements will, undoubtedly, appear singular to many at a distance. It must be recollected, the duties of the fire department here, within the last two months, have been uncommonly arduous. The promptitude and energy with which the various companies have met and defeated the numerous attempts to fire our city, within this period, is worthy of all praise. Hence the reluctance of many of our citizens to censure conduct which they know is absolutely without the shadow of excuse. Always ready, as we have been, to award the meed of praise to the deserving, we ought not to hesitate for a moment in condemning the recent lawless and unprovoked conduct of our firemen. Unfortunately for the character of our city, this important body of men have imagined that the active discharge of their onerous duties has purchased for them an indulgence to trample upon the laws and set at defiance the constituted authorities. They begin, however, to find out their mistake. Your numerous readers will be gratified to learn that the call of our excellent mayor for volunteers to man the deserted engines, has been responded to by our young men in the most noble manner. Last evening was a proud night for Boston. The spectacle that was exhibited was one cheering to those who love order and law. A host of young men, who may emphatically be said to be "the flower of the city," if that term is intended to convey the idea of all that constituted moral worth,

assembled at the various engine houses, to organize themselves into new companies. Some of the companies are already overflowing, and ere this reaches you, every company will be filled. Passing by the place where the volunteers for Engine No. 18 held their meeting, I stepped in, and was delighted to see the spirit that pervaded the large number assembled. After the organization was completed, and more than one hundred young men had enrolled their names, General Davis briefly addressed the meeting—urging upon those present, to meet with forbearance any insult that might be offered them, while in the discharge of their new duties. Mr. S. A. Danforth responded to the remarks of Gen. D., and said he wished to have it known throughout the country how many of the young men of Boston are in favour of the supremacy of the laws. The remarks of both these gentlemen were received with applause. Be assured, that the laws will triumph. I am, Yours, &c.

From this it appears, "That the Boston firemen had been guilty of conduct which was absolutely without the shadow of excuse"—"recent lawless and *unprovoked* conduct"—"they seemed to imagine that they had purchased for themselves an indulgence to trample upon the laws and to act in defiance of the constituted authorities." What is this *unprovoked* criminality, except it be their unprovoked assault upon and robbery of the Irish Catholics? For we find no other specific crime laid to their charge—and if they are guilty of this "lawless and *unprovoked* conduct," what are we to think of the mayor of Boston, and of its common council, and of its Municipal Court? "The fire department completely exonerated from any participation in the riot, except that which they were obliged to have for their own individual protection"—"Report of the *honourable* Mayor Elliot, and his *honourable* committee to the *honourable* Common Council of Boston."—BIGOTED BOSTON !!!

The verdicts of acquittal in the Municipal Court in case "of the native Americans *received with* LOUD APPLAUSE"!!!

"That the press of Boston has preserved such a silence in regard to the late extraordinary movements of the firemen will, undoubtedly, appear singular to many at a distance."—The *Atlas* publishes the proceedings of the Municipal Court, and the grand jury present the paper for a libel.—Such is the liberty of the press in bigoted Boston!

We have given enough for this day. We shall return to the subject.

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SECTION XXXV.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

OUR readers will recollect the official declaration of the *Honourable Mayor of Boston*, ELLIOT, as chairman of a committee of the Common Councils of that illiberal city, appointed to inquire into the nature and circumstances of the riot and robbery which ensued after the obstruction of the funeral of the Irish Catholic. That report exonerated the firemen of Boston from any participation in the riot, except what was necessary for self-protection. Our readers will recollect that some of the insulted and plundered Irishmen were convicted by a Boston jury, although it was proved that one of the Irishmen so convicted, was at the time of the illegal offence, not on Prentice Wharf, where it was perpetrated, but in the Catholic Church in Franklin Street, where it was not committed.

They will also recollect that the only four of the native American party who were brought to trial were acquitted, and that their acquittal was in a court of justice received with LOUD APPLAUSE.

They will also recollect that notwithstanding the official report of the mayor and the committee, the mayor and the councils were obliged by reason of the gross misconduct of the innocent firemen, to break up their companies.

Our readers have also been informed that these innocent and meritorious firemen, who were thus disbanded for their gross misconduct, threatened vengeance on any persons who would undertake to supply their places.

We now give to our readers the following paragraph from the *Boston Mercantile Journal*, to show the partial fulfilment of their threat.

"DISGRACEFUL.—There was another alarm of fire last evening, which proved to be a false one. The new fire department were of course on the alert—but the several engine companies were met at every corner, by squads of miserable-looking blackguards, chiefly boys and young men, whose sole object was evidently to insult and irritate the firemen. They made use of the most abusive language, shouts, hisses, and groans, intermingled with vulgar and profane invectives—and in more than one instance impeded the progress of the engines. The members of the department deserve much praise for the forbearance they manifested on this occasion—but it is hoped that it will not again be put to so severe a test.

"Since writing the above we understand that three or four of these precocious youths

were arrested by the police officers and conveyed to the watch-house—and one of them, named Winship, received a gentle reproof at the Police Court this afternoon, in the shape of a fine of $10 and costs. He was also ordered to recognise, in the sum of $50, to keep the peace for six months; for want of which he was committed."

Let our readers also take notice that this paragraph has been copied from a journal published in Boston, where the public press has been shamefully silent respecting such misconduct, and where one paper that has dared to say a little upon the subject has lately been presented by a grand jury for a libel!

The following is a specimen of many paragraphs which have for some time past almost daily fallen under our eye.

"On Tuesday morning, about one o'clock, a daring attempt was made to set fire to Hopkins' Coffee House, in Cornhill Square, Boston. The wash-room in the rear was entered through a window, and a couple of champagne baskets filled with shavings placed under the sink and set on fire. The fire was luckily soon discovered and extinguished, without doing much damage. This is the second time that an incendiary attempt has been made on the same house within a week."

Here is an exhibition of the demoralizing effects of granting public protection to incendiaries, because their victims are defenceless nuns, and the place which they robbed and burned was a convent, and all this from bigoted hatred against Roman Catholics!

Now recollecting that the Boston firemen came with their engines to Mount Benedict, on the night of the destruction of the convent, we turned back to the accounts then published by the Boston papers of that disgraceful outrage; we also looked to the report of the committee of citizens of Boston, who investigated that transaction; and we have compared the statements there given, with the history of this last outrage upon the Irish Catholics; and the evidence is to us complete, that the Boston firemen were implicated in the conspiracy to destroy the convent; that they assembled there upon a preconcerted signal, not for the purpose of aiding to extinguish the flames, but for the purpose of preventing any effort to stay the demolition, and for the purpose of protecting the incendiaries, and that their assault upon the Irish Catholics was a natural result of their impunity on that occasion.

The preconcerted signal for destroying the convent, was the lighting of tar-barrels, and ringing the bells, and otherwise giving the alarm of "fire." The *Boston Morning Post* said—"tar-barrels were brought near the walls and ignited," "assailants entered with flaming torches," "they were simultaneously applied at twenty distinct points among the curtains and drapery of the rooms, and instantly the interior of the institution was enveloped in one general conflagration." "The torches were applied about 11 o'clock, and the Boston engines, responsive to the tocsin of alarm, immediately repaired to the spot, but were prevented from acting against the fire by the surrounding multitude."

The *Boston Atlas* gives the copy of a handbill printed in Charlestown, signed by David Dodge, town-clerk, on the 13th of August, (the burning was on the morning of the 12th,) in which the selectmen of that town commence their proclamation by saying—"Whereas, great and serious outrages have been committed in Charlestown, and the peace of the place greatly disturbed by mobs *from the city of Boston*, and other places in the vicinity." It is, however, a melancholy joke to find those hypocritical selectmen, when the convent was in ruins, proclaim,—"Be it hereby made known, that the civil authorities of the town, aided by the military, will prevent, to the extent of their town, *a repetition* of these acts." However, the firemen from Boston came thither upon the signal, and the selectmen, hypocrites though they are, charge the "mobs from the city of Boston," in the first place with committing the outrages. The Atlas comments with just severity upon the miserable document of those magistrates, but cannot and did not deny the guilt of the firemen.

The *Jesuit* states, "Shortly after 9 o'clock, a car laden with tar-barrels and combustibles passed to the spot. These were soon set fire to, as signals. The crowd began to increase," &c.

The Boston investigating committee in their report state—"At about eleven o'clock a bonfire was kindled on the land of Alva Kelly; * * * this is believed to have been a concerted signal for the assemblage of all concerned in the plot." "The bells were then rung as for an alarm of fire in Charlestown, and in this city." "In the mean time the Charlestown engines and some from Boston had arrived." We shall now see for what purpose. "One of the latter of which, passing those of Charlestown, *which had halted opposite the bonfire*, immediately proceeded into the avenue leading into the convent." This is the only engine that

approached, and it was carried to the convent before the attack, but as soon as the attack commenced, "this engine, by order of its commander, was immediately carried down to the road and stationed opposite the gate, where it remained during the night." We may now ask, why was the conduct of those attached to this engine an exception to that of all others? The committee inform us in a note to their report,—"Most of the members of this company have been before the committee, and deny any previous knowledge of a design to destroy the convent, or any participation in the riot; and it has been stated in the public prints, that the examining magistrates of Charlestown expressed their opinion that *this company* stood fully acquitted of all concern in it." Thus we are warranted in concluding the opinion of the committee and the magistrates to be, that with the exception of this company, all the others had previous knowledge of the design to destroy, came there to aid, took stations suited to this purpose, and were concerned in the plot.

The committee next report:—"Three or four torches which were, or precisely resembled *engine torches*, were then brought up *from the road;* and immediately upon their arrival the rioters proceeded into every room in the building."—"After having ransacked every room in the building, they proceeded with great deliberation, *about* ONE O'CLOCK, *to make preparation for setting fire to it.* Here then, *two hours* had elapsed after the signal fire was kindled, *before* preparations were made for setting fire to the convent. And during those two hours the firemen were upon the ground with their engines, and furnished the torches to the robbers who entered to plunder the convent, previously to setting it on fire, and the whole preparation is deliberately made under their protection. The committee, however, do not leave us any room to avoid the conclusion, for their report, proceeds.

"The committee are satisfied upon evidence before them, of what indeed it would be injustice to many of their fellow-citizens to doubt, that great numbers of those present were indignant spectators of these scenes, and would gladly have aided in defence of the convent and arrest of the rioters, had any attempt been made by either of the magistrates or engineers of the fire department of Charlestown who were present, *or by any engine company,*" (those of Boston were present,) "or any person having or assuming to have authority to rally them for that purpose; but no voice of authority was heard, and no remonstrance but that of timidity, in effect giving courage to the assailants." Thus it is manifest that those firemen made no effort to prevent the incendiaries, but that they aided and encouraged them and remained upon the ground for their protection. The committee continue:

"Nor has any other satisfactory account been suggested why the mob was not arrested in its career by the great multitudes by which it was surrounded, than the supposition that, from the omission of magisterial interference, doubt and mistrust existed, whether the work were not so sanctioned by popular opinion, or the connivance of those in authority, that resistance would be hopeless." * * * "It has come upon us like the shock of an earthquake, and has disclosed *a state of society and public sentiment*, of which we believe no man was aware." Yes! it showed them to the world as bigots, whilst they boasted of their liberality!!!

The firemen of Boston, encouraged by this success, thought to demolish the Irish Catholics in the same manner that they aided in the demolition of the convent. And with the full knowledge of all this, the *honourable mayor of Boston* has sent circular appeals to the chief magistrates of the principal cities of the United States, inviting them, under the pretext of amending the naturalization law, to petition in effect, that all Roman Catholics who shall in future arrive in the United States shall be *slaves for twenty-one years:* and he proclaims the innocence of those firemen who robbed and beat the unprotected Irish Catholics in his own city!!! But injustice and hypocrisy cannot go with impunity. The brave firemen having been taught to despise law in the case of the Catholics, soon made their employers feel that in the indulgence of their bigotry they were destroying the security of life and property in their own demoralized city.

Are our remarks too severe? Out of their own month we judge the citizens of Massachusetts. The concluding paragraph of the report of the Boston committee is in the following words:

"And if this cruel and unprovoked injury, perpetrated in the heart of the commonwealth, be permitted to pass unrepaired, our boasted toleration and love of order, our vaunted obedience to law, and our ostentatious proffers of an asylum to the persecuted of all sects and nations, may be well accounted VAINGLORIOUS PRETENSIONS, or yet MORE WRETCHED HYPOCRISY."

We have done with the *honourable mayor* Elliot and BIGOTED BOSTON, for this day.

By the bye, we would deferentially ask our *respectable mayor*, General Hayne, and the city council of Charleston, whether they

have received the invitation of the mayor of Boston, to insult their adopted fellow-citizens, by petitioning for an alteration of the naturalization laws? And if so, how do they mean to dispose of the document?

SECTION XXXVI.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

We had much to add upon the subject, but our pages are so occupied by other matter that we cannot afford to devote them to this Athens of our country. Still we are unwilling to pass it by as altogether unworthy of our attention. We make the following extract from the *Philadelphia Ledger:*

"A Boston paper, in noticing a scandalous outrage upon one of the new fire companies in that city, by a portion of one of the disbanded companies adds: 'If there be any people, whose example is productive of great good, or great evil, it is the people of New England—the people most especially of Boston—and they should be the last to rebel against the majesty of the law, as they always have been the first to resist its infringement.' We subscribe to this, and say that as no American city has done so much as Boston for the diffusion of general education, the best preservative of order, so no people are under a higher obligation to set an orderly example. But we would ask if such example were set on a late occasion, by those who called themselves the most 'respectable' people of that city, when in a public meeting they advised a forcible resistance to an act of Congress, and their member of Congress improved the occasion to say that no people were so much cheated, plundered, robbed, and oppressed, as the Americans?

"The burning of the convent is a stain upon the escutcheon of New England, which can never be wiped off. But we will, on this subject, render justice to the Bostonians. They have been erroneously charged by presses here, and the National Gazette among them, with being the principal actors in the tragedy. They were not. On the very next day one of the largest meetings ever held in Boston, and consisting of its most respectable citizens, denounced that proceeding in the strongest terms, and recommended to the legislature, an act of indemnification to the sufferers. At the next election to the state legislature, their delegation of sixty members were chosen with full knowledge that a bill for such purpose would be introduced; the Boston delegation of sixty unanimously supported it, from its introduction to its defeat.

"The sin of burning the convent belongs to the staid and sober population of Middlesex and Worcester counties, stirred up, we regret to say, by exciting discourses from the pulpit, and aided, as any people always will be aided in such enterprises, by the idle, profligate, and disorderly of the neighbourhood."

In our last we showed, 1. That the selectmen of Charlestown officially charged the Bostonians, on the day after the burning of the convent, with being the principals in the robbery, arson, and sacrilege; and 2, That the firemen of Boston came upon the ground, all but one company, upon a preconcerted signal, not for the purpose of extinguishing a fire which had not been yet kindled. Thus we are of opinion that our friend of the Ledger commits a mistake in saying that the Bostonians were erroneously charged with being the principal actors in that tragedy.

As to the proceedings of the large meeting, we shall have another time for that. We now give from the *Boston Centinel* the prettiest sample of Bostonian justice that we recollect to have seen described since the days of "the mighty Tottipottymoy," described by Butler, and whom in due time we intend to introduce to our readers. It will be recollected that Whaley is the man who is said to have been proved guilty of being in the Catholic church at the time of the riot, for being concerned in which at Prentice's Wharf, he was found guilty by the jury, whose verdict of acquittal of the natives was received with applause in the temple of justice!

"*Sentence in the Broad Street Riot Cases.*—John Whaley, for the affair at Prentice's Wharf, was sentenced to four months at hard labour in the house of correction.

"John Welch and Barney Fanning, for taking part in the Old Broad Street battle, each *two months' hard work* in the house of correction.

"Such is the result of the judicial investigations of the most extraordinary scenes of tumult and outrage which have ever occurred in Boston, since the celebrated 5th of March, 1775.

"*One* person is convicted under the first indictment for the commencement of the fight in New Broad Street.

"*Two* persons are convicted on the indictment against the Irish who took one side of the battle in Old Broad Street.

"And *one* person only of the Americans who rioted there, (Mark Adams,) is convicted on the indictment for sacking the houses, &c., and that person, *not by the jury*, but by his own flight, which is tantamount to a confession under such circumstances.

"Under this statement, the remark is obvious, that one of the strangest things under the sun is, that when more than *two hundred* persons, for nearly *two hours*, were engaged in frightful acts of violence and outrage, under a broad sunlight, in presence of more than *two thousand* witnesses, looking upon the progress of events, and the actors in their lawless deeds, the officers of justice, and the grand jury, after a month's anxious and most diligent inquiry to get at the truth of the matter, have been unable to find and produce witnesses who can satisfy the trial jurors of any but the aforesaid four persons. However the fact may be accounted for, the pretence of the fact is marvellous."

In looking over our exchange papers, we observed the following:

"BOSTON IN OLD TIMES.—A decree of the court: 'Capt. Stone is sentenced to pay a hundred pounds, and prohibited coming within the patent without the Governor's leave, upon pain of death, for calling Mr. Ludlow, (one of the justices,) a *justass!*'"

Quere.—Would the appellation as a compound, or either of its parts, be fairly applicable at present?

SECTION XXXVII.

From the New York Truth Teller.

MONTGOMERY GUARDS—BOSTON.

BOSTON and its environs seems destined to be enriched with the trophies of infamy she has gathered for her name. It is but a short time since we had the disgraceful evidence of her disregard for the rights of adopted citizens, in quietly suffering a band of profligate and abandoned ruffians, because they were born upon the soil, to offer outrages the most flagrant and the most base to a portion of her population, not excelled within the limits of her territory for integrity, industry, and devotion to republican institutions. We have now to record another unprincipled assault of a deep, lasting, and atrocious dye—one that deserves to be remembered with the crimson deeds of attempted murder and open arson, that finding shelter beneath the very seat of public justice, either corrupted the fountains at their source, or braved with their terror the sworn protectors of the liberties and property of the inhabitants of the state. How the soul sickens at the recital of the wrongs and ignominies heaped upon all in whose veins there runs a drop of foreign blood. From the lowest and most polluted miscreant that walks her streets, to the unermined judges in her halls, the detestation and prejudice that escape is such as almost to drive naturalized citizens from her borders, and leave her convent-burning assassins to wreak their fury and vengeance, like the brutal barbarians of Africa, upon the shipwrecked exile whom chance or fate may cast upon her shores. Where are the men of standing and character in the state, to save her name from the abyss of shame into which she is every hour plunging deeper. Shall her name be blackened with the foulest deeds—shall it be a byword and reproach throughout the whole country—shall every letter of her name stand forth in brazen characters of crime and infamy, and shall no attempt be made to rescue it from a grave of obloquy and infamy? Shame on the land of Hancock!

The Montgomery Guards is a disciplined corps, which embraces among its members men who might be numbered with pride and pleasure among the citizens of the most exalted state in the Union.

The following we copy from the Evening Herald:

"*Boston, Sept.* 13, 1837.—The weather in our city, for a few days past. has been delightful. The air has been clear, and scarcely a cloud has darkened the sun for some time. Such a day was yesterday. It was a public day with us—what is termed the "review," or "muster." At an early hour in the morning, the independent companies collected on the Common, where they had been but for a short time, when the new corps called the "Montgomery Guards" marched to pitch their tents upon the field. At this movement, five of the other companies took umbrage, and left the parade ground. One of the companies went off while their musicians played Yankee Doodle. The disaffected companies marched about the city for some time, and then went to fire at a target, or indulged in some other amusement. The parade was not much disturbed, though it lost some of its spirit by the absence of the aforesaid companies.

It was 6 o'clock when the Montgomery Guards left the field for their armory. Upon leaving, they were hissed, and severely pelted with stones, &c., till they arrived in front of John Doggett & Co.'s carpet warehouse. While they thus stood, all was still and silent. They, however, immediately went on "double quick" till they reached their armory. The mob, which would exceed three thousand, began again, and continued to pelt them with stones, coals. breaking their ranks, &c., all the way to the place of their destination. As they were entering their place of arms, they were again showered upon with brickbats, paving stones, &c., till they were out of the way. I saw

one poor fellow knocked down by a large paving stone, but was picked up by some of the Guards, and thus secured from further danger. There are two dangerously wounded, while many of them are sadly bruised. The mayor appeared on the spot, and requested the citizens to disperse, which they after some time did do.

"Thus has ended one of the most disgraceful and nefarious riots that ever took place in this city. The reason of this dastardly attack upon the company is this: they are mostly naturalized foreigners of Irish descent. But, sir, they are, *every man*, ready to do military duty and to pay taxes. There are in the company forty-six who are holders of real estate; and that number, I venture to say, is more than any other company in this city can produce. The Guards offered no resistance, but bore the taunts and missiles like martyrs. They will prosper, for the sympathy of the good and virtuous is on their side."

We give the following extracts from the Boston Mercantile Journal:

Tuesday, September 12.

Trouble in the Camp.—We regret to learn that there has been some difficulty among the military on the Common this forenoon. It appears that the establishment during the present year of a light infantry company called the "Montgomery Guards," composed of Irish citizens, gave umbrage to certain other of our citizen soldiers, who expressed a disinclination to appear with them in line. And accordingly, after the companies comprising Col. Smith's regiment of light infantry had all made their appearance on the Common, agreeably to orders from head-quarters—no sooner did this company form the grandest display for military review which had been ever witnessed in this city, on receiving some orders from the adjutant, the City Guards abandoned their officers and *marched off the field*, and were followed by the Washington Light Infantry, the Independent Fusileers, Mechanic Riflemen, and Lafayette Guards. The Boston Light Infantry, Rifle Rangers, New England Guards, Winslow Blues, and Montgomery Guards remained. These companies, with the corps of National Lancers, and Major Hoppin's battalion of artillery, and the Pulaski Guards, attached to the 3d regiment, were afterwards reviewed. A company of artillery from Charlestown was also present on this occasion, and made a fine appearance.

We are not versed in the rules of military etiquette, but we hope that these companies will be able to assign some justifiable motives for this extraordinary act of insubordination. The Montgomery Guards are composed of respectable citizens, although *natives* of another country—they number among their ranks *thirty-six freeholders*—and we are not aware that there is anything in connexion with this company which should make them be considered disgraceful to the *elite* of our militia.

We learn that after the troops were reviewed, the Winslow Blues also left the field, the officers remaining.

Wednesday, Sept. 13.

Disgraceful Conduct.—In our paper of yesterday evening we mentioned the unmilitary conduct of some of our light infantry companies, in deserting their officers and leaving the field, because, forsooth, they were unwilling to appear in a line with the *Montgomery Guards*, a company composed of naturalized Irishmen and native Americans, men of good character and respectable standing in the community. But the disgraceful events of the day did not end here. In the course of the afternoon, the Montgomery Guards were insulted and hooted at on parade by a gang of worthless wretches; and when they left the field, at about six o'clock, they were followed and accompanied by a countless multitude of reckless disorganizers, who finally, from taunts, insults, and opprobrious epithets, proceeded to violence, and before they reached the armory, attacked them with sticks and stones. The Guards bore these outrages with astonishing but praiseworthy forbearance, and although armed with muskets and bayonets, made no resistance whatever, or exhibited by their actions any resentment. They as quickly as possible took refuge in their armory from the wanton attacks of the mob, who surrounded the building, and threatened to demolish it; but after a time they reluctantly dispersed. The conduct of the Montgomery Guards, ever since the company was organized, has been of a nature not only calculated to avoid giving offence, but in every respect gentlemanly; and they neither by actions or words gave a shadow of cause for the feelings exhibited towards them yesterday by certain of the military companies or by the mob. We regret to learn that a number of the Guards were seriously injured by the paving stones, glass bottles, anthracite coal, and clubs thrown at them as they were passing along the street. The names of those most severely injured, as far as we have been able to ascertain, are 2d Lieut. Cummerford, who had his cap stove in by a heavy stone, which badly injured his head and face;

Ensign William P. McKay, struck on the head with a paving stone; Mr. Lyons, of Roxbury, hatter, badly cut in the head by a junk-bottle; J. F. Carroll, paper-stainer, badly cut with a stone; Mr. Day, badly injured by a cut in the temple; Mr. Hayes, grocer, injured by a club; James McDonnough, cooper, badly cut in several places in the head with stones, not yet out of danger; Mr. Sullivan had his elbow badly hurt by a heavy stone, and several others were badly injured.

We repeat that the conduct of Captain Baxter and the company under such trying circumstances was beyond all praise. With the power in their hands to have retaliated, they used wonderful forbearance. The feeling of the public is, of course, decidedly in favour of the Montgomery Guards, and their soldier-like and gentlemanly conduct entitles them to the support and protection of the laws and of every good citizen. We apprehend that the principles which govern this company are not understood. We have heard that persons who ought, from their standing, to be above suspicion, have, by circulating false reports, done much to instigate the outrage committed. The Montgomery Guards were chartered in legal form. Their constitution, we understand, has been approved by the Governor, and contains nothing to exclude any person of good character, who is liable to military duty, under our law, from joining the corps. On the contrary, it is expressly provided that no question shall be asked about religion or politics—so that the company is in no way differently organized from the other corps of our city. *Two thirds of the members are native citizens*, born of Irish parents—others are Americans in *every sense*—and ALL are citizens of the United States, COMPELLED *by law to do duty as soldiers*. We venture to say that no such outrage could have occurred in any other city of the Union, and we are sure that no other corps in the city would have shown so much forbearance.

There was no attempt made by the police to arrest any of the offenders, or to quell the riot. Two or three public-spirited citizens, who were witnesses of this most unprovoked and disgraceful outrage, attempted to seize upon the persons of some of the most active of the rioters, but were immediately knocked down, and compelled to desist from their attempts to bring the ruffians to justice.

These frequent violations of decency and law, are alarming to all good citizens. It would seem as if the seeds of anarchy were sown amongst us, and were rapidly springing up. But let us beware of cherishing that fatal spirit of democracy which agitated Paris in the early stages of the French Revolution, when *the mob* contemned the laws, and controlled the lives and fortunes of the citizens—when if a citizen, a body of citizens, or a class of the community rendered themselves obnoxious to these sovereign rulers, the shout which rended the welkin, was *"a la lanterne."* Let us beware that such a spirit does not gain the ascendency here.

We profess to be a REPUBLICAN in principle and in practice—and so far a *democrat*, as to insist upon the right of the people to organize the laws by which they are governed, by electing from their body certain individuals, whomsoever the majority may prefer, in whom the important and responsible trust of making the laws shall be confided. But after the laws for the preservation of the lives, the property, the peace and happiness of all, are made by the immediate representatives of the people and promulgated, it should be the duty of every good citizen, of every individual who has any regard for his own reputation, his own interest, or the welfare of his fellow-men, to *see that they are executed* and to maintain their integrity, even at the risk of life itself if it should be required.

Under a republican government, where the laws spring directly from the people, where it is in their power peaceably to repeal those which are onerous or unjust, and to modify those which are imperfect, *there can be no occasion which can justify a mob.* The people have no right, moral, legal or divine, to congregate together for the purpose of resenting fancied injuries, or wreaking their vengeance on obnoxious individuals—and those men who, disregarding their own fame, and the laws of propriety, of humanity and hospitality, as well as the laws of the land, seek to trample upon the shield which is intended to protect the weak from the assaults of the strong and the unprincipled, and which extends alike over the poor and the rich, the ignorant or the intelligent, the alien or the native citizen, are deserving of contempt and contumely—they are unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a wise and free government, which they cannot or will not appreciate, and are fit only to be trampled beneath the iron hoof of DESPOTISM, which always treads upon the heels of ANARCHY.

We have laws, *which if executed*, would be an effectual protection against mobs—laws for the *punishment* of those reckless and disorderly citizens, who are known to be engaged in disgraceful and riotous conduct. These laws, unfortunately for the honour as well as the happiness of New England, have

been suffered to sleep—and scenes of violence and disorder, congenial to the darkest spirit of Jacobinism, have been suffered to occur in various parts of the land, not only without deserved punishment, but almost without reproof. This should not be. This spirit should be strangled in its infancy, or we may bid farewell to our free institutions, which are now our boast. and the envy of the world. Offenders if they cannot be apprehended on the spot, should be sought out, and dragged from their lurking-places, before a tribunal of justice—where justice should be administered without fear or favour—and where they should receive that exemplary punishment which is provided for by the laws of the land—and which they richly deserve.

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RIOTER APPREHENDED.—We learn that a young man by the name of T. Young, was arrested this morning and examined before the Police Court, on a charge of being actively engaged in the attack by the mob last evening on the Montgomery Guards, and ordered to give bail in the sum of $300 for his appearance at the Municipal Court, for want of which he was committed.

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For the Mercantile Journal.

MR. EDITOR:—It may not be known to all of your readers, with what unheard of patience and forbearance the Montgomery Guards conducted themselves yesterday, when so grossly and shamefully insulted, attacked, and several of the members shamefully wounded in marching to their armoury between 5 and 6 o'clock. To pass over the unsoldier-like and dangerous example (the cause of *all* that followed) set by several companies in quitting the parade-ground; who could have believed that a military company, in passing the streets in a most orderly manner, would have been thus treated? I wish (having been a spectator of the scene) to state what hundreds would confirm, that under *all* the provocation heaped upon them, the Guards made no resistance or retaliation, but. with an astonishing forbearance, marched on to their armoury in Dock Square, amid the *pelting*, *pushing*, *shouting*, and *disgraceful* conduct of the rabble who followed close at their heels. On reaching their armoury they found a body of respectable citizens ready to protect them; after remaining in there for some time, they came out and walked home without further insult.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon this company for their excellent conduct in a most trying and provoking situation, it evidently being the object of the aggressors to induce resistance and create a more serious affray, than was the result of the attack. No body of men could behave better than the Montgomery Guards yesterday, and by their prudent conduct, they doubtless saved the shedding of blood and its awful consequences, and are entitled to the gratitude and respect of every friend to good order. JUSTICE.

Friday, September 15.

Thomas Cutter was examined Wednesday, before the Police Court, on a charge of having assaulted the Montgomery Guards, and also of having committed an assault on Mr. Constable Pierce, and ordered to give bonds to the amount of $250 for his appearance at the Municipal Court.

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From the National Gazette, Sept. 19.

THE BOSTON AFFAIR.—We are gratified in being able to state, that four of the rioters have been arrested, and bound over to take their trial at the next term of the Municipal Court. The Common Council of Boston unanimously passed a resolution, expressing regret and indignation at the outrage committed on the 12th instant upon the Montgomery Guards, and earnestly calling upon all persons to give such information in their power, as may lead to the detection and conviction of the offending parties.

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The following is from the N. Y. Gazette.

MILITIA OUTRAGE IN BOSTON.—A most disgraceful act of insubordination and outrage occurred in Boston on Tuesday last, an outrage that reflects very deep disgrace on the parties engaged in it, and goes very far towards fortifying an opinion we have long entertained of the worse than inefficiency of that "arm of the public defence," so much and so vapouringly boasted of in fourth of July orations, and presentations of fancy standards—*the militia*.

The military mustered in considerable numbers on the Common, among the rest the fine company of Irish Light Infantry, called the Montgomery Guards—not insolently and intrusively, as has been said by one of our city contemporaries—but like all the rest of the military on the same occasion, in obedience to law, and in conformity with orders from headquarters. No sooner did this company take its place in line, than the Lafayette and City Guards, Mechanic Riflemen, Washington Light Infantry [and] Fusileers—in all five companies

—left the field, marched back through the city to their armories, with the American flag flying instead of their company colours, to the tune of Yankee Doodle; in addition to which, the Irish company was followed by a mob of ragamuffins, young and old, who hooted them, insulted them in all forms, and finally fell to pelting them with brickbats, by which missiles several of the members were injured seriously. It is mentioned as honourable to commissioned and warrant officers of the revolting companies, that not one of the former, and but few of the latter left their posts; and so it *was* honourable to those individuals as men, but as officers it says very little for their spirit or for their discipline, without which soldiers are no better than mere mobs, that they *suffered* their men to desert their posts. We know of officers, militia officers—who would let no body of men under their command thus disgrace themselves—officers who would have prevented such an act from being perpetrated, unless it was done by trampling on their own bodies.

It is mortifying that such a shameless act of insubordination should take place in the United States, and especially so that it could have occurred in Boston. These "citizen soldiers" should be most exemplarily punished to the full extent of the authority vested by law in a Massachusetts military court martial. The companies *ought* to be disbanded, and the members made to do duty in "awkward squads" until they are forty-five years old. It is gratifying to find the public indignation against these *mutineers* nearly universal in Boston, and that the *black*guards who abused the "*Montgomery* Guards" have been severely dealt with by the authorities, as far as they have been identified.

We agree perfectly with those who deprecate the formation of military companies composed entirely of naturalized foreigners. It is bad policy on our part to suffer, and bad taste on theirs to covet such an organization, but the laws allow it, and a company of naturalized Irishmen have all the rights and immunities of a company of native born Americans. Indeed, our laws *require* all naturalized citizens of certain ages to perform military duty, and it is a pretty time of day if they are to be subjected to scoffs, insults, and personal injuries, whenever they are called to do the duty that the law obliges them to do.

SECTION XXXVIII.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

THIS, it seems, will force itself upon us as a standing subject, whether we will or not: Maria Monk and Boston would seem to be the two prominent points for the support of Puritanism! The profligacy and the falsehood of the first: the tyranny, the bigotry, and the virulent vulgarity of the second!!! We have thrown into our columns copious extracts from the Boston Mercantile Journal, the New York Truth Teller, and the New York Gazette, describing and commenting upon the disgraceful transactions, not only of the rabble of Boston, but of the select military companies of that notorious and degraded city. Let those extracts be read by our citizens, let them ponder upon their nature and the tendency of the acts there described. The history of this deed of shame is now on its voyage across the Atlantic, it will be translated into the several languages of Europe: before the close of this year, a hundred thousand eyes will have seen it, millions of people will have known it, and the fair fame of our country will have been tarnished, the name of liberty blasphemed, and the despots on their thrones will, in exultation, proclaim to their subjects the superior happiness of dwelling under their paternal sway! And they will be believed!

We do not draw upon our imagination for this statement. We have heard from the lips of those who ruled, and from the tongues of their advisers, of their favourites, of their flatterers, and of their subjects, who honestly believed what they stated, that in republics there could be no peace, no safety, no protection from mobs of low profligate ruffians; that neither religion, nor virtue, nor industry could flourish; that letters could have no encouragement, the fine arts no patrons, nor the government itself any stability or character in such a country as ours! We take up a European paper, and we read the following article:

THE KING OF HANOVER AND HIS CATHOLIC SUBJECTS.—The ex-grand master's reception of a Catholic bishop is an amusing episode in his most Protestant and right royal performance. "The king," says the Franconian Mercury, "is said to have told the bishop (of Hildersheim) not to believe that he (the king) was in any way unfavourable to the Catholics, because in the British Parliament he had pronounced himself so strongly against them. His motives for so doing arose entirely from temporal views entertained by Catholics in England, whereas the Catholic clergy in Germany were animated by a sincerely religious spirit, and he would aid and protect them by every means in his power."

This tolerance of Catholics, so long as their views are in no way temporal, strongly reminds us of the pious Shine's indulgence to the Sunnites, in the "Two Penny Post Boy:"

"Provided they make nothing of it
Towards place or honour, power or profit—
Which things we naturally expect
Belong to us, the *established* sect,
Who disbelieve—the Lord be thanked—
The aforesaid chapter of the Blanket."

Here the same principle is urged, viz., the greater benefit of living under the tyranny of the Hanoverian despot, than under the constitutional forms of Great Britain. Thus this unfortunate city of Boston is not only disgracing our Union at home by its bigotry, but it is essentially injuring the cause of liberty abroad.

The King of Hanover and the Bostonians have however one principle in common: *their bigotry*. They both hate the Catholic religion. They have also one characteristic in common: *their hypocrisy*. The king says, that though he has, in every way that he could, persecuted the Catholics in Great Britain, still that he was in no way unfavourable to them: the Bostonians, though they burn convents, assail Catholic funerals, rob industrious Catholics, refuse any compensation to the sufferers, acquit and reward the few perpetrators who are by accident brought before their tribunals, punish with unusual severity such Catholics as are accused of having been present where they and their companions were assaulted and plundered! though the Bostonians prosecute and punish the journals that record their proceedings, still they say that they are not *bigots—heartless bigots!!!* The King of Hanover and the Bostonians have two other qualities in common: *their selfishness—their injustice*. This they have both acknowledged. The king says that he persecuted the Catholics, because they sought to destroy Protestant monopoly by getting their proper and constitutional share of political power and of lucrative employments. On this account he desired to humble and enslave them. The Bostonians persecute the Irish Catholic settlers, because they, after having complied with the requisitions of our constitution, dare to aspire to the rights of citizenship which they are guaranteed upon this condition, and because they have the hardihood to labour in toilsome works for the improvement of the country, and to turn the fruits of their honest industry to account, and in a land where it was proclaimed to the world that every human being had the inalienable right of worshipping as he might think proper, they were bold enough to worship God according to the Gospel of Christ and the observances of their fathers, and in communion with the vast majority of the Christian people of the universe. For this the Bostonians persecute them, for this they rob them, for this, though unable to repeal the naturalization law, they seek to render it inoperative, and they invite every bigot in the land, every monopolist, every idle office-hunter, every selfish narrow-minded politician, every bitter-hearted enemy of the stranger and the oppressed—every creature who would prefer to see around him a wilderness, rather than smiling fields and rich harvests, and urge them all to procure the degradation of the emigrant, the establishment of white slavery, and the oppression of the man who seeks liberty and labour, if they cannot effect his exclusion from the land of the free and the home of the brave.

We could carry out this parallel, but we will not. Indeed it is a melancholy theme! We will not trust to our feelings to-day. We say then to our readers, once more, peruse this account of the most wanton and dastardly outrage that has been perpetrated since that night on which the firemen of Boston protected Buzzell and his associates in the demolition of the habitation of women and children!

Honour to the Montgomery Guards! We admire their conduct, we reverence their calmness, we applaud their heroism! Doubly victors! They subdued their own feelings, and they defeated the object of our common enemy. Brave and patriotic men! It is upon those who, like you, can in the moment of trial, with arms in your hands, resist the impulse of passion to obey the dictate of judgment, that our republics may safely confide in the day of battle.

SECTION XXXIX.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

From the Salem Advertiser.

DECENCY AND IRISH PATRIOTISM.

Boston is verily the seat of law, order, and refinement. The descendants of the "sainted Pilgrims" have before their eyes, in the ruins of the convent, a monument erected by their own hands to the freedom of religion. Not far distant from the smouldering ashes of the convent they may behold a *half* triumphal column, worthy of their patriotism. The mutilated figure-head of the frigate Constitution is one of the trophies of the madness of faction; and

the sublime catastrophe of the ten cent rebellion gives confirmation strong of their decent respect to the majesty of the laws. The Athens of the East invidiously arrogates to herself almost an exclusive claim to the perfection of civil and social order. But in no other city of the Union are party spirit and faction carried to such extravagant lengths. In no other city of the Union is the public tranquillity so often endangered. Frequent, bold, and unblushing are the attempts there made to excite the people to open resistance to the government—to inflame the public mind, and to prepare it for civil commotion. In what other city or town of the United States have we ever heard of a legally organized, chartered military company, composed of individuals entitled under the constitution and laws to all the privileges and immunities of citizens, being pelted through its streets by the wretched instruments of mobocracy. And the justification given for this outrage is that the members of the corps, the object of the attack, were sons of Irishmen. Shade of Montgomery, arise, and reproach the ingratitude of thy adopted country! Yes, the sons of Irishmen, whose fathers were driven from their homes by the oppressions and persecutions of that very government which Boston federalism in its palmy state extolled as the *bulwark of our holy religion*. Yes, the sons of Irishmen, whose fathers fought the battles of the Revolution. Of the men who distinguished themselves in the revolutionary contest, in the cabinet or in the field, a large proportion were foreigners —many of them Irishmen. La Fayette, Gen. Lee, Gen. Gates, Gen. Stewart, Gen. Montgomery, Pulaski, Kosciusko, Steuben, De Kalb, M'Pherson, St. Clair, Hamilton, Robert Morris. Charles Thomson, Judge Wilson, De Claubec, Thos. Fitzsimmons, William Findley, and hundreds of others eminent in the Revolution were foreigners. The illiberal prejudice against the Irish is a scion of the old English tory stock engrafted on modern whigism. The history of Ireland's unhappy connexion with England, says a late writer, exhibits from first to last a detail of the most persevering, galling, grinding, insulting, and systematic oppression to be found anywhere, except among the helots of Sparta. There is [not] a national feeling that has not been insulted and trodden under foot; a national right that has not been withheld, until fear forced it from the grasp of England; one dear ancient prejudice that has not been violated in that abused country. As Christians, the people of Ireland have been denied, under penalties and disqualifications, the exercise of the rites of the Catholic religion, venerable for its antiquity, admirable for its unity, and consecrated by the belief of some of the best men that ever breathed. As men they have been deprived of the common rights of British subjects, under the pretext that they were incapable of enjoying them; which pretext had no other foundation than their resistance of oppression, only the more severe by being sanctioned by the laws. *England first denied them the means of improvement, and then insulted them with the imputation of barbarism.*

The Irish and French are the hereditary foes of England; and the emigrants from France who have in our eastern states sought a refuge in the vaunted "land of the free," would be, in certain circles of latitude and longitude, as much objects of reproach as those of Ireland, if their numbers were sufficient to provoke it. John Randolph once said that he had heard of a black swan—but he never saw an *Irish* tory. He is borne out in his remark by the testimony of the Revolution. A band of Irishmen formed a part of the celebrated Pennsylvania line.

They fought and bled for their adopted country. Half starved and half naked they maintained the contest at fearful odds. The narrative from history tells us that their shoeless feet marked their track on the highway. Driven to absolute want, they implored a supply of the necessaries of life. Their adopted country turned a deaf ear to their complaints:—they murmured,—they remonstrated,—they mutinied. The intelligence of the dissatisfaction was carried to the British camp. Lord Howe seized it as a glorious opportunity of crushing the half-formed embryo republic. He calculated largely on the indignation and resentment of the natives of the "Emerald Isle." He despatched messengers to the mutineers. Abundant supplies of provisions, bounties, arrears of pay, pardon for past offences, were offered. They did not hesitate between patriotism and treachery—between honour and shame. They spurned the golden offers of the British commander, and trampled them under their feet. They seized the tempters, and sent them to the American General, where the wretches expiated with their lives their miserable attempt to pervert and corrupt ragged, forlorn patriotism. There was no Arnold there. Such was the patriotism of Irishmen. Such will it ever be under the proper influence of laws, institutions, and society. If their condition be degraded by oppressions reprobated by humanity, it is our part to meliorate it. We need not fear the influ-

ence of the Irish. We have much more to fear from that of their oppressors.

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From the New York Sun.

FEUDS AND JEALOUSIES.—We are sorry to see such ebullitions of narrow feeling as occurred last week in the city of Boston. Let us suppose, for argument's sake, that the infantry company attacked is, as its assailants alleged, composed of Irishmen solely and exclusively. For our part we can see no more mischief in such a band than in the German Rifles of this city, or of the French companies of New Orleans, and the Germans of Philadelphia. Lafayette, De Kalb, Kosciusko, and other illustrious foreigners who assisted this people in the struggle for the Revolution, did not forswear their countries. Mark it when you will, that man who has no national feeling, no respect for the land which gave himself or his ancestors birth, is a miserable and untrustworthy character. Fealty to the country of one's adoption does not require a surrender of all honest attachment to the land of birth. On the contrary, a betrayal of one friend is an earnest of betrayal of the next who reposes trust in the traitor,—so is heartless forgetfulness of the land of one's birth a sure promise of heedlessness of the laws of the country of adoption.

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own—my native land."

Suppose that the adoption of the national colour—the arrangement of some lace in the form of a sprig of shamrock, and the symbol of the harp do mark the uniform of the Montgomery Guards. Suppose that something like a clannish spirit is fostered by the banding of a company of men whose honest boast it is that they are Irishmen and sons of Irishmen. Will persecution divide them? Will arraying parties against them induce them to forego the ties which unite them together? Will they not rather seek safety in union, against the bigoted attacks of their persecutors? And has there not been already manifested more than once throughout New England, a disposition to persecute and abuse her Irish citizens? The answer is written in black on Mount Benedict—it is on the records of the last year's history of Boston—it is found in the illiberal tone of many of the clergy and people of the Eastern States.

It is all nonsense for us to arrogate to ourselves a third of the footstool as our exclusive domain. It is his property whose creatures we are, and the eternal wisdom of Providence will dispose of it for the advantage of all who can participate in its occupation. Immutable decrees, and usage coeval with creation, send the redundant population of one portion of the globe to others less densely peopled. Deny the rights of emigrants now, and we deny at the same time our own right in the soil; so that the argument, urged as it may be, places all on an equality. Besides, we cannot occupy the whole continent if we would, and the secret workings of our own interest forbid us from playing dogs in the manger. Emigrants must come. Emigrants will come,—and if we study justice, benevolence, duty, or interest, we shall endeavour to assimilate them to us by magnanimous conduct, instead of putting them on the defensive by ill treatment, and strengthening and creating clans and parties by persecution of all who are marked by dissimilar features or characteristics. For the particular people who are the subjects of persecution in this instance, they would be foolish indeed to deny their country, and, with it, their affinity to the master spirits whose names are on the page of our history, of England's history, and in the annals of their own green isle.

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From the Boston Evening Transcript.

Our fair city, our proud city, proud in its patriotism, proud in its intelligence, proud in its moral example, was dishonoured today by the conduct of certain members of its volunteer military associations.

There was, as our readers require not to be told, the customary inspection and review of the dress companies composing the Boston brigade. One of these companies is the Montgomery Guards, raised since the last review, and composed principally, we believe almost entirely, of naturalized Irishmen, and the native born descendants of Irishmen. The company was regularly chartered by the Governor, and is duly organized. The members, in their private capacity, and in the capacity of citizen soldiers, are not charged with any deviation from duty, nor have we heard any complaint against them, individually or collectively, that was not the fiction of prejudice, or the creation of falsehood-loving mirth. This company being attached to the brigade, took its place in line this morning for inspection and review, in conformity with orders from headquarters. As soon as they came into line, five of the infantry companies left the field without orders, (some of them under command, if it might be said they were under *any* command, of their

warrant officers, when the superior officers refused to accede to the movement,) and paraded the streets with the American flag displayed in lieu of the company banner, and the drum playing "Yankee Doodle," to the general disgust of the citizens, and their own and our city's dishonour.

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From the Boston Traveller.

THE MONTGOMERY GUARDS.—The outrageous attack upon the Montgomery Guards by a gang of miserable scoundrels. on Tuesday, has excited an unusual feeling of indignation among our citizens, and a corresponding desire to see the assailants and their abettors brought to suffer the severest penalty of the law. We are gratified at being able to state that four of the rioters have been arrested and examined before the Police Court; three of whom were bound over in the sum of $300 each to appear and take their trial at the next term of the Municipal Court. Their names are Thomas J. Younge, Thomas Tucker, and Joseph Pierce. The further hearing of the case of B. Brown is assigned for eleven o'clock today.

The Transcript says several professional gentlemen have volunteered their services to conduct these prosecutions for the Guards —but, at the request of Captain Baxter, Thomas Gill, Esq., has undertaken their direction.

(Captain Baxter is a native of Boston, and belongs to one of the oldest American families in the state.)

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From the Boston Morning Herald.

As the Montgomery Guards passed through Tremont Street, they were saluted by the hisses, yells, and missiles of a disgraceful set of mobocrats—some low-lived, riotous wretches, who, void of sense or discrimination, rushed on with the hope of exciting that company to some expression of displeasure. Their conduct was noble under these sallies. They marched to their armory with coolness, and were not excited by the stones and clubs which were hurled at them,—though many of them were wounded.

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SECTION XL.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

WE lay before our readers a few additional extracts on the misconduct of this city. We do, after mature reflection, style it the misconduct of the city of Boston. It is true that a portion of its inhabitants, though a very great minority, were, from time to time, less imbued with prejudice than their fellow-citizens, and even some few were positively liberal; but the character of the city is that of the majority, that which influences its administration, that which is manifested in the predominating spirit even of its mobs.

The more polished, the better educated, the refined, we must use even that phrase, "the higher orders of society," are able, from early habits of self-restraint, to conceal, frequently, under a bland and courteous show of affability and liberality, those passions which are cherished though not exhibited by them; the influence of their spirit extends beyond their circle, and the multitude in whom it is found, less hypocritical than those from whom it emanated, are not equally capable of hiding what they feel. And frequently in the very paroxysm of their excesses, the very rabble will manifest the dominant feeling,—the madness of the mob is bewailed openly and freely reproved by those who rejoice at the mischief which has been perpetrated, without their active agency: this joy is cherished by those who are known to agree with the rabble in principle; the perpetrators feel that they are sure of their protection, though they abstain from uniting with them in action. Thus the Legislature of Massachusetts solemnly resolved, that it was indignant at the burning of the convent, but that it would not contribute a cent to compensate the sufferers. Thus the Common Council of Boston resolved, that it was very sorry that the Irish were beaten and were robbed—and the Municipal Court acquitted the beaters and the robbers—and the people rejoiced—and the court punished the robbed and the beaten—and when a newspaper complained of the iniquity, the editor was punished—and the city of Boston expects that the public will believe that its mob is a bigoted rabble, but that its gentlemen and ladies are liberal, and compassionate, and just, and charitable!!! It would be rather an unnatural distinction.

The Mayor of Boston, (Elliott,) together with a committee of the City Council, proclaimed to the world that the firemen were innocent; and they were, almost in the same breath, heard denouncing these same firemen as lawless and mischievous vagabonds and robbers, and were found disbanding their companies! And it is expected that the municipality of Boston is to be respected, and that the declarations of its mayor are to be believed!!!

The respectable portion of the inhabitants

of Boston are sorry for those outrages, and regret this misconduct. We are at a loss for the proof. We recollect a history somewhat to the purpose.

In one of our cities a respectable merchant died, his family was large, and his affairs were embarrassed. It was mentioned upon 'Change. Everybody was sorry,—all feelingly lamented the situation of the destitute family. After some time, one of the humblest of those present—*a foreigner, too*, for he was a Frenchman—came forward, and laying down a note on the table said, "Gentlemen, I am poor, but I am *sorry five dollars* for the destitute family; let our sorrow do them good." Strange as it may seem, there was not twenty dollars' worth of sorrow in the whole mercantile body!!! Not one cent's worth of sorrow in the Legislature of Massachusetts for the burning of the convent! Not a cent's value of sorrow in the city of Boston for the robbing of the Irish! The indignation of the Legislature, the grief of the Common Council, the sympathy of the wealthy and the liberal of Boston, all united, are not worth one cent!!!

Yet that mayor of Boston had the effrontery to write to the chief magistrates of a number of our cities, urging them to unite with him and his compeers in that proscription of emigrants now sought to be established by the unblushing mayor of New York and the bigots of Boston against the hardy, and toilsome, and the industrious, who come hither allured by the love of liberty, the prospect of labour, and the promise of protection and of citizenship. This is not the act of the rabble, it is the act of the municipality, it is the public, the authorized act of the city of Boston. It was also the act of the municipality of Boston, in the reorganization of its fire companies, to make the public effort to exclude citizens who were not native born,—that is, to exclude Irish, and especially Irish Catholic citizens, from those companies! Tell us, after this, that the acts of its rabble, in full conformity with this spirit, are not chargeable to the city of Boston!! The city is guilty,—Boston is bigoted!

We have been more than once told, that the Irish Catholics in Boston were scarcely ever enrolled upon the militia lists, that they were never armed. In a word that, though citizens, they were, so far as regarded militia duty, treated worse than aliens. That the men and women who cry out for the emancipation of our southern negroes, systematically sought to degrade the white Irish Catholic citizen of the north and of the east. This was not the act of the mob; this, if true, is chargeable to the public authorities, to the spirit of the people, to the bigotry of Boston.

At length, however, a crisis has arrived, and what we could not expect from generosity, or from justice, must be conceded to self-love. We have another history to the purpose.

It happened, not ten years ago, in this country, that several obnoxious individuals resided in a city, perhaps midway between this and Boston. The mob assailed their houses; they were demolished. No force of any efficiency could be assembled by the mayor of that city, either to protect the assailed, or to capture, or even to repress the assailants. Everybody was sorry that there were riots; everybody declaimed against mob-law. But almost everybody whispered that the mob was only doing summary justice, and that they who were assailed deserved it.

Things went on thus far pretty much to the taste of many who were loudest in their censure of the mob. But a few of the leaders of the people began to think of extending their demolishing lessons of admonition; the names of the intended victims were whispered; the causes were suspected, and there were some serious apprehensions now entertained for themselves by some who hitherto imagined they were secure. It was soon discovered by them that firemen could be mustered, though the firemen had been previously invisible. Gentlemen who could not a few hours before have been persuaded to look out at a window, now boldly mustered with arms at the exchange; the American flag was elevated; the city was rescued; order was re-established just in time to permit the completion of the pillage which every one pretended to condemn, but which few would volunteer to prevent; and also just in sufficient time to prevent the infliction of farther injury.

But there was a very equitable sequel to this exhibition. The legislature of the state properly felt, that if the same measures had been taken at first, that were at a later period successful, there would have been no destruction—and it levied the amount assessed for compensation, upon those who would not do their duty by their fellow-citizens. It was a proper infliction; it was a just compensation; and it was also attended with another excellent moral consequence, for besides insuring person and property against similar outrage in future, it turned the semblance of sorrow which the hypocrite exhibited for the outrage of the mob and the suffering of his fellow-citizens, into the reality of grief for the money which

he had to pay as his share of the compensation.

Hitherto the city of Boston looked upon nuns and Irish as only nuns and merely Irish, but now a question of a different nature is presented for consideration. Shall the bigotry of the Bostonians be permitted to destroy the efficiency of the best arm of our national defence? Shall the vilest rabble at this side of the Atlantic be habituated to assail an armed force, and to find security and triumph in trampling upon the only power on which we can safely rely for repelling a foreign foe, or for subjugating domestic insurrection? And even in Boston this question must be answered in a way which will procure, if not redress for the past, some security for the future. The Governor of the state of Massachusetts, in his capacity of commander-in-chief of the militia, has issued the following order:

(OFFICIAL.)

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Headquarters, Boston, Sept. 16, 1837.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The Commander-in-chief has learned from officers on duty at the Brigade Inspection and Review in Boston on the 12th instant, that on the formation of the line of the Light Infantry Regiment, the non-commissioned officers and privates of the City Guards, under the command of a Sergeant, left the field in disobedience to the orders of their superior officers and in gross violation of military discipline; and that this disorderly example was followed by many of the non-commissioned officers, and nearly all the privates of several other corps of Light Infantry, and one of Riflemen. The Commander-in-chief forbears comment, particularly on facts, however notorious, which are in a train of official investigation by the proper officers: nor will he attempt to anticipate the consideration which may be had of the case, on due report which may be made of the same, at the approaching session of the Executive Council. But he deems it his duty to the militia, and to the public at large, to issue these General Orders, expressing the deep and painful feelings produced in his mind, by conduct so unbecoming the citizen and the soldier.

He feels that this occurrence is calculated seriously to shake the public confidence in the militia, inasmuch as it has shown that a large portion of those on whom firm reliance was placed for the support of the laws and the preservation of the peace in time of need, have allowed themselves, (it is feared by previous concert,) to engage in a deliberate violation of the laws by a public deser-[tion] of their duty, and set an example, too promptly followed, of conduct tending directly to the subversion of order, and to the grossest outrage on the feelings, rights, and persons of unoffending fellow-citizens, actually engaged in the performance of a duty enjoined by law.

The Commander-in-chief deems it equally his duty, and it is one which he takes great pleasure in performing, to express his high satisfaction at the conduct of that portion of the militia on duty at the time, as well officers as privates, who remained firm at their posts; and his warm approbation of the exemplary behaviour of the Montgomery Guards, under the trying circumstances in which they were placed in the course of the day.

The Commander-in-chief desires to impress it upon the minds of the militia, as their first duty in time of peace, to contribute in every way prescribed or authorized by law, to the preservation of the public order and peace. Any act of a contrary tendency on their part will be doubly pernicious, and will be regarded as in the highest degree reprehensible by all good citizens. He feels entire confidence that the duties in reference to an occurrence of such high and painful moment, will be faithfully discharged by all the field and company officers to whom they pertain, and that the feelings and conduct of all of every rank composing the brigade will be such as to restore the public confidence in the militia, as a safe dependence for the protection of the peace of the community and of the authority of the laws.

By order of the Commander-in-chief.

H. S. A. DEARBORN, Adjutant General.

Even the wretched Common Council feels it time to do something more than to trample upon the industrious adopted citizens, or heartlessly repel the emigrant. This body has unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, that this board view with mingled feelings of regret and indignation, the outrage committed on the Montgomery Guards, one of the light infantry companies of this city; that they consider it both as a gross violation of the rights of citizens, and a most disgraceful and dangerous disturbance of the public peace—that they highly approve of the conduct and forbearance of the injured and insulted company on that occasion—and that they earnestly call upon all persons to give such information in their power as may lead to the detection and conviction of the offending parties."

THE MONTGOMERY GUARDS.

The Boston Rioters.—The Boston Mercantile Journal furnishes the annexed paragraph:

Joseph Pierce and Thomas Tucker, convicted at the Municipal Court of a riot and assault on the Montgomery Guards on the 12th of September last, were this day sentenced by Judge Thatcher to three years' confinement at hard labour in the House of Correction; and Thomas J. Young, convicted of the same offence, was sentenced to two years in the House of Correction.

SECTION XLI.

From the Baltimore American.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

GREAT MEETING AT THE BALTIMORE EXCHANGE

Of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, without distinction of sect or party,

Convened to give expression to public opinion upon recent outrages committed at Boston upon the constitutional rights of adopted fellow-citizens.

PURSUANT to public notice, a large number of the citizens of Baltimore assembled in the Exchange, on Monday evening, 23d inst., October, filling the rotunda and avenues long before the hour fixed for the meeting.

At 7 o'clock, the Hon. Isaac McKim organized the meeting by calling Col. Samuel Moore to the chair, who in a plain, lucid manner returned thanks for the honour, and explained the object of the meeting.

On motion of Joshua Vanzant, Esq., Henry S. Sanderson was chosen secretary.

Wm. Krebs, Esq., moved that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to nominate five vice-presidents and three additional secretaries. The chair appointed that committee—Wm. Krebs, T. W. Griffith, J. B. Latimer, Henry McKinnell, and R. M. Welch, Esqrs., who retired, and in a few moments reported the Hon. B. C. Howard, Z. Collins Lee, J. P. Kennedy, David Hoffman, Samuel Lucas, and Wm. Crawford, Jr., Esqrs., as vice-presidents, and Philip Laurenson, Charles Soran, and Wm. P. Preston, as additional secretaries.

On motion of Wm. H. Tiernan, Esq., the president appointed a committee of 58 to submit a preamble and resolutions for the action of the meeting.

The committee, after remaining out a long time, returned, and through their chairman, Wm. H. Tiernan, Esq., prefacing it with some appropriate remarks, explaining the outrage which gave rise to this meeting, reading the official paper from head-quarters, with the resolution of the Common Council of Boston, and an account of the transaction from the Philadelphia Public Ledger, reported the following preamble and resolutions, the reading of which was frequently interrupted by well-merited bursts of applause from every portion of the assembled multitude.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, the friends of civil and religious liberty in New York have held a meeting for the purpose of expressing their deep sympathy in behalf of their Irish fellow-citizens in the city of Boston, and of publishing to the world their indignation of the many unprovoked outrages lately perpetrated upon their persons and property, and of the extraordinary excitement which has recently manifested itself to the eastward—in the destruction of the Ursuline Convent—in the dastardly attack upon a large number of them, peaceably engaged in the performance of the last office of humanity—and more recently in the lawless attack upon the "Montgomery Guards," whose forbearance on this occasion has elicited the warmest eulogium, as well as of other recent events, which, though not attended with any present evil, appear to be pregnant with consequences of peculiar peril to the adopted citizens of our country: *And whereas*, there is a wild spirit of proscription stalking abroad over this fair country, bigoted in its origin and disgraceful in its consummation, marking for its victims the generous and confiding, and more particularly the emigrants from Ireland—"a nation meted out and trodden under foot"—and who, driven from their own shores by the iron rule of despotism, [have] sought those of America for that protection which has been denied them at home.

As freemen of America, who are happily enjoying those estimable blessings, which were equally the birthright of the generous and warm-hearted sons of Erin, as of every other country in the world, we are deeply sensible how dear to them is the sympathy of those who, after triumphing so gloriously in the universal cause of mankind, well know how to appreciate the privileges and immunities of equal liberty, for which they have contended, and the justice of the cause in which they have suffered. We come forward the advocates of oppressed humanity; we plead, not as sectarians, not as the friends of Irishmen alone—we profess every Christian creed—we plead as men who acknowledge affinity to the whole human family, and we cherish the assur-

ance that we address those who are happiest when they extend the means of happiness to others. We appeal to Americans, by those endearing ties that bind man to his brother—by those obligations esteemed the most sacred among civilized nations—in the name of that universal charity, which directs the sensibilities of the heart beyond the limits of home, we call upon them, in that spirit of true benevolence, which extends its influence to all, to raise their voice in support of the civil and religious rights of their adopted brethren. We appeal to the high-minded, the chivalrous, and the free, in behalf of the brave, the generous, and the oppressed.

We cannot consent to look with tranquil indifference on these frequent insults upon our fellow-men, and not make an effort to fling them off, when their rights are invaded and their property destroyed by a reckless mob; nor can we consent to become the passive spectators of a wicked policy, got up for the purpose of fostering a rancorous party, which keeps the country in a state of perpetual discontent, engendering the worst passions, and provoking the people to reaction by reiterated menace and opprobrium. These evils, it is to be feared, emanate from a higher source; and there is something like an evil destiny guiding the councils of those men whose duty it is to allay the ferment which conflicting opinions and violent prejudices have excited in the east. All men have their rights; and though our adopted citizens may patiently endure for a time the denunciations of their opponent, "the oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely"—still it but seldom happens that any class of men, under injury, sink so low as not to have left a moral and a physical power, to the exercise of which they may be goaded by systematic persecution.

We would boldly and warmly step forth in their behalf—commanding, as they do, the active sympathy of the patriotic in every clime, yet failing to obtain security from their adopted country, which exacts from them an equal portion of the revenue, and calls upon them in times of danger for unlimited appropriations of blood and treasure, and who are so peculiarly qualified by their devoted patriotism, their high-minded liberality, their generosity, and their bravery, for the enjoyment of the purest blessings of liberty. If anything could reconcile the emigrant to political degradation, it would be to find the free and the enlightened indignantly denouncing their oppressors, and refusing to bend the knee to the Moloch of political fanaticism and religious intolerance that would crush THEM to the dust. Spurned and insulted by those whose duty it should be to shield them, they will find in the generous expression of American sympathy the greatest solace for their misfortunes, and feel in the general testimonial of American approbation the strongest stimulus for exertion in the preservation of their immunities. Let the contemptible scribblers of a prostituted press, the dastardly assassins of patriotic character, combine to abuse and calumniate them; yet, in a measure, will they be recompensed by the cordial approval of a single honest and philanthropic American.

While the praises of a venal press and of profligate hirelings would debase the unfortunate objects of their eulogy, and degrade them to the level of their own corruption, there is something cheering to the heart, and grateful to the feelings, in the kindred sympathies of independent minds; testimonials of approbation such as these are alike honourable to those who give and to those who receive them. They were born with souls as free as ours—in valour, integrity, public spirit, attachment to the land of their adoption, in all that adorns existence, in their private and social relations, and in all that embellishes real respectability, they are our equals; and they would rather part with life itself than drag out an existence upon the condition of submitting, without the privilege of complaint, to be stamped with the offensive badge of inferiority. Their rights are guaranteed by the constitution of our common country, in defence of which their countrymen have sealed their devotion by their best blood, and they will defend them. They are patient and enduring, but there is a point beyond which forbearance ceases to be a virtue. They are protected by the American Eagle; and let it be remembered by the insulters of our country's emblem, that Irishmen

> "Fostered beneath its wings, will die in its defence."

As there are private crimes that threaten the existence of all communities, so there are public enormities that endanger the peace of all countries. It is the business of every member of every community to exert himself for the suppression of an outrage and an infringement of the laws; it is the duty of every citizen to raise his voice against the continuance of oppression. The injustice and intolerance of which the Irish are the victims at present, may be directed against us in future; and it is our interest, as it is our inclination, if in our power, to arrest them. To sustain the dignity of our country and the rights of *all* her citizens, without

distinction, is what we look to, in the well-founded confidence that in any event they will be upheld by public sentiment among a people who value too highly their privileges as American citizens, to suffer them to be wrested from their grasp by a lawless and reckless faction.

It is true that this prosperous republic appears at present placed far beyond the probability of being subjected to these evils; but history has taught us, that in the sudden revolutions of empires, in the strange vicissitudes of human affairs, nations the most powerful and the most enlightened have been subjected to misfortunes the most unlooked for, to changes the most disastrous. In the hour of security, preparation should be made for the moment of danger; and the most certain way to insure our civil and religious rights, is to stamp tyranny, wherever and by whomsoever it may be exercised, with universal execration. But above all is it incumbent on American citizens, proud of their name, and true to their principles, to exert themselves in the cause of equal laws, and stand forward the champions of universal freedom.

Irishmen, and the sons of Irishmen, have ever been among the most forward to uphold the rights and maintain the integrity of their adopted country, and especially have they aided in obtaining and preserving the liberties of that country, whose cordial reception and generous sympathy should repay them for the loss of their own. During the memorable revolution which conferred upon this country independence and prosperity, in the words of her venerable historian, "Irishmen were famous, but the sons of Irishmen were conspicuous." We need but cast our eyes upon the monument of our own city, to find inscribed upon its scroll the names of their countrymen who lost their lives in resisting an invading foe; nor need we refer to the name of "Montgomery," borne by the "Guards" of Boston, the name of that hero, who led the forlorn hope of independence up the rocky heights of Quebec, and expired on the battle field, cheering on the friends of American freedom.

The justice of their claims, the consciousness of having the approbation of the liberal and enlightened among mankind to cheer them, must embolden them to measure their constitutional rights with their worst opponents, and the time is fast approaching when their success is as certain as their cause is just; when this abominable system of vindictive proscription and lawless fanaticism may recoil upon their enemies, and finally, pave the way for resistance to those, who imagine they are doing their duty by depriving their adopted brethren of their constitutional weight and importance in their country. Be it therefore

Resolved, That the objects resulting from this meeting are designed to enforce the facts: that man has a right to worship his Creator according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that his oblations on the altar of the Deity, can never be rightfully prescribed by human legislation; and that a system of local policy bearing upon one portion of our citizens alone, shackling their energies and encouraging a spirit of internal dissension, by withholding from them the advantages of civil and religious liberty, and in pursuance thereof, establishing a system of proscription partial in its operation, is unjust in its provisions, and monstrous in its nature.

Resolved, That the recent outrage upon the Montgomery Guards, was an act of inhumanity, a deed of ingratitude for the services of Irish defenders of the soil, an insult to the shade of Montgomery, a violation of the privileges of citizenship, and destructive to the spirit of our republican institutions, by which, like the universal genius of emancipation, the citizen of every clime stands "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled."

Resolved, That we will adhere to the republican doctrine, that it is by an equal participation of civil and religious rights, by a reciprocation of good feeling and friendly offices, and by an identity of national interests, that we can ever hope to see our country in a prosperous and contented condition; and that, as Americans, we will use all lawful means of extending the blessings of toleration and all the civil and religious immunities that give value to existence,—not to any sect or party, but to our fellowmen,—the adopted citizens of our country.

Resolved, That we will always advocate the rights of the people in the most comprehensive sense, and not as the friends of sectarian principles; and that we recommend to our fellow-citizens, the Irish of Boston, to continue the same peaceable and constitutional line of conduct, which has heretofore marked their course, and has won the admiration even of their persecutors; and quietly but firmly to remonstrate in order to obtain that protection from the laws which they seek, with firmness, dignity, and forbearance. And whilst we deprecate the want of that genuine republicanism on the part of their oppressors, which inculcates the purest principles of right and the most liberal doctrines in politics, we cannot but hope that a little reflection may induce them to act with a more

generous policy; and that repetitions of such respectable and imposing meetings, as we behold at present, will encourage our adopted citizens to unite their efforts for redress, and convince their oppressors how unavailing must be their struggles to perpetuate the degradation of an insulted and outraged portion of their fellow-citizens.

Resolved, That this meeting express their indignant denunciation of the brutal attack made on the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, a peaceable abode of virtue and learning, erected by the pious and supported by the benevolent and liberal of all denominations, and also proclaim their abhorrence of the more recent desecration of the funeral obsequies of the dead, perpetrated at Boston; a solemn ceremony, calculated more than all others to calm the angry feelings of our nature, and to lull the bitterest animosities for the interval, if not for ever.

Resolved, That this meeting cannot withhold their belief that a large portion of the citizens of Boston not only did not participate in, or encourage these outrages, but that their feelings and sympathies were and are deeply enlisted in behalf of the oppressed and insulted members of their community, citizens, denizens, and aliens: that this belief originates in, and is strengthened by the recollection, that as Boston was the cradle of American liberty, her citizens will never suffer it to become its grave.

Z. C. Lee, Esq., seconded the report in a warm and animated speech, and was followed by Wm. T. Preston, Thomas Yates Walsh, and J. P. Kennedy, Esqrs., in support of the same, when the question was taken upon the preamble and resolutions, and adopted unanimously.

T. Yates Walsh, Esq., offered the following resolution, seconded by J. P. Kennedy, Esq.:

Resolved, That Native American Associations—so called—are at enmity with the spirit of our institutions, and should be condemned by every lover of republican government.

Which was unanimously adopted.

James Hoban, Esq., from Washington, being loudly called for, arose and addressed the meeting in a strain of true eloquence, which commanded and received its warmest approbation.

When, on motion of Samuel Harker, Esq., at 10 o'clock the meeting adjourned.

SAMUEL MOORE, President.

Vice-Presidents.

Benjamin C. Howard,
Z. Collins Lee,
John P Kennedy,
David Hoffman,
Samuel Lucas,
William Crawford, Jr.

Secretaries

Henry S. Sanderson,
Philip Laurenson,
Charles Soran,
Wm. P. Preston.

SECTION XLII.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

WE have in our last given the official account of the proceedings upon this subject in Baltimore. We copy from an opposition paper the following article, to show that however our citizens may be separated in politics, they generally agree respecting the disgrace of Massachusetts.

Bishop England is one of the editors of our paper, and the passage quoted by the Baltimore editor was from his pen; but he is not the only writer for the Miscellany. We regret that the Baltimore meeting left their work imperfect by not adopting the second and third of the proposed resolutions.

From the Baltimore Commercial Chronicle of Oct. 25.

MEETING AT THE EXCHANGE.

Our columns, to-day, contain the official report of the proceedings of a public meeting at the Exchange in this city, on Monday evening. We cannot permit them to go to the world without a word of explanation. In such matters, the private history of proceedings is often a better index to their true character than the official report.

It is proper, therefore, for us to state, in the outset, that we have reason to believe, that the original design of the meeting was to take advantage of a late occurrence in Boston for the benefit of a particular party. This design was covered, indeed, by loud professions of a different object, and of the sincere disposition of the movers to prevent the introduction of matters calculated to arouse party feelings. At the same time, however, the organization of the meeting, and those infallible symptoms which may be seen, but not easily detailed, left no doubt that such use would be made of the proceedings. It was hoped that the violence of the preamble and resolutions, as well as the obviously bad taste of a rebuke from Baltimore to Boston upon the subject of mobs, would deter many Whigs from participating in the meeting, and that thus the whole advantage and credit of the movement would inure to the Van Buren party. The Whigs, however, sincerely condemning

and deploring the conduct of the volunteer companies of Boston, in refusing to parade with the Montgomery Guards, looking with detestation and horror upon the burning of the Ursuline Convent, and other evidences of an intolerant spirit, determined that their political opponents should not succeed in their unworthy design, and attended the meeting in large numbers. The meeting was organized, and, on motion, a committee of fifty-eight persons was appointed to report a preamble and resolutions. But twenty of this committee could be found, who retired to an adjoining room. It was evident, upon the assembling of the committee, that it was expected that no discussion would be had upon the resolutions, and we are persuaded that, but for the suggestions of a member, they would have been reported to the meeting, without consideration, and even without reading.

Upon his motion, however, the preamble and resolutions as printed were read. After the reading, a proposition was made to amend the report by the insertion, after the sixth resolution, of the following:

1. *Resolved*, That the burning of the Ursuline Convent—the peaceful abode of unprotected females, dedicating themselves to the observance of religious ceremonies, and the gratuitous ministration of holy offices of charity—was an act of unexampled barbarity, which continues to excite throughout this community the warmest sympathy for the innocent sufferers, and the deepest indignation against its bigoted perpetrators.

2. *Resolved*, That the refusal of the Legislature of Massachusetts to indemnify the proprietors of the convent for the loss and destruction of their property and homes was a virtual abandonment of a cardinal design in the institution of civil government, and deserves our censure scarcely less than the spirit which applied the torch to the sacred edifice.

3. *Resolved*, That the principle, successfully asserted in the Legislature of Maryland, of providing indemnification, from the property of all, for losses occasioned by riots, is the true principle of a civilized government, and that we proudly contrast the legislation of Maryland upon this subject with the action of the Legislature of Massachusetts upon a kindred question.

It was proposed by the mover of these resolutions that they should be adopted *en masse*, but this was objected to, and it was agreed that they should be voted upon separately. The first was carried. The second was then taken up, and negatived by a vote of nine to eleven—every Whig in the room voting for it and every Van Buren man, except three, voting against it. Amongst those who declared, by their votes, that the NUNS OF CHARLESTOWN OUGHT NOT TO HAVE RECEIVED INDEMNIFICATION FOR THE RUTHLESS VIOLATION AND DESTRUCTION OF THEIR SACRED ABODE, *was one of the Van Buren representatives of this city in Congress and two of the recently elected Van Buren delegates to the General Assembly.*

The resolutions were then withdrawn, and the cut-and-dried report went before the meeting. The minority of the committee, however, decided upon presenting the second resolution, and it was accordingly reported to the meeting by one of their number. The question was taken upon adopting it, and it was decided by the chair to be rejected. A division was called for, but could not be obtained. The third resolution, in like manner, was put, and with equally good reason and regard to parliamentary usage, declared to be voted down. The report of the committee was then put, and, of course, announced to be carried. In regard to this report, we have but a word to say. It is, all must admit, a production unworthy of a great public meeting of the citizens of Baltimore. It is deficient, to the last degree, in dignity, concentration, and the calmness of tone which best befits the expression of indignant feeling. It is inflated, turgid, and liable to the keenest ridicule of the critic. We fear the retort of the Bostonians. As to the outrages which it recounts, no one feels or deplores them more than the writer of this paragraph, who felt it his painful duty to endeavour to amend it in some degree, in committee, and who now regrets that he cannot speak of it with commendation.

If any one shall think it worth while to inquire why the question of the propriety of indemnifying the nuns of Charlestown was brought before the meeting, the mover of the resolution takes leave to reply, that he considers the refusal of the legislature to indemnify quite as bad as the act of the mob in burning the convent, and that as a member of the committee, and a member of the meeting, he had a right to the representation of his individual opinion upon the subject.

If any one shall further inquire why he brought the subject of the Maryland indemnity upon the carpet, at such a time, he chooses to reply that he approves of the legislation of his state upon that subject, considered it germane to the matter in hand, and therefore introduced it. No one has a right to any other reason.

In regard to the indemnity itself, that is past discussion. But a learned and most

excellent prelate, the Rev. Dr. England, Bishop of Charleston, has lately expressed an opinion upon it, which might have been read in the meeting, with advantage, on Monday evening. It is high authority, and only two weeks old. In the Catholic Miscellany, of the 7th of October, Dr. England, speaking of the mob of 1835 and our indemnity laws, holds this language.

"The legislature of the state properly felt, that if the same measures had been taken at first, that were at a later period successful, there would have been no destruction, and it levied the amount assessed for compensation upon those who would not do their duty by their fellow-citizens. It was a proper infliction; it was a just compensation: and it was also attended with another excellent moral consequence, for besides insuring person and property against similar outrages in future, it turned the semblance of sorrow which the hypocrite exhibited for the outrage of the mob and the suffering of his fellow-citizens, into the reality of grief for the money which he had to pay of his share of the compensation."

In a letter addressed by Joseph Parrish of Philadelphia to John Sergeant, President of the Convention of the State of Pennsylvania, to amend the Constitution, we find the following passages:

"Look at the riot which recently occurred at Boston, and which commenced at an Irish funeral, between the firemen of Boston and Irishmen; some extracts from the report of the committee publicly appointed to investigate the subject may prove interesting."

After giving an extract from the report of the committee respecting the robbery and assault, it proceeds:

"Here we have a striking instance of the effects of prejudice and passion inflicting vengeance upon innocent and unoffending persons, simply for the crime of being natives of Ireland—for this they must be grievously beaten — their property destroyed, and worthy and unoffending citizens, in open day, robbed of their money to a considerable amount.

"The feeling which led to the burning of the convent in Charlestown, has not yet died in Boston. A '*Yankee party*,' and an '*Irish party*,' are now formed, and if Massachusetts were about to revise her constitution, need we doubt, that a resolution would be offered, to prevent the emigration of Irishmen into the state, and to exclude them, as far as practicable, from all the rights and privileges of citizens of that commonwealth."

Commenting on the proceedings of the meeting recently held at Baltimore, the Savannah Georgian says:

"The proceedings of the annexed meeting at Baltimore, will meet with a response in the bosom of every true American.

"The citizens of Boston which has been famed for its hospitality, owe it to their fair fame to expunge these repeated blots upon its escutcheon. The ruins of the convent are a monument of that intolerance which recoils upon the oppressor, while it would blast the oppressed. The insult and attack upon the Montgomery Guards was an ebullition of that spirit, and was, we believe, condemned by the best citizens of that spot, so correctly termed '*the cradle of Liberty*.'

"May the repetition of such scenes as have recently been enacted there, never entitle it to the appellation of '*the grave*' too '*of Liberty*.'"

SECTION XLIII.

BIGOTED BOSTON.

From the Georgian of Nov. 16.

MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY [AT SAVANNAH].

AGREEABLY to public notice, a meeting of the friends of civil and religious liberty was held at the Exchange, in the city of Savannah, on Monday, the 13th of Nov., 1837.

Major Charles Stephens was called to the chair, and Robert W. Pooler appointed secretary. The chairman, in an appropriate address, announced the object of the meeting.

On motion, the following committee of thirteen was appointed, by the chair, to draft and report a preamble and resolutions suitable to the occasion:—

Nicholas Marlow,	Thomas S. Wayne,
John H. S. Branch,	Col. J. D'Lyon,
Andrew Gow,	D. B. Nichols.
George Haas,	Samuel Elbert Muse,
James M. Jones,	Elisha Wylly,
Alexander J. Pratt,	John Shick,
	David Bell.

The committee, through its chairman, Nicholas Marlow, Esq., reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas the late unprovoked outrage committed by *some* of the citizens of Boston on the "Montgomery Guards," has revived our recollections of other scenes of unmanly and brutal ferocity, of which that city has lately been made the theatre, as well in the unwarrantable and sacrilegious attack upon a party of our adopted fellow-citizens, who

were proceeding to the discharge of the solemn duty of committing to its kindred dust the last remains of a fellow-mortal—as in the destruction of the convent on Mount Benedict, and the injuries committed on its helpless inmates—we, a portion of the friends of civil and religious liberty in Chatham County, have now assembled, and in a fearless discharge of a right, guaranteed by the Constitution, think proper thus publicly to publish our opinions in relation to the disgraceful acts referred to.

We believe that the most efficient corrective of a morbid state of local feeling, as well as of a most effectual safeguard of the morals of any community, will be found to be public opinion deliberately formed, and honestly and independently expressed. The despot on his throne may vainly shut his eyes to the moral force of a united expression of his people's indignation; and while enveloped in the fatal security arising from a sense of his own importance, flatter himself that though the shouts of popular reprobation may be borne to his capital on the wings of every breeze that sweeps the earth; that though the bitter execrations of the philanthropist, the patriot, and the freeman, may concur to hold him up to his species as an object worthy only of their hatred and contempt, yet that so far from being worthy of his serious attention, they are but as the light winds of summer careering round the base of some cloud-capt monument—while he, seated on its lofty pinnacle, may, in confidence, coolly survey the petty workings of the storm below! But even he, calm and imperturbable as he is, is awakened at last from his indifference, by the crashing ruins of his falling fortunes; while his half-formed repentance—his humiliation and his destruction, following each other with almost panoramic rapidity, furnish the moralist matter for reflection—the patriot with subjects for joy. With truth, it may be said of the immediate subject of our present remarks, that none are so high as to be above its reach—none so low as to be unaffected by its influence! Actuated by these views, and convinced that the time has arrived when it behooves every friend of religion, of freedom, of law, and order, to raise his voice in support of each, for the purpose of putting down the open enemies of all, we proceed to express our sentiments upon the important matters claiming our attention.

We are now assembled as American citizens, marked by no distinctions of creed, of party, or of sectional feeling, united solely by one devotion to the sacred principle which proclaims equal justice to all, oppression to none, and by our veneration of those truly republican institutions, whose burdens and benefits, moving hand in hand, disdain every distinction among citizens of the same republic, except those alone which spring from obedience to, or disregard of, the laws of the land. Entertaining these feelings, our bosoms have been filled with indignation at seeing those very institutions outraged, and almost brought into disrepute, through the corrupt and corrupting influence of prejudice, of bigotry, and we might almost say, of frantic fanaticism. As freemen, we have been covered with shame and confusion, at beholding the very means provided by law for punishing the guilty, and protecting the innocent, perverted from their legitimate purposes into engines for shielding the former from those just measures of retribution which the violated majesty of the municipal law, as well as the just dictates of natural justice, demanded; while the dearest rights of the latter, comprising a numerous and valuable class of citizens, have been held in abeyance, and themselves and families delivered up to the tender mercies of a band of lawless ruffians, who are republicans only by profession, and Americans but in name. Enemies to freedom, their own acts prove them; and as foes to the best interests of their country, we shrink not from holding them up to that country worthy objects of its condemnation.

As unworthy citizens of Massachusetts, their proceedings would detract from the lofty name of a gallant state, whose escutcheon is emblazoned with the emblems of many a hardfought field of glory, and many a noble victory achieved in the cause of religion, of humanity, and of independence. As Americans, they have brought a stain upon our national character, which the exertions of their future lives may fail to redeem. As republicans, they have afforded to the friends of despotism an argument against popular liberty and its incidents, which every freeman must execrate, every patriot deplore.

It may be that, in the all-wise dispensation of his providence, that Great Being who orders the affairs of men and of nations, and who, in pursuance of those principles of retributive justice which are firm and immutable and eternal as himself, remembers the offences of communities as well as individuals—it may be that he has taken this mode of recalling us to a proper sense of the inestimable blessings which we enjoy, and of the corresponding degree of gratitude to which He is entitled at our hands. And surely, to the reflecting mind this will not appear a far-fetched idea. What mode, in

accordance with our knowledge of divine wisdom, could we point out, which tends more to strengthen the estimation of any blessing than by contrasting it with its abuse and desecration? What punishment can be more severe upon the sensitive and the high-minded, than to witness that liberty, which we so fondly prize as the peculiar gift of God to our beloved country, abused, insulted, and trampled in the dust—those popular institutions which absorb their almost every exertion, whether of Christianity, of patriotism, or of philanthropy, subjected to the sneer of the bigot, the scoff of the despot, the contempt of the slave! No reasonable man can indulge a doubt that some of these consequences have already flowed from the conduct of those whose criminal violence has furnished occasion for the call to which we now respond. Duty to ourselves compels us to labour all we can to avert the balance.

Most cheerfully would we make any honourable sacrifice could we thus recall the facts which excite our animadversion. But as we cannot effect this, it only remains for us to stamp them with the seal of our reprobation. We can publish our conviction that they are held in proper abhorrence by a large and respectable proportion of the citizens of Boston, and as the result of our experience of the practical operations of free institutions, proclaim, that so far from being engendered by them, they are on the contrary directly opposed to their very genius and spirit, that they were originated in bigotry, are defended by prejudice and illiberality, and characterized by a degree of ferocity as cowardly as it was debasing.

We, therefore, a portion of the citizens of Chatham County, satisfied of the propriety of our views, and actuated by motives which, while we are conscious of their sincerity, we are willing to submit to the strictest scrutiny—and believing that the resolutions of the meeting lately held in the city of Baltimore, having similar objects, embraces in suitable language the substance of our own opinions in reference to the same topics, do cordially unite in the expression of their sympathies with our Irish fellow-citizens of Boston, and in their indignation against the perpetrators of the outrages by which their privileges as men have been violated, and their constitutional rights as citizens reduced to the shadow of a name.

(For the resolutions, see No. 716, Nov. 4, page 150.)

Nicholas Marlow, Esq., on being called for, eloquently addressed the meeting.

The thanks of the meeting having been tendered to the chairman and secretary, on motion of Michael Dillon, Esq., the meeting adjourned.

CHARLES STEPHENS, Chairman.

ROBERT W. POOLER, Secretary.

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We find the following article in the Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph of Nov. 9.

We perceive with much pleasure that a meeting of the friends of civil and religious liberty, of all sects and denominations, has been held at the Exchange in Baltimore, to take into consideration, and to express their decided disapprobation of the hostile spirit which has for some time past, been exhibited by a numerous class in the city and neighbourhood of Boston, against their peaceable and evidently meritorious neighbours from Ireland, who, driven by the iron rod of despotism from the land of their fathers, have, like those who persecute them, among whom they settle, sought in the United States for that liberty of conscience, that freedom from oppression, and that enjoyment of the rights of human nature, which are due to every man, dear to every freeman, and guaranteed to us by our excellent laws and constitution.

Every friend to humanity, every lover of his species, every one who wishes well to the constitution and union of these states, must have beheld with deep regret, the growth of that spirit of persecution which engenders ill feeling and hatred between man and man, works the destruction of social happiness in the neighbourhood in which it obtains, and presents dangers to our civil and political establishments, in the seeds of discord which must inevitably follow.

However much we may be disposed to see this unfortunate disposition in the minds of the people of Massachusetts met with becoming opposition by the other portions of the American society, we are yet desirous to see this opposition maintained in the spirit of charity and conciliation; yet with the dignity and firmness due to a superior cause.

Our limits will not allow us to enter into the characteristic merits of our Hibernian emigrants; we will content ourselves here with saying, that both parties, the persecuted and the persecuting, have formerly renounced the same government, for the same causes, and with the same views: they have chosen the same country for their homes, uniting, to amalgamate with each other and to form ultimately one people and one nation, differing only in the com-

paratively insignificant circumstance of having arrived at different points of time. To this we shall simply add, that in the struggles which Ireland is now making in the cause of civil and political liberty, and in her dependence for that purpose simply on the arts of peace, she is accomplishing a mighty object against the most powerful government on earth, and setting an example to the world hitherto unequalled.

SECTION XLIV.

CHARLESTOWN CONVENT.—BIGOTED BOSTON.

When this seminary was destroyed by the fell ruffians who afterwards found shelter under the very judgment seat of the state, there was not that generous indignation kindled in the city of Boston, which was demanded by the position which she occupied—subsequent events have transpired that go far, very far, to prove that a deeply-laid and malignant conspiracy was formed to fire the dwelling, and commit to the flames its inmates, women and children as they were, on the night the hellish deed was perpetrated. The ignorant and profligate villains who were the instruments in the hands of men, more wicked and more unprincipled than themselves, carefully refrained from any revelations respecting others who had put the firebrands into their hands—planned the attack—gave them counsel how to act, and then sent them forth to complete the work of murder and of arson.

How was it that men, so low and debased, could have found friendship and sympathy—destitute of every mark of honesty—covered with infamy—gorged to the very throat with murderous purposes, and coming as it were reeking from a scene of horror, that would have smote the heart of a fiend to look upon—yet they did procure friends. Abettors were heard even in the great body of the people to express their approbation of the conduct of these vile wretches—the active promoters of the outrage were concealed from the public eye, while their friends endeavoured to poison the minds of the people by falsehood and misrepresentations. If the veil could be removed—and we trust in God that day shall come—it shall be seen who were the principal characters that stimulated the perpetrators to the commission of this horrid act. Men who occupy places of respectability, known as the haters and slanderers of the religion professed by the unoffending inmates of that asylum, have been pointed out in connexion with circumstances that beyond doubt inculpate them. If further proofs be added to those already familiar to our ears, there should be no hesitancy among the friends of religious liberty both in this city and elsewhere from coming forward to sustain those who are prepared to furnish light on the dreadful train of circumstances that preceded and followed the dire catastrophe—light that will throw a glare over the names and characters of men at this moment reposing in the full confidence of perfect concealment.

It is due to the religious liberty of the country to act promptly. It is due—and more particularly to those whose religion has been abused, insulted—trampled under foot, and exposed to the sneers and scoffs of the legislature of Massachusetts, to speak out manfully and fearlessly on a subject in which they have been deeply wronged—wherever they number a community of influence, their voice should be raised to arouse the indignation of the friends of religious freedom against a state, which even in its sovereign assembly offered the victims of injustice in its fiercest form no word of atonement, no token of sympathy for their wrongs. When the thunders of popular reprobation shall be collected against it; when every man that comes from that foully blotted state shall express his abhorrence of its conduct, or be shunned as though covered with a leprosy, the crime will have brought with it its punishment, and not till then. Look at the meetings in Baltimore and Savannah; there spake freemen imbued with a fervid love of our institutions, and burning with ardour in the cause of civil and religious liberty.

Every city in the Union should follow these glorious examples. There is another occurrence not to be overlooked: at a recent meeting held in the city of Boston, at which reference was made to the outrage committed on the Montgomery Guards, another appalling act of miscreancy has come to light. Mr. Bond stated that the attack on the Charlestown Convent was maturely planned and deliberately executed. Here is a damning proof of turpitude. In Faneuil Hall; in the very city that furnished miscreants for the deed of infamy; it is proclaimed that the attack was maturely planned and deliberately executed. If such be the truth, where is the protection given by the laws to the professors of Catholicity? where the means taken to ferret out the offenders? where the liberal press to tear from their lurking-places the violators of humanity; the sepulchral robbers who shrieked over the flaming cinders of the convent on the dreadful night of the arson, and tore the

winding-sheets from the bodies of the dead? Where was the public spirit of Boston to come forth and designate the men whose names were familiar to the public ear as connected with the outrage; who answered where? Prejudice against their faith, hatred to their clergy, detestation of their growing influence and power, swallowed up all the tender mercies, all the loud professing attachments to the liberty of the city of Boston.—*N. Y. Truth Teller.*

SECTION XLV.

EXTRACT FROM THE PASTORAL LETTER

Of the Most Rev. the Archbishop of Baltimore, and the Right Rev. the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States of America, published in April, 1837.

"REVEREND BRETHREN OF THE CLERGY. AND BELOVED OF THE LAITY,—Peace be to you and faith, with charity from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, with the consolations of the Holy Ghost.

"Assembled to consult for the welfare of that portion of the church entrusted to our care, we cannot separate for the purpose of renewing our labours amongst you, without yielding to an impulse that we feel of addressing to you our joint exhortation. We are daily more and more consoled in witnessing the progress of religion amongst you, though this joy is mingled with affliction at finding how much remains to be done, more than we are yet able to perform; as also at beholding the various obstacles which the enemy of souls creates, for the purpose of retarding the work of the Lord amongst us.

"Amongst those obstacles we are painfully constrained to notice *the misrepresentations and persecution to which you and we have been exposed* since our last council. We advert to this topic with deep regret; but any effort on our part to conceal from the world this melancholy fact, to which its perpetrators have given such blazing notoriety, as well as the attempt to disguise those feelings with which we are affected, and which we may, by God's aid, in a great degree restrain, but which it is not in our power utterly to destroy.

"The affection of fellow-citizens is destroyed; the offices of charity are neglected; the kindly intercourse of neighbours has been interrupted; suspicion, jealousy, and hatred have succeeded to confidence, mutual respect, and affection; the demon of discord has usurped the station where the angel of peace abode; and that day has gone by when every American citizen could truly say, that whatever may be the religious opinions which he entertained, or whatever the form of worship which he followed, he enjoyed in full freedom the opportunity of securing for himself what he vindicated for others, the communion with his God in that way which his conviction or his taste might prefer. It has even been loudly proclaimed that our religion should not enjoy toleration in fact, whilst, in theory, the constitutions of our several states proclaim to the world, that as Catholics, we have the same rights respecting religion that are fully and peaceably enjoyed by our fellow-citizens of every other denomination.

"Our regret does not, however, arise from any apprehension of civil disfranchisement of ourselves, but we lament that a bad spirit has been evoked, and that its pestilential blasts have contaminated our atmosphere, that the peace of society is endangered, the domestic circle is disturbed, and that charity has departed from amongst us.

"And we are filled with regret at the humiliation to which a land that we love is exposed, when they who once admired it, point thereto, asking with amazement, how can it be possible for men of reading and sagacity to be duped at this side of the Atlantic, by charges refuted in Europe more than a century since; abandoned even by the party which originally invented them—disbelieved by every one who has the most moderate pretensions to information; charges to advance which, even in an exceedingly modified shape, requires, at present, the most desperate effort of the boldest and most interested partisans of a body now making its mightiest struggle for existence? The people of other nations are astonished at beholding those charges renewed here, in language far more vulgar and obscene than ever disgraced their worst exhibition in Europe.

"Misrepresentation spreads a thick mist around the vestibule of truth; it there exhibits appalling though shadowy forms to terrify those who would approach. And we regret to add, from our positive knowledge, that it is not by phantoms only that the approach is guarded; for though the laws of the land do not arm the persecutor with the sword, *yet have the contrivances and exertions of individuals and of associations, in many instances, supplied this deficiency by their own acts of persecution;* and since our own conduct as citizens was not liable to reproach, it was deemed requisite to libel the governments of Europe which profess our faith, and to feign imaginary conspiracies in order to excite amongst our fellow-citizens the prejudices of the thoughtless,

and the fears of the patriotic. Even men who assumed the garb of religion, and who affected extraordinary zeal and extravagant piety, sent forth to the public as solemn truths statements, whose falsehood they could have easily detected, and of which it is scarcely possible to imagine them ignorant. If they who, through prejudice, persuaded themselves that they would do a service to God, and to society, *by our extermination*, and who most laboriously sought to *accomplish this purpose*, had convincing proof of our being involved in error, or engaged in crime, they would have unhesitatingly produced it; and this proof, when manifested, would have made its due impression upon the public mind. Our assailants wanted neither the will nor the ability, and we are consoled at the evidence which their failure must ultimately give to the world of the truth of our doctrines and the correctness of our principles.

"It may not, however, be amiss for us here to record some instances of the misrepresentations and persecutions which have called forth these remarks. We shall select but two out *of many*. The first is the destruction of the Ursuline Convent on Mount Benedict, near Boston, on the 11th August, 1834. The ruins of this establishment yet blacken the vicinity at Bunker's Hill, and cast a dark shade upon the soil of Massachusetts. You need not our recital of the dastardly assault, the extensive robbery, the deliberate arson, the wanton insolence, the cold cruelty, and the horrid sacrilege of that awful night.

"We shall quote the words of one of the few members of the legislature of that state, who exhibited themselves an honourable exception to the body in which they were found. This gentleman told them upon their floor, —'You may go from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico, and you cannot find an act similar to this—the destruction of an institution for instruction inhabited by females, mostly children; religion was trampled upon; the Bible was destroyed; the tomb was broken open; the ashes of the dead were insulted; the females were driven from their beds at midnight, half naked, whilst the mob was exulting, shouting, dancing, and triumphing amongst the warm ashes of the ruin which they had made, amidst a *community* the most enlightened in the United States; ten thousand persons were looking on, and not an arm was raised to protect these females and their property. If, sir, the stain of blood is not upon the land, the stain of cruelty is there.'

"It was planned in the vicinity, and executed within view of the capital of the New England States; a city which aspired to the character of liberality, and had an ambition to be ranked amongst the seats of *literature, of science, and of taste*. The most unfounded calumnies had been previously circulated, in order to furnish a pretext to achieve what had been plotted, but even this pretext had been removed, for the local magistracy had examined into the alleged grounds, and declared themselves fully convinced of their falsehood.

"In this case, therefore, there was a blending of misrepresentation and of persecution of the worst description. Would to God that we could rest here! But of what use would it be for us to endeavour to hide that which has astonished distant nations, and *which a thousand public journals* have spread in such a variety of languages, before the eyes of the civilized world?

"The declaration of a most respectable committee, appointed at a public meeting of the citizens of Boston to investigate the case, after the destruction had been perpetrated, having refuted the calumnies, and described the outrage, add the following expression of their sentiments:

"'The fact that the dwelling of inoffensive females, and children, guiltless of wrong to the persons, property, or reputation of others, and reposing in fancied security under the protection of the law, has been thus assaulted by a riotous mob, and ransacked, plundered, and burnt to the ground, and its terrified inmates in the dead hour of the night driven from their beds into the fields; and that this should be done within the limits of *one of the most populous towns in the commonwealth*, and in the midst of an assembled multitude of spectators; that the perpetrators should have been engaged for *seven hours or more* in the work of destruction, *with hardly an effort to prevent or arrest them;* that many of them should afterwards be so far sheltered by public sympathy or opinion, as to render the *ordinary means of detection ineffectual;* and *that the sufferers are entitled to no legal redress from the public*, for this outrage against their persons, and destruction of their property, is an event of *fearful import*, as well as *of the profoundest shame and humiliation*.'

"And this declaration was followed by solemn and repeated judicial inquiries and trials, in the process of which, however, full license was afforded *to insult the feelings and the religion of that community whose property was destroyed*, and *some of whose members died soon after* the hardships which they suffered on the occasion; whilst miscreants, who boasted of their activity, and who were identified by most respectable witnesses as

being leaders in the transaction, were not *only judicially absolved*, but were *rewarded by the spontaneous contributions of that public* which thronged round the court of justice to *rejoice with them* upon their deliverance. For our own part, we had no desire for their punishment; but we feel the justice of an opinion, that has been frequently expressed, that it would have been infinitely more creditable to the state of Massachusetts if they had never been brought to trial. It is equally notorious that notwithstanding every effort to obstruct the expression of what it could not deny, viz., the innocence of our religion, and guilt of the aggressors, the legislature of that state was fully convinced of the falsehood of the pretences, and the atrocity of the outrage, and it declared that the convent was destroyed by a lawless and ferocious mob; and declared that it 'felt itself bound in support of the constitution, and in vindication of the honour of the commonwealth to declare its deliberate and indignant condemnation of such an atrocious infraction of the laws.' And yet we must avow that, upon reading the list of the enormous *majority which decided against any redress or compensation*, we lament to find that it contains names which we did not expect to see upon it. And if the continuation of the same conduct be evidence of the existence of the same disposition, our opinion respecting that state and its legislature must continue unchanged.

"In a committee of the legislature, appointed to consider the petition, for compensation, presented by the sufferers, a majority reported that though the injured persons could not claim indemnity for their losses from the government as a matter of right, yet to enforce respect for religious freedom, and the security of life and liberty, also to do what may be done to soften the reproach which rests upon the character of the state, by reason of the aforesaid outrage, a gratuity should be given. A minority of the committee reported against granting this relief, sustaining its recommendation, amongst other grounds, upon the following, viz.: 'That Catholics acknowledging, as they do, the supremacy of a foreign potentate or power, could not claim under our government the protection as citizens of the commonwealth, but were entitled only to our countenance and so far as the rights of national hospitality might serve to dictate.'

"This attempt to proclaim the members of our church actually deprived of their rights of citizenship was adding new and more odious persecution to the atrocity of the cruel sacrilege for which they refused redress, and although the majority of the legislature repudiated this outrageous and absurd passage, yet, *by an overwhelming vote. they acceded to the sentiments of its compilers, in withholding compensation, and to the present day, the Catholics of the diocess of Boston are left without redress, notwithstanding the valueless declaration of the legislature*, 'in vindication of the commonwealth, of its deliberate and indignant condemnation of such an atrocious violation of the laws.'

"The other instance which we would specify is one which though exceedingly to be lamented *is not of novel character*. It is the development in this country of a spirit which has during ages frequently manifested itself in other regions. It has been exhibited in New York, principally in the patronage afforded *by the religious teachers of highly respectable bodies of our fellow-citizens* to degraded beings of the most profligate class, who calumniated the most pure and useful institutions. Did not the history of other places exhibit to us similar revolting instances, we should, indeed, question the possibility of what we have there witnessed. Men reputed to have understanding, and considered to be of good character, vouching to the world for the correctness of charges of the most atrocious nature made against the most respectable clergymen, and religious communities, whose members have, during more than a century, by their personal virtue, by their public charities, and by their self-devotion, won the esteem and applause not only of the members of their own church, but of those who were opposed thereto; charges which. if true, involved the condemnation of the city which tolerated the existence of the criminals against whom those charges were made; charges which necessarily implicated the public authorities of Canada, and the whole British government, as abettors of the grossest crimes; charges whose falsehood was exposed by American Protestants, the impossibility of whose truth was attested by Canadian Protestants, and whose imputation was indignantly rejected by both. Yet has the world *witnessed those charges again brought forward* with unblushing front by obscure impostors of the most vile description, whose notorious profligacy has been testified by the voice of the city which they polluted and slandered; beings in whom it was hard to say whether vice, or recklessness, or insanity predominated; and those charges sustained, perhaps suggested and pertinaciously adhered to after the demonstration of their absurdity. *by men whose station supposes intelligence and integrity.*

"In making the effort to persuade ourselves that men of this class were imposed

upon, and continued to be the dupes of such wretched beings, what a picture of human weakness do we contemplate! Yet assenting to this supposition, we may perhaps be able to account for the *general exertions made by the pulpit and the press* to exhibit us as what we are not, and to excite against us *unmerited hostility and persecution*. We should moreover, in this extraordinary supposition, cease to be astonished at the credulity and delusion of many of our fellow-citizens, and we could imagine some cause for that want of charity in our regard, whose prevalence we witness and deplore.

"Yet whatever allowance we may feel disposed to make in favour of those *who persecute and calumniate us*, and who *speak all manner of evil falsely concerning us*, we must point out two exceedingly bad consequences of this misrepresentation. The first is the extensive corruption of morality, the other is the encouragement of unbelief, &c., &c.

Most Rev. Samuel Eccleston,
Archbishop of Baltimore.
Right Rev. John England,
Bishop of Charleston.
Right Rev. Joseph Rosati,
Bishop of St. Louis.
Right Rev. Benedict Joseph Fenwick,
Bishop of Boston.
Right Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick,
Coadjutor to the Bishop of Philadelphia.
Right Rev. John Baptist Purcell,
Bishop of Cincinnati.
Right Rev. Guy Ignatius Chabrat,
Coadjutor to the Bishop of Bardstown.
Right Rev. William Clancy,
Coadjutor to the Bishop of Charleston.
Right Rev. Anthony Blanc,
Bishop of New Orleans.

THEOLOGIANS.

"Very Rev. Felix Varela, Very Rev. Louis Deluol, Very Rev. Father M'Sherry, Very Rev. P. Verhœgen, Rev. John Hickey, Rev. Thomas Butler, Rev. John Chanche, Rev. Peter Schreiber, Rev. Legis Loisell, Rev. Thomas Mulledy, Rev. Lewis Debarth, Rev. Stephen T. Baldwin, Rev. I. A. Reynolds, Very Rev. Peter R. Kenrick, Very Rev. J. Hughes, and Rev. A Verot."

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO

MARIA MONK'S "AWFUL DISCLOSURES," AND THE HOTEL-DIEU NUNNERY OF MONTREAL.

SECTION I.

PRIESTS AND CONVENTS.

DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO A LATE PUBLICATION MADE IN NEW YORK, BY THE BOOKSELLERS HOWE AND BATES, ENTITLED "AWFUL DISCLOSURES, BY MARIA MONK."

(No. 1.)

From the New York Catholic Diary, Jan. 30.

"AWFUL DISCLOSURES," BY MARIA MONK.

The profligate and fiendish gang, who published "Louise, or the Canadian Nun," and the "Life of Scipio de Ricci, the Jansenist bishop of Pistoia," purporting to disclose "secrets of female convents," as well as the ridiculous stories of "Rebecca Theresa Reed," have been at work once more. This false and obscene production is obtruded upon the credulous public with the same deadly hate, with the same cruel malignity to Catholics and Catholic institutions, as the former "Protestant," and the recent "Protestant Vindicator." Its scandalous and corrupting details indicate the virulence and malignity of the mind which prompted their utterance.

The following strictures from the *Sunday Morning News* of the 24th inst., on the infamous work, are from a liberal and honest Protestant writer.

"Some days before our last publication we found a copy of this catchpenny libel upon our table. A single glance, indeed its very back title, was sufficient to satisfy us of its character without farther examination. Yet notwithstanding, we had the patience to read it, and we must confess that we found our previous conclusions fully confirmed. We rose from its perusal with wonder in our minds that there could be found persons reckless and vicious enough to put forth such a work, and for such a purpose, as evidently appeared to have been intended by its publication. We

believed that the work was of a decidedly injurious tendency; and that, therefore, the best service an editor could render to the cause of morality and religion, was to preserve a perfect silence with respect to it. Knowing as we do, that in such cases notoriety is all that is required to make a book sell, and that curiosity will induce thousands to purchase, merely because it has been condemned for its moral tendency, we concluded not to speak of it at all. Since then we are sorry to perceive that many of our city papers have noticed this work, and some of them in terms of approbation, expressing their belief in the truth of its details, and joining its author in denouncing the religion of the Catholic Church.

"Now we are no Catholic, and we are thankful that we were not born and educated in that persuasion, believing, as we do, that it contains many doctrinal errors, and ceremonial absurdities; but we do protest with all our strength, against the spirit of uncharitableness manifested against this church, by too many of our Protestant professing Christians; a spirit which is daily becoming more powerful, and which has at length brought forth, and will probably encourage the sale of a book filled with absurd and disgusting details, so monstrous that they can only receive credence among the most ignorant and bigoted. This foul and filthy work is taken up, patronised, recommended and quoted from by those amongst us who profess to be most holy, by those who pretend to take the precepts of our Saviour as their guide, by those who are continually treating us with the most barefaced hypocrisy, to lectures upon the beauties of charity, forbearance and humility. And why is it that these persons of whom we speak, pursue such a course? Why is it that they perform a part which should raise a blush upon their own cheeks, at the same time that it excites the contempt and abhorrence of every honest and truly religious mind? Do they wish to cast scandal upon a sect of Christians because of a slight difference in their creeds? Do they wish to destroy, by their most foul and malicious representations, the influence of a most useful church, solely because they are jealous of its power, and its extension in this country? If so, we pity their imbecility almost as much as we despise their fanaticism and dishonesty. Let them gain influence as the Catholics have gained it, by their good deeds, by their untiring benevolence, by their charitable acts, by their assiduous attendance upon the sick and dying. Who ever knew a Catholic priest to fly from the post of danger when pestilence stalked through our streets, when death daily swallowed up his victims by hundreds, and when many of those who are now the loudest in their abuse fled ingloriously from their post when duty, if not benevolence, should have compelled them to remain? The cause of the superior influence possessed by the Catholic priests over the minds of their congregations, we are bold to say, is no secret; it consists, in nine cases out of ten, in a more strict attention to the practice of those virtues which they profess.

"In a country like this, no one should be oppressed for his conscience sake, unless the indulgence of his religious opinions disturbs the peace and well-being of the community; all our institutions tend to this; our constitution and laws recognise the glorious principle of religious toleration. And in what respect, we would ask, have the Catholics offended, that they should be singled out for persecution by a set of ignorant fanatics? We have among us a large class of low and degraded beings, the outpourings of the demoralized communities of the old world, who, if they had not some principles to restrain them, would be as a band of robbers and murderers in the midst of our city. They have no moral culture, no very accurate perceptions of right and wrong, but their religion leads them to be governed by men who are responsible to God and society; responsible, if you will, to their superiors in the church, whose interest, at least, it is to build up the character of that church in the estimation of the society among which they wish to extend its influence.

"We once heard a sermon at the cathedral, addressed expressly to the Irish servants of the city, of whom there appeared to be three or four thousand present. We have not time to repeat the preacher's lesson, but we felt, when we left the church, that if the value of his discourse to the morality and good order of the city could be estimated in money, thousands of dollars would not be an equivalent.

"The *Courier and Enquirer*, if it must notice the book, which forms the caption of the present article, has noticed it, in our opinion, in the only proper way. The editor cautions the public against purchasing the catchpenny imposition. The *Evening Star* likewise denounces its immorality, and brands it as a false and malicious libel. But of the *Journal of Commerce*, what can we say? The hypocritical Doctor Cantwell who presides over its columns, and who, in our opinion, is one of the most

unprincipled and dishonest editors in the city, pretends to be the only truly pious and holy one in the profession. He, forsooth, has the most unbounded regard for the safety of the church of the meek and lowly Saviour—the greatest care of the religious and moral good of the community, yet he must take this beastly licentious, this ridiculously and maliciously false tale, and serve up some of the choice titbits, some of the morally rotten parts of this most foul and filthy work, to gratify the appetites of whom? of the refined and religious, among whom he pretends to circulate his paper? of the bustling but well-informed merchant, who uses his sheet for money it may put in his pocket? No! but to gratify his own depraved and vitiated taste, to gratify a malicious hate which exists against all who do not belong to his own narrow circle of bigots.

"The editor of the *Journal of Commerce* says there is strong internal evidence of the truth of the story of this pretended Maria Monk. Now we flatly contradict the *pious* David Hale; there is *no* internal evidence of the truth of her story.—What! will it be believed by any sane man, that a whole religious community, professing the religion of our Saviour, and being known as a pious and charitable class, occupying a circuit of fifty miles of a well-populated country, having their chief centre in a large, enlightened, Christianized city—will it be believed, we ask, that each and every of these persons composing this community, and numbering some four or five hundred, is a murderer, and worse than a murderer? No! the assertion is too wild, too preposterous. In her narrative, Miss Monk is made to say, that she was present at the murder of three infants and one nun, whom she calls St. Francis. This St. Francis was taken before the lady superior, the bishop, and five priests for trial. She was dragged into the room by several nuns, making, as she afterwards tell us, in all present eleven persons, though she remarks, incidentally, that the room would scarcely hold five persons at a time. When before this court for trial, St. Francis was asked if she would assent to certain degrading and brutal propositions, which had been made her with the sanction of the lady superior, and when she declared she could not consent to be the cause of the murder of harmless babes, the bishop instantly said, 'That is enough, finish her!' and then they all threw her on a bed, and putting another bed upon her, jumped all of them upon it, and trampled and smothered her to death, making a sport of it, laughing, joking, and otherwise amusing themselves, while she, the authoress of this fine story, stood still, too much frightened to faint.

"Oh, David Hale, David Hale! how untrue the old maxim, that honesty is the best policy, must be, if you are successful in this world, happy, and conscience free. We do not think you are a fool, for there is stronger evidence of knavery than folly in your course.

"One word more, and we have done with the subject. As we said before, we are not prompted to these remarks by any particular regard for the Catholic religion, but we were early told that charity is a most essential virtue, and when we were old enough to read our Bible, that was one of the first lessons we learned. We are attached to the civil constitution of the country, and that gives to all the right of conscience, and freedom of religious opinion, and practice. We cannot, therefore, stand by and see with approval the firebrand thrown among us, which is calculated to excite popular fury against a class of religionists who worship, as they have a right to do, according to their consciences, and the customs of their fathers."

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(No. 2.)

Extracts from the Catholic Diary, Feb. 6.

VILLANY EXPOSED.

"MARIA MONK" AND THE "NEW YORK PROTESTANT VINDICATOR," VERSUS, THE NUNS AND CATHOLIC PRIESTS OF MONTREAL.

Year after year, and week after week, has it been the fashion, nay, the chief occupation, as well as the material source of profit to the malicious editor of the *Protestant Vindicator*, to represent the Catholic ladies in nunneries as the worst set of wretches that ever disgraced human nature; and the Catholic clergy as the very personifications of rapacity, cruelty, and vice.

If indeed to be chaste, humane, and charitable—if to instruct the ignorant, to relieve the distressed, to solace the afflicted—if to be adorned with every virtue—if to have renounced all the vanities of time, be criminal in Catholic ladies—then, without doubt, are they the basest and most degraded among mankind. Who, it may be asked, is it that, disregarding the danger of infection when poverty, pestilence, and death have visited the miserable cabin, is always ready to minister the consolations of religion, to moisten the parched lips, and to pour the sweet and consoling sound of pity in the ear of an expiring fellow-being? Who is it that, unmindful of his own necessities, willingly parts with his all, and

becomes himself a suppliant, in order to procure a little sustenance for the forlorn and afflicted? Who is it that is continually doing all this, and much more than this? Oh, it is the despised and slandered CATHOLIC PRIEST! Who is it, on the other hand, that is ever foremost in the ranks of the revilers? Who is it that, professing to be a minister of peace—a follower of the meek and merciful Saviour,—marches at the head of a gang of the fiercest calumniators the world ever saw? Whose aim is it that his track should be marked with desolation and blood? Whose voice is the weekly signal for the indiscriminate slaughter of his fellow-men?—The editor of the New York Protestant Vindicator.

The editor of this vile print published, on the 14th October last, the terrible tale of scandal which he now causes to repeat, under the assumed name of Maria Monk, and in the form of a book. The incredible falsehoods were immediately noticed by the Protestant editors of the political journals in the Canadas. Extracts from the Montreal Herald, Montreal Morning Courier, Montreal Evening Gazette, Quebec Mercury, True Briton, are given in to-day's impression. We have written for all the documents connected with this infamous piece of slander, and as soon as we shall receive them the public will be astounded.

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(No. 3.)

From the Montreal Herald, Oct. 22, 1835.

There is a weekly newspaper published in New York under the title of the "Protestant Vindicator," the principles of which are supposed to be explained in its title. Unlike, however, the mild, tolerant spirit of Protestantism, it appears to be conducted by bigots, who, whether sincere or not, address themselves more to the feeling than to the judgment of their readers, whose minds must be weak indeed, to be satisfied with such nourishment. The Protestant Vindicator breathes in every line a spirit of hostility to Roman Catholics and the Roman Catholic form of worship, and want of reasoning is atoned for by abundance of declamation. Its motto is, "Who is like unto the beast; who is able to make war with him?" We have been led to make these remarks from having received a number of that paper, dated the 14th inst., the only number we have ever seen, and which has been especially sent us under the impression that we, as Protestants, would be overjoyed at its contents. The reverse is the case. We address its conductors more in sorrow than in anger; we pity them, and we pity their deluded readers, who must be under the necessity of believing a great many falsehoods, if the present number is a sample of its predecessors. The first editorial article is entitled "Nunneries," and is intended to be an exposure of debauchery and murder, said to have taken place at the Hotel Dieu, in this city. We will not disgrace our columns, nor disgust our readers by copying the false, the abominably false article. Though of a different religious persuasion from the priests and the nuns, we have had too many opportunities of witnessing their unwearied assiduity and watchfulness and Christian charity during two seasons of pestilence, and can bear witness to the hitherto unimpeached and unimpeachable rectitude of their conduct, to be in the slightest degree swayed in our opinion by a newspaper slander; but we would respectfully inform the conductors of the Protestant Vindicator, that there never existed a class of men who are more highly respected and universally esteemed by individuals of all persuasions, than the Roman Catholic priests of Montreal. The "Sisters of Charity" are equally respected, and are the means of effecting important services to the community. They *practise* Christianity by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, protecting the orphan, and ministering to the sick, the afflicted, and the dying, pursuing the "noiseless tenor of their way," courting no popular applause, and seeking their sole reward in a "conscience void of offence towards God and man." We do not pretend to be defenders of the Roman Catholic religion, or of any of its particular institutions. We are Protestants, and glory in being so, but we will not so far forget the precepts of our Divine Master, as to connive at traducing the characters of individuals who are exemplary members of society, although they are of a different religious persuasion from ourselves. It is melancholy to witness the animosities, the heart-burnings, the "strifes and bitter hatreds" which exist in that miscalled "land of liberty," the United States. Sect is ranged against sect, both in politics and in religion, with a demoniacal spirit, and no falsehood, however gross, but receives its host of supporters. Reason leaves her throne, which is usurped by lawless and ungovernable passions. Wherever there is a minority, it must be sacrificed to the wild impulses of a majority, whether it be on account of a convent or a theatre, a post-office or a church, a mason or anti-mason, an Irishman or a negro. The true bondsmen are the minority, no matter on

what question, to whom freedom, neither of speech nor of action is allowed. No wonder that a British House of Commons paused in its downward career.

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(No. 4.)

From the Montreal Morning Courier, Oct. 22, 1835.

We have had an opportunity of perusing an article under the head of "Nunneries," in the "New York Protestant Vindicator," of the 14th instant, and are more than surprised at the manner in which those institutions and their inmates in Montreal, are treated by the writer. We are Protestant, but we are free to confess that more gross and infamous calumnies were never attempted to be propagated against any class of individuals than are broadly, and we may add indecently, set forth in the publication before us. The *Hotel Dieu*, where so many of the sick and maimed receive attention to their wants, is converted by the impure imagination of the journalists into a receptacle of the greatest iniquity. The characters of several well-known and highly-respected Romish* clergymen are traduced, blackened, until they lose all likeness to those of men, not to say of Christian instructers. Altogether, the picture drawn of both nuns and priests is so hideously deformed by its falsehood, that no one who has been a resident, even for a short period, in Montreal, can fail to detect and loathe it.

Does the "Protestant Vindicator" imagine that Protestantism can profit by the propagation of such sheer calumnies? If it lends its columns to falsehood, can it hope to be believed when it may speak the truth?

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(No. 5.)

From the Montreal Evening Gazette, Oct. 22, 1835.

We were yesterday put in possession of the New York Protestant Vindicator of the 14th instant, and our attention was immediately directed to an article on the subject of nunneries, which appears on its second page. We will not pollute our columns by copying the scandalous indecencies, the gross falsehoods, and the vulgar insinuations against the character and conduct of the nuns of this city, with which it teems, and we would not be induced to notice the abominable accusations of the writer, were it not that, as PROTESTANTS, we feel it to be an imperative duty on our part, to add our testimony to that of the Herald and Courier of this morning against the foul misrepresentations of a bigoted and fanatical libeller.

From our infancy we have resided in this city, and we, therefore, may be supposed to know the characters of the Roman Catholic clergy and the nuns somewhat better than any itinerant preacher from the United States. Their constant and unremitted attention to the discharge of their parochial duties, their kind and affectionate attendance upon the sick at all seasons, but more particularly during the severest visitations of pestilence, have excited general admiration and approval from the professors of other creeds—their numerous acts of charity and benevolence are experienced by thousands, whose wants and sufferings have been relieved from the funds at their disposal—their character for unblemished purity and morality has stood unimpeached, until a worthless and anonymous scribbler has dared to impugn their hitherto unsullied reputations.

To accuse the priests and nuns of gross incontinence and of secret murder, to a large extent, as the "Protestant Vindicator" has done, is one of the most barefaced falsehoods that ever disgraced a public journal. It is superlatively ridiculous to suppose that while these institutions are open daily to the visits of our citizens, and their inmates are seen at all hours attending to their religious avocations, such events should occur as have been described, and yet be unknown to the public until ushered into notice by a New York paper. The palpable errors with which the article teems, as to the title and qualifications of some of the clergy, betray its origin, and point it out as the production of one who has raised up the creature of his imagination, with a view to injure the Roman Catholic religion, and to support his own illiberal views.

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(No. 6.)

From the Quebec Mercury.

A number of a paper published in New York, under the title of the "Protestant Vindicator," has been sent to us; the *Protestant Debaser and Roman Catholic Calumniator* would be a more appropriate title for this infamous and libellous publication, with the existence of which we have now been for the first time acquainted. We know not for what purpose it has been sent to us, but

* The writer would have evinced more gentlemanly feeling, if instead of the nickname *Romish*, he had used the appropriate epithet, *Roman Catholic*.—ED. MIS.

since it has come under our notice we will give the conductors the benefit of our opinion of it, by saying that we have never read a tissue of more deliberate and infamous falsehoods than are strung together in the number we have received, headed "Nunneries," chiefly directed against those highly respectable seminaries in this province, to which the young females of both Canadian and English families are principally indebted for their education. The falsehood of this pretended "Protestant Vindicator," is so revolting and gross, and couched in terms so coarse, that we can make no quotation from it, nor even more particularly allude to it, than to say, in contradiction of the infamous slander to which it has given birth, that, having passed the greater part of our life in this province, in which we have an extensive acquaintance —we have never known any ladies who have been educated in either of the nunneries of this city and Montreal, who did not in after life retain the warmest affection for the religious ladies who were their preceptors, speak of them in the highest terms, and if they became mothers, afford the strongest evidence of the confidence they repose in the purity of the lives and conduct of the members of these institutions, by committing their young daughters to their care and instruction. The conduct also of the Roman Catholic clergy in Canada deserves an equally strong testimony from us. We have witnessed their courageous and unremitted attention to their duties, when an appalling pestilence twice swept over the land; we have seen them as the preceptors of youth in the seminaries—we have known them in the discharge of their more limited, yet not less useful duties as parish priests, and in all these characters we are bound to say, that their conduct has been such as to command the love of their own flocks and the sincerest respect of the Protestant inhabitants to the Roman Catholic clergy.

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(No. 7.)

From the Canada True Briton.

We have no words to express the disgust with which we have perused an article under the head of "Nunneries," contained in a newspaper published at New York, under the name of the "Protestant Vindicator." All we can spare room to state on this afflicting subject is, our unqualified disbelief of the calumnies contained in the article to which we refer. We have lived eighteen years in this city, and never, until now, did we hear the voice of reproach uttered against either the male or female members of the religious communities contained in it. Indeed, so opposite is the opinion of the public of those communities, that they are held in high and deserved esteem by Christians of all denominations, for their many practical virtues. Although opposed in principle to establishments of the kind alluded to, as being nowhere authorized by our great Lawgiver, we can yet appreciate the force of habits and customs, sanctified by time, and by the practice of many Christian duties. The conductors of the paper above named stand on an awful precipice; they must either prove their assertion to be true, or stand convicted as the basest of their species.

The general tone of the publication in question is intolerant to the last degree. Do its conductors imagine that they are the elect of God, chosen to purge the world of sin and iniquity! Let them recollect that as Protestants, and if they be sincere in their profession, they have no justification to offer for intolerance, since the law of Christ is not a sealed book to them. "JUDGE NOT, THAT YE BE NOT JUDGED," is therein written in characters not to be mistaken.

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(No. 8.)

From the London (U. Canada) Times.

This paper, (the "Protestant Vindicator,") so well known in New York for its intolerant and unchristian spirit, in one of its late numbers, has made a most unmanly and outrageous attack on the nuns and nunneries in Montreal. This will not much surprise those who are acquainted with the character of the madman who edits that paper, or, though a clergyman, the little regard he has for truth. He accuses the nuns of all manner of crimes and wickedness, and, among the rest, murder. The Montreal papers are highly indignant at it; if they knew the character of the man as well as we do, they would trouble themselves very little about it.

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(No. 9.)

Extract from the Catholic Herald of Philadelphia.

"L'Ami du Peuple," a Montreal paper, gives us the *denouement* of the tale of scandal which the "Protestant Vindicator," "Christian Herald," *et id genus omne*, put forward a few months since, and which the Protestant editors of three political journals in Montreal at once indignantly repelled without knowing its origin. Instead of an eloped nun, recounting the horrors of the

convent, the heroine of the tale is a Protestant young girl, who has been for four years under the protection of a Mr. Hoyt, once styled a reverend Methodist preacher, and connected with Canadian Sunday schools. The paper quoted above, gives, at full length, the affidavits of the mother of the girl, who is also a Protestant, and of several other individuals, who had no motive to favour Catholic institutions. The disconsolate mother testifies on oath that she had been solicited by the seducer of her child to swear that she was a nun, and that the father of the infant was a Catholic clergyman—that a promise had been made her of a comfortable provision for herself and for her unfortunate child and offspring, if she would only do that. The poor woman had virtue enough to reject the base proposal; and thus, the Rev. Mr. Hoyt, who had returned from New York for this purpose, accompanied, it is stated, by the Rev. Mr. Brewster and Judge Turner, failed in the object of his visit.

A Methodist preacher of the place, immediately disclaimed all connexion of the society with Mr. Hoyt, and in a letter published in the papers, expressed his regret that any credit had been given to a foul charge, emanating from a source so polluted.

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(No. 10.)

From the N. Y. Catholic Diary.

"Awful Disclosures," page 224, *she* says, "After my arrival in New York, I was introduced to the almshouse;" and page 226 —"As the period of my accouchement approached, I sometimes thought that I should not survive it; and then the recollection of the dreadful crimes I had witnessed would come upon me very powerfully, and I would think it a solemn duty to disclose them before I died. To have a knowledge of those things, and leave the world without making them known, appeared to me a great sin."

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(No. 11.)

From the Montreal Courier, Nov. 16, 1835.

The "New York Protestant Vindicator," of the 4th of November, reiterates its calumnies concerning the Roman Catholic clergy and nuns of this city. We cherished the hope that, after the simultaneous and unanimous expression of disbelief and reprehension with which its extravagant assertions had been met by the Canadian press, both Protestant and Catholic, the conductors of that journal would have been slow to repeat, without better evidence of their truth, the same disgraceful charges. We have been deceived in our calculation. The fanatical print demands *counter evidence* before it will withdraw, or acknowledge the falsehood of its previous statements. We believe that *counter* evidence has been already adduced, of a nature far surpassing in weight the claims to credibility which the accusations themselves could offer. The impure fabrication trumped up by a woman of immoral character and insane mind, in conjunction with a man of equally depraved habits, can never be weighed in the balance with the testimony of Protestants, living in the same community as the accused, and therefore, possessing the means of judging of the truth or falsehood of what was advanced. By any persons of less interested credulity, and of more discrimination and moral honesty than what the conductors of the "Protestant Vindicator" appear to possess, counter evidence of the above nature would have been deemed sufficient.

There are two reasons which have mainly weighed with us to revert to the subject of the "Protestant Vindicator's" charges, and to publish the subjoined lengthy documents. We consider, in the first place, our endeavours to expose falsehood as a solemn duty we owe to the defamed; and in the second, we should regard ourselves to be degraded in the eyes of the world, did we live in a community where such abominations as are alleged existed, and not dare, openly and loudly, to denounce the perpetrators.

Under these impressions, we proceed, at a considerable sacrifice of the space of our journal, to lay before our readers the following affidavits, which will sufficiently disclose the nature of the "Protestant Vindicator's" calumnies, the origin, and the degree of credit which can be attached to them.

[A.]

William Robertson, of Montreal, doctor in medicine, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith as follows: On the 9th of November, 1834, three men came up to my house, having a young female in company with them, who, they said, was observed, that forenoon, on the bank of the canal near the St. Joseph's suburbs, acting in a manner which induced some people who saw her to think that she intended to drown herself. They took her into a house in the neighbourhood, where, after being there some hours, and interrogated as to who she was, &c., she said she was the daughter of a Dr. Robertson. On

receiving this information, they brought her to my house. Being from home when they came to the door, and learning from Mrs. Robertson that she had denied them, they conveyed her to the watch-house. Upon hearing this story, in company with G. Auldjo, Esq., of this city, I went to the watch-house to inquire into the affair. We found the young female, whom I have since ascertained to be Maria Monk, daughter of W. Monk, of this city, in custody. She said that, although she was not my daughter, she was the child of respectable parents, in or very near Montreal, who, from some light conduct of hers, (arising from temporary insanity, to which she was at times subject from her infancy,) had kept her confined and chained in a cellar for the last four years. Upon examination, no mark or appearance indicated the wearing of manacles, or any other mode of restraint. She said, on my observing this, that her mother always took care to cover the irons with soft clothes, to prevent them injuring the skin. From the appearance of her hands, she evidently had not been used to work. To remove her from the watch-house, where she was confined with some of the most profligate women of the town, taken up for inebriety and disorderly conduct in the streets, as she could not give a satisfactory account of herself, I, as a justice of the peace, sent her to jail as a vagrant. The following morning I went to the jail, for the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, who she was. After considerable persuasion, she promised to divulge her story to the Rev. H. Esson, one of the clergymen of the Church of Scotland, to whose congregation she said her parents belonged. That gentleman did call at the jail, and ascertained who she was. In the course of a few days she was released, and I did not see her again until the month of August last, when Mr. Johnston, of Griffinton, joiner, and Mr. Cooley, of the St. Ann Suburbs, merchant, called upon me, about ten o'clock at night, and, after some prefatory remarks, mentioned that the object of their visit was to ask me, as a magistrate, to institute an inquiry into some very serious charges which had been made against some of the Roman Catholic priests of the place and the nuns of the General Hospital, by a female who had been a nun in that institution for four years, and who had divulged the horrible secrets of that establishment, such as the illicit and criminal intercourse between the nuns and the priests, stating particulars of such depravity of conduct on the part of these people, in this respect, and their murdering the offspring of these criminal connexions as soon as they were born, to the number of from thirty to forty every year. I instantly stated that I did not believe a word of what they told me, and that they must have been imposed upon by some evil-disposed and designing person. Upon inquiry who this nun their informant was, I discovered that she answered exactly the description of Maria Monk, whom I had so much trouble about last year, and mentioned to these individuals my suspicion, and what I knew of that unfortunate girl. Mr. Cooley said to Mr. Johnston, Let us go home: we are hoaxed. They told me that she was at Mr. Johnston's house, and requested me to call there and hear her own story. The next day, or the day following, I did call, and saw Maria Monk at Mr. Johnston's house. She repeated in my presence the substance of what was mentioned to me before, relating to her having been in the nunnery for four years—having taken the black veil, the crimes committed there, and a variety of other circumstances concerning the conduct of the priests and nuns. A Mr. Hoyte was introduced to me, and was present during the whole of the time that I was in the house. He was represented as one of the persons who came in from New York with this young woman, for the purpose of investigating into this mysterious affair. I was asked to take her deposition on her oath, as to the truth of what she had stated. I declined doing so, giving as a reason that, from my knowledge of her character, I considered her assertions upon oath were not entitled to more credit than her bare assertion, and that I did not believe either; intimating, at the same time, my willingness to take the necessary steps for a full investigation, if they could get any other person to corroborate any part of her solemn testimony, or if a direct charge were made against any particular individual of a criminal nature. During the first interview with Messrs. Johnston and Cooley, they mentioned that Maria Monk had been found in New York in a very destitute situation by some charitable individuals, who administered to her necessities, being very sick. She expressed a wish to see a clergyman, as she had a dreadful secret which she wished to divulge before she died; a clergyman visiting her, she related to him the alleged crimes of the priests and nuns of the General Hospital at Montreal. After her recovery, she was visited and examined by the mayor and some lawyers at New York, afterwards at Troy, in the state of New York, on the subject; and I understood them to say, that Mr. Hoyte and two other gentlemen, one of them a lawyer, were

sent to Montreal with her, for the purpose of examining into the truth of the accusations thus made. Although incredulous as to the truth of Maria Monk's story, I thought it incumbent upon me to make an inquiry concerning it, and have ascertained where she has been residing a great part of the time she states having been an inmate of the nunnery. During the summer of 1832 she was at service in William Henry's; the winters of 1832–3 she passed in this neighbourhood, at St. Ours and St. Denis. The accounts given of her conduct that season corroborate the opinions I had before entertained of her character.

W. ROBERTSON.

Sworn before me at Montreal, this 14th day of November, 1835.

BENJ. HOLMES, J. P.

[B.]

On this day, the twenty-fourth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, before me, William Robertson, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the district of Montreal, came and appeared Isabella Mills, of the city of Montreal, widow of the late William Monk, who declared that wishing to guard the public against the deception which has lately been practised in Montreal by designing men, who have taken advantage of the occasional derangement of her daughter, to make scandalous [charges] against the priests and the nuns in Montreal, and afterwards to make her pass herself for a nun who had left the convent. And after having made oath on the holy Evangelists, the (to say the truth) said Isabella Mills declares and says, a man decently dressed (whom afterwards I knew to be W. R. Hoyte, stating himself to be a minister of New York) came to my house on or about the middle of August last, and inquired for one Mr. Mills; that Mr. Esson, a minister here, had told him that I could give some information about that man; I replied that I knew no one of that name in Montreal, but that I had a brother of that name five miles out of town. He then told me that he had lately come to Montreal with a young woman and child of five weeks old; that the woman had absconded from him at Goodenough's tavern, where they were lodging, and left him with the child; he gave me a description of the woman; I unfortunately discovered that the description answered my daughter, and the reflection that this stranger had called upon Mr. Esson, our pastor, and inquiring for my brother, I suspected that this [was] planned. I asked for the child, and said that I would place it in a nunnery; to that Mr. Hoyte started every objection, in abusive language against the nuns. At last he consented to give me the child, provided I would give my writing that it should be presented when demanded. We left the house together, Mr. Hoyte requesting me to walk at a distance from him, as he was a gentleman. I followed him to Mr. Goodenough's hotel, and he directed me to room No. 17, and to demand the child; a servant maid gave it to me; Mr. Hoyte came up and gave me the clothing. I came home with the child, and sent Mrs. Tarbert, an old acquaintance, in search of my daughter; her deposition will be seen. The next day Mr. Hoyte came in with an elderly man, Dr. Judge Turner, decently dressed, whom he introduced to me as a Mr. Turner of St. Alban's. They demanded to see the child, which I produced. Mr. Hoyte demanded if I had discovered the mother; I said not. She must be found, said he; she has taken away a shawl and a bonnet belonging to a servant girl at Goodenough's; he would not pay for them; she had cost him too much already; that his things were kept at the hotel on that account. Being afraid that this might more deeply involve my daughter, I offered my own shawl to replace the one taken; Mr. Hoyte first took it, but afterwards returned it to me on my promise that I would pay for the shawl and bonnet. In the course of the day, Mrs. Tarbert found my daughter, but she would not come to my house; she sent the bonnet and shawl, which were returned to their owner, who had lent them to my daughter, to assist her in procuring her escape from Mr. Hoyte at the hotel. Early on the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Hoyte came to my house with the same old man, wishing me to make all my efforts to find the girl, in the mean time speaking very bitterly against the Catholics, the priests, and the nuns; mentioning that my daughter had been in the nunnery, where she had been ill-treated. I denied that my daughter had ever been in a nunnery; that when she was about eight years of age, she went to a day-school; at that time came in two other persons, whom Mr. Hoyte introduced; one was the Rev. Mr. Brewster. I do not recollect the other reverence's name. They all requested me, in the most pressing terms, to try to make it out my daughter had been in the nunnery; and that she had some connexion with the priests of the seminary, of which nunneries and priests she spoke in the most outrageous

terms; said, that should I make that out, myself, my daughter, and child, would be protected for life. I expected to get rid of their importunities, in relating the melancholy circumstances by which my daughter was frequently deranged in her head, and told them that, when at the age of about seven years, she broke a slate pencil in her head; that since that time her mental faculties were deranged, and by times much more than at other times, but that she was far from being an idiot; that she could make the most ridiculous, but most plausible stories; and that as to the history that she had been in a nunnery, it was a fabrication, for she never was in a nunnery; that at one time I wished to obtain a place in a nunnery for her; that I had employed the influence of Mrs. De Montenach, of Dr. Nelson, and of our pastor, the Rev. Mr. Esson, but without success. I told them, notwithstanding I was a Protestant, and did not like the Roman Catholic religion, like all other respectable Protestants, I held the priests of the seminary and the nuns of Montreal in veneration, as the most pious and charitable persons I ever knew. After many more solicitations to the same effect, three of them retired, but Mr. Hoyte remained, adding to the other solicitations; he was stopped, a person having rapped at the door; it was then candlelight. I opened the door, and I found Doctor M'Donald, who told me that my daughter Maria was at his house, in the most distressing situation; that she wished him to come and make her peace with me; I went with the Doctor to his house in M'Gill Street; she came with me to near my house, but would not come in, notwithstanding I assured her that she would be kindly treated, and that I would give her her child; she crossed the parade ground, and I went into the house, and returned for her. Mr. Hoyte followed me. She was leaning on the west railing of the parade; we went to her; Mr. Hoyte told her, My dear Mary, I am sorry you have treated yourself and me in this manner; I hope you have not exposed what has passed between us, nevertheless; I will treat you the same as ever, and spoke to her in the most affectionate terms; took her in his arms; she at first spoke to him very cross, and refused to go with him, but at last consented and went with him, absolutely refusing to come to my house. Soon after Mr. Hoyte came and demanded the child; I gave it to him. Next morning Mr. Hoyte returned, and was more pressing than in his former solicitation, and requested me to say that my daughter had been in the nunnery; that, should I say so, it would be better than one hundred pounds to me; that I would be protected for life, and that I should leave Montreal, and that I would be better provided for elsewhere; I answered that thousands of pounds would not induce me to perjure myself; then he got saucy and abusive to the utmost; he said he came to Montreal to detect the infamy of the priests and the nuns; that he could not leave my daughter destitute in the wide world as I had done; afterwards said, No, she is not your daughter, she is too sensible for that; and went away. He was gone but a few minutes, when Mr. Doucet, an ancient magistrate in Montreal, came. That gentleman told me that Mr. Goodenough had just now called upon him, and requested him to let me know that I had a daughter in Montreal; that she had come in with a Mr. Hoyte and a child, and that she had left Mr. Hoyte and the child, but that she was still in Montreal, so as to enable me to look for her, and that I might prevent some mischief that was going on. Then I related to him partly what I have above said. When he was going, two other gentlemen came. I refused to give them any information at first, expecting that they were of the party that had so much agitated me for a few days; but being informed by Mr. Doucet that he knew one of them, particularly Mr. Perkins, for a respectable citizen for a long time in Montreal, and the other Mr. Curry, two ministers from the United States; that if they came to obtain some information about the distressing events she related to have occurred in her family, he thought it would do no harm, and I related it to them; they appeared to be afflicted with such a circumstance; I have not seen them any more. I asked Mr. Doucet if the man Hoyte could not be put in jail: he replied that he thought not, for what he knew of the business. Then I asked if the priests were informed of what was going on; he replied yes, but they never take up these things; they allow their character to defend itself. A few days after, I heard that my daughter was at one Mr. Johnson's, a joiner, at Griffintown, with Mr. Hoyte; that he passed her for a nun that had escaped from the Hotel-Dieu Nunnery. I went there two days successively with Mrs. Tarbert; the first day Mrs. Johnson denied her, and said that she was gone to New York with Mr. Hoyte. As I was returning I met Mr. Hoyte on the wharf, and I reproached him for his conduct. I told him that my daughter had been denied to me at Johnson's, but that I would have a search-warrant to have her; when I returned he had really gone with my unfor-

tunate daughter; and I received from Mr. Johnson, his wife, and a number of persons in their house, the grossest abuse, mixed with texts of the Gospel, Mr. Johnson bringing a Bible for me to swear on. I retired more deeply afflicted than ever, and further sayeth not.

Sworn before me, this 24th of October, 1835. W. ROBERTSON, J. P.

[C.]

Province of Lower Canada,
District of Montreal.

Before me, William Robertson, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, for the district of Montreal, came and appeared Nancy M'Gan, of Montreal, wife of James Tarbet, who has requested me to receive this affidavit, and declared that she has been intimately acquainted with Mrs. (Widow) Monk, of Montreal, a Protestant woman. I know the said Maria Monk; last spring she told me that the father of the child she then was carrying, was burned in Mr. Owsten's house. She often went away in the country, and at the request of her mother I accompanied her across the river. Last summer she came back to my lodgings, and told me that she had made out the father of the child; and that very night left me and went away. The next morning I found that she was in a house of bad fame, where I went for her, and told the woman keeping that house, that she ought not to allow that girl to remain there, for she was a girl of good and honest family. Maria Monk then told me that she would not go to him, (alluding, as I understood, to the father of the child,) for that he wanted her to swear an oath that would lose her soul for ever, but jestingly said, should make her a lady for ever. I then told her (Maria), Do not lose your soul for money. She told me she had swapt her silk gown in the house where I had found her, for a calico one, and got some money to boot; having previously told me if she had some money she would go away, and would not go near him any more. Soon after, Mr. Hoyte and another gentleman came. Mr. Hoyte asked me where she had slept the night previous, and that he would go for the silk gown; the woman showed the gown, and told him that if he would pay three dollars he should have the gown; he went away, and came back with Maria Monk, paid the three dollars, and got the gown; I was then present.

Being at Mrs. Monk's, I saw a child which she mentioned to be her daughter Maria's child. Some time after, Mrs. Monk requested me to accompany her to Griffintown, to look for her daughter. We went to Mr. Johnson's house, a joiner in that suburb; we met Mr. Hoyte, and he spoke to Mrs. Monk; when at Mrs. Johnson's, Mrs. Manly asked for her daughter; Mrs. Johnson said she was not there. I saw Mr. Hoyte at Mrs. Monk's; he was in company with three other persons, apparently Americans, earnestly engaged in conversation, but so much confused I could not make out what was said; and further sayeth not.

her
NANCY † M'GAN.
mark.

Sworn before me, on the 24th of October, 1835. W. ROBERTSON, J. P.

[D.]

Province of Lower Canada,
District of Montreal.

Before me, William Robertson, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, for the district of Montreal, appeared Asa Goodenough, of Montreal, holder of the Exchange Coffee-House, who, after having made oath upon the holy Evangelists, declareth and sayeth, that on or about the nineteenth of August last, two gentlemen and a young female with a child, put up at the Exchange Coffee-House, of which I am the owner; they were entered in the book, one under the name of Judge Turner, the other as Mr. Hoyte, a Methodist preacher, and agent or superintendent for the establishment of Sunday schools, &c.

Being informed by Catherine Conners, a confidential servant, that something mysterious was passing amongst the above-named, which led me to call upon them for an explanation, they answered in a very unsatisfactory manner. I afterwards learned that the name of the young woman was Maria Monk, that her mother lived in town, that she was not married to Mr. Hoyte, and they came to Montreal with the view, as Mr. Hoyte said, to disclose the infamy of the priests whilst she was at the nunnery. I thought it prudent to give information of this to a magistrate. Seeing Mr. Doucet's name on the list, I went to him, and requested him to give information to the mother of the young woman of the circumstances in which her daughter was. He did so, and the disclosure of the design of Mr. Hoyte was the consequence.

ASA GOODENOUGH.

Montreal.

Although we could produce several other affidavits, of an equally unimpeachable character as the above, yet we deem the evidence advanced more than enough to

show the entire falsehood and extravagance of the fabrications in the *Protestant Vindicator*. To every one it must be apparent, that Hoyte, under the disguise of religion, has acted a most knavish and criminal part. For the woman's conduct there may be urged some palliation in consideration of her insanity and abandoned character; for the hypocrisy of the man, and his vile prostitution of the Christian profession, no punishment seems too severe. We believe that Hoyte is not, as erroneously supposed by many, connected with the Methodist body; but to whatever class of Christians he may belong, we are assured that he has, by his infamous and concerted imposture, merited the execration of all good men. We hope the friends of Protestantism in the United States will publicly manifest their disapprobation of the damning practices of this arch-hypocrite and his abettors.

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From the Miscellany.

FOUL MISREPRESENTATION.

The chief part of our paper this day is occupied by some extracts and documents regarding the horrible charge made by the *Protestant Vindicator* of New York upon the priests and nuns of Montreal, in Lower Canada. The nature of this most foul, but unfortunately too common assault, will be learned from a perusal of the pieces, to which we earnestly invite every candid and liberal Protestant into whose hands this paper may come.

For a considerable time past the greater portion of those papers called *religious*, in our Union, have contained more or less of either open assertions or dark insinuations of this description. It formed part and parcel of the plan of the conspirators who have undertaken to make our country a Pandemonium of irreligious hatred and persecution. At first the statements regarded Spain, Italy, Portugal, and other remote regions; the time was also a period of a century or two back. It was impossible to meet such charges; but the evil of having them believed to be true was serious, by reason of the analogy which identified the supposed criminals with those persons whom it was sought to hold up to the contempt, the execration, and the vengeance of their fellow-citizens. Emboldened by their success, the conspirators gradually advanced nearer to our own day and to our own country; names, and dates, and places were designated. Pittsburg furnished one special case; and when the alleged criminality was bruited abroad, the clergyman who was calumniated appealed to the laws of his country. The *religious press* gave wide circulation to the edifying tale of the profligacy *imputed to him*, and with a barefaced boldness peculiar to a particular description of story-tellers, boasted in anticipation of his certain discomfiture. Yet in our last number we have been enabled to publish the *amende honorable*, if so it may be termed, of the original propagators of the falsehood, who preferred retracting the fabrication to submitting to the awards of a jury. Then came the scenery and machinery of the Montreal, or rather of the New York plot, the development of which was fixed for Canada, where it has taken place, but in such a way as to make it for its inventors a mar-plot indeed. Again we entreat our Protestant friends to take the trouble of perusing the documents: after all that they have been forced to hear on one side, it is due to the other to make this little concession. We shall continue the publication of the remaining documents in our next.

The conspirators are not religious Protestants—they are anti-Catholics. God forbid that we should wound the feelings of great multitudes of the most kind, generous, honest, liberal, and sincerely benevolent and just of our friends who are members of Protestant churches, by supposing for a moment that they would lend their countenance to such base and criminal proceedings! God forbid that we should impute such an atrocious disposition to thousands of others, who, like them, are unfortunately separated from us in belief, but who desire to be united with us in benevolence! No. Amongst the Protestants there are virulent anti-Catholics, who under the cloak of religion do deeds at which ordinary profligates would hesitate and quail: but there are vast numbers of the best members of society, of the best ornaments of the state, whose civil and social virtues are not to be surpassed, whose benevolence is as expansive and as pure, whose deeds of mercy and of good will are as numerous and as unostentatious, and whose desire and whose efforts for peace and for conciliation are as sincere and as strenuous as are those of any other beings upon this earth. God forbid that we should include those excellent persons in the category of the conspirators whom it is for peace and charity to denounce!

We shall return to this subject.

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(No. 12.)

From the Boston Pilot.

MARIA MONK'S AWFUL DISCLOSURES.

We hardly know how to commence an

article in reference to this abominable scheme of those nefarious libellers of our faith who have given to the public a volume bearing the above title, or to express our astonishment at the fact that extracts from it have been published in many of the leading periodicals of the day. The ostensible authoress of the book is a female of the name of Maria Monk, who was, a short time since, delivered of an illegitimate child in the New York almshouse, and who was for a short time admitted as a charity scholar, at an early age, into the school of one of the Catholic conventual seminaries in Montreal. Finding, probably, that her personal attractions were inadequate to secure her a competence by the exercise of her *profession*, (which she had adopted from the ordinary motives usually actuating the unhappy class to which she belongs,) she formed a coalition with some abandoned and profligate persons, who in name were Protestant clergymen, and who, upon her nominal responsibility, have issued the volume to which we refer. We will not dwell upon the loathsomeness of its contents, or pollute our pages with extracts from its chapters; but will simply give a few facts relative to this outrageous imposition upon a community already gulled out of 30 or 40,000 dollars by Mr. Hallett's ingenious fabrication, under the name of Rebecca T. Reed, "Six Months in a Convent," and in a very few words expose the true character and origin of the infamous imposture above named. The mother of the girl, Maria Monk, has publicly declared that "her daughter was never an inmate of a convent as a nun," and that all the intercourse she could possibly have had with the members of the religious community she has so atrociously slandered, was during her attendance upon their day-school as a charity scholar. By letters from New York, we learn that the pious and reverend propagators of the volume under consideration have already squabbled about the division of the spoils, i. e. the profits derived from its sale, which, from the nature of the case, will naturally be considerable. But there is another statement we have to make in regard to the subject matter, and one of no small importance; and we beseech every individual, let his or her creed be what it may, look at the following solemn declaration.

We are ready and willing to declare upon oath, that the extracts which we have seen in the New York Transcript, Boston Morning Post, Salem Gazette, and other respectable periodicals, purporting to be extracts from the disclosures of Maria Monk, &c., are to be found, word for word, and letter for letter, (proper names only being altered,) in a book translated from the Spanish or Portuguese language, in 1781, *called "The Gates of Hell Opened, or a Development of the Secrets of Nunneries," and that we, at present, are the owner of a copy of the said book, which was loaned by us, a year or two since, to some person in Marblehead or Salem, who has not returned it.*

To dwell longer upon a topic which places the depravity of the human race in so appalling a view, is not agreeable to the feelings of a Christian or a man; and though, upon reviewing the subject, we are almost inclined to the belief that the Almighty has for wise, though inscrutable purposes, permitted the offspring of hell itself to inspire the mind of some of the enemies of his church, yet we are convinced that he has made them instruments, (though evil in a superlative degree,) in his hands, for the future temporal and eternal good of his servants.

"Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you, and shall despitefully use you, and shall say all manner of evil against you FALSELY for MY NAME'S sake! Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven!"

We respectfully solicit every editor who has copied extracts from the book referred to in this article, to copy our remarks as an act of justice due to a portion of his fellow-citizens, who have been so long the objects of reproach and contumely, without any other cause that we have ever seen, save that they profess a religion which teaches them to love the Lord God with all their heart, and their neighbour as themselves.

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The following affidavits from *L'Ami du Peuple*, Montreal, Nov. 7, 1835, are translated by the New York Diary.

(No. 13.)

Province of Lower Canada,
District of Montreal.

Before me, W. Robertson, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the district of Montreal, appeared Catharine Conners, of Montreal, a servant in the hotel of Mr. Goodenough, in the city of Montreal. She having made oath on the Holy Evangelists, to say the truth and nothing but the truth, declared and said what follows:

Towards the 19th of August last, two men and a woman came to the *Exchange Coffee House;* their names were written in the book, one by the name of Judge Turner, and the other as Mr. Hoyte; the name of the woman was not written in the book in which the

names of travellers are written, because I was informed that they were taking a single room with two beds. Some time after another room was given them for their accommodation; the woman passed for the wife of Mr. Hoyte.

The day following, when I was making the bed, I found the woman in tears; having made the remark to her that her child was a very young traveller, she replied that she had not the power to dispense with the journey, for they travelled on business of importance; she also said that she had never had a day of happiness since she left Montreal, which was four years, with Mr. Hoyte; she expressed a wish to go and see her father. She entreated me to try and procure secretly clothes for her, for Mr. Hoyte wished to dine with her in his own room, in which he was then taking care of the child. I gave her my shawl and bonnet, and conducted her secretly out by the street St. Pierre; she never returned, and left the child in the hands of Mr. Hoyte. She said that her *husband* was a Methodist preacher, and agent to the Sunday schools for Montreal, in which he had resided four months last winter; but she not then been with him. When I returned to the room, Mr. Hoyte was still taking care of the child; he asked me if I had seen *his lady;* I said no. Upon this question he told me that the father of *his lady* was dead, that her mother yet lived in the suburbs of Quebec, and he asked me for all the clothes which I had given to wash for him, *his lady* and child—clothes the *lady* had taken from the only portmanteau which they had. Beyond that, I perceived nothing remarkable, except that Mr. Hoyte wished to conceal this woman, and to prevent her from going out. I heard the judge say to him, "Now she is yours." Sworn before me, the 2d of November, 1835.

(Signed) W. Robertson.

Mary M'Caffrey, also a chambermaid in the hotel of Mr. Goodenough, corroborates the preceding deposition.

(Signed) W. Robertson.

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(No. 14.)

Province of Lower Canada, }
District of Montreal. }

Before me, W. Robertson, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, for the district of Montreal, appeared Henry M'Donald, physician, who, after taking an oath on the Holy Evangelists to say the truth, declared that in the month of August last, at seven o'clock in the evening, a young woman called at his house with all the symptoms of an extraordinary agitation and in great distress. She asked his professional advice, complaining of great pains in the breast. On questioning her, learned that she had a young child, which she said was at Mr. Goodenough's, and that this child was taken away from her. She said that the father of the child was a Methodist minister, and general agent of the Sunday schools. She told me his name, but I cannot recollect it. She told me that now and then her intellectual faculties were weakened in such a manner that she could not support herself. She told me that she would be under great obligation to me, if I would go to her mother's house, and get her child, and procure lodgings for her; that she was without means and did not know where to go. She could not remain with her mother, because she felt that her conduct had disgraced her family. I went in quest of Mrs. Monk, her mother: she had just come in quest of her daughter, and they went away together from my house.

(Signed) Henry M'Donald.

Sworn before me the 2d November, 1835.

(Signed) W. Robertson.

The editor of the New York Diary says:—We have in our possession many other affidavits, but think them useless to be published. The proofs of the infamous conduct of Mr. Hoyte, are more than sufficient, and the silence of the calumniators amply proves what disgrace overwhelms them.

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(No. 15.)

To the Editor of the Morning Courier.

Sir:—Among the affidavits published in your paper of to-day, relating to Mr. Hoyte and Maria Monk, I observed a deposition by Mr. Goodenough,* that when Mr. Hoyte, in the month of August last, put up at the Exchange Coffee-House, he was entered as *a Methodist preacher, and agent or superintendent of Sunday schools, &c.* It has, however, been ascertained, from an examination of the book referred to, that no official designation is appended in it to Mr. Hoyte's name. This discrepancy, Mr. Goodenough states, took place entirely through mistake, and he did not know that Mr. Hoyte was thus characterized in his affidavit till he saw it in print. But as a similar mistake has found its way into several of the depositions which have been elicited by this unhappy affair. I deem it incumbent upon me, as a regularly appointed Methodist minister of this city, to declare that Mr. Hoyte has never had any

* No. 11, D.

connexion with the Methodist society, either as a preacher or as an agent for Sunday schools; and I would at the same time express my surprise and regret, that the *New York Protestant Vindicator* should have taken up, and industriously circulated charges of so grave a nature against the priests and nuns of this city, derived from so polluted a source. From such a species of *vindication* no cause can receive either honour or credit. In giving this publicity, you will confer a favour on yours, respectfully,

MATTHEW RICHEY,
Wesleyan Minister.

Montreal, November 16, 1835.

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(No. 16.)

To the Editor of the Morning Courier.

SIR:—A respectable citizen of this city, connected with the American Presbyterian Society, informed me, a few days since, that Mr. Hoyte, who figured so largely in the papers of late, had been connected with some charitable society in this city, to distribute Bibles and tracts in the eastern townships; but that his accounts have proved so unsatisfactory, that he had been removed from the situation. Now, why do not those persons, who are acquainted with Mr. Hoyte's character, come forward and expose him publicly?

A.

Montreal, Nov. 17.

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(No. 17.)

To the Editor of the Morning Courier.

SIR:—Observing in your paper of yesterday a communication ascribing silence to certain persons acquainted with the character of Mr. W. K. Hoyte, who has lately figured so largely in the various prints of this city, and asking why they do not "publicly expose" that individual?

In reply, it is sufficient to say, that such has already been done, where alone it was deemed *requisite*, (*i. e.* in the United States,) as will appear by reference to a report dated in April last, and which appeared in the "New York Evangelist," with a request that it would "be copied into the 'Boston Recorder' and 'Vermont Chronicle.'" Your insertion of this note, will oblige, respectfully yours,

VERITAS.

Montreal, November 19, 1835.

The Montreal Gazette says:

"In reference to the above, we deem it necessary to quote only the concluding paragraph of the reply alluded to, and which is as follows:

[E.]

From the New York Evangelist of April last.

"Before dismissing the subject, the committee cannot but express their deep regret that Mr. Hoyte has not complied with their wishes, as to the management and disposal of the books committed to their charge, nor to their repeated solicitations to keep his accounts in a clear and accurate manner. His conduct in this respect being anything but satisfactory, they wish further to intimate to their friends in the United States, that the gentleman alluded to is no longer their agent, or in any way acting under their responsibility.

THOMAS M'LAREND,
A. F. MARSHALL,
HENRY LYMAN,
} Committee."

Hoyte himself acknowledges, in the subjoined communication in the "New York Evangelist," that he had ceased to be connected with the Presbyterian Sabbath School Society.

[F.]

"MR. LEAVITT:—The publication of an article in the last 'Evangelist' by a committee, styling themselves the 'Committee of the American Presbyterian Sabbath School Society of Montreal,' makes it proper for me to say, that my connexion with that society ceased in November last, at the expiration of my term of agreement. Their report shows how much had been done up to that time. Since then I have been lecturing as an agent for a society at Montreal, recognised as the Montreal Free Church Sunday School Society, as may be seen by a copy of the commission here subjoined.

"Respecting the grounds of dissatisfaction between myself and the former association, something may be said hereafter, should circumstances seem to require it.

"W. K. HOYTE,
S. S. Agent."

The Gazette adds:

"It is the source of much gratification to us, to notice the very general refutation given by the press of Lower Canada, to the base and slanderous imputations recently cast upon the Roman Catholic clergy and nuns of this province, by the 'New York Protestant Vindicator.' Every paper, Protestant and Catholic, in Quebec and Montreal, has expressed its sentiments upon the subject, has borne its testimony to the un-

sullied reputation of those who have been so shamefully misrepresented, and has scouted the falsehoods propagated by a bigoted and fanatical writer. The papers in the eastern townships have not expressed their opinions upon the subject, but we feel convinced that they will not hesitate to assist their brethren in the cities, in giving an unanimous contradiction from the press of Lower Canada, to charges as false as they are malicious."

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(No. 18.)

To the Editor of the Montreal Gazette.

SIR:—It is with feelings of no ordinary nature that I at present address you on a subject which, although I endeavour to avoid at all times as much as may be, yet at the present moment I consider that it would be a dereliction of duty in me, towards you and your liberal contemporaries, if I neglected the present opportunity of returning thanks for the noble and generous manner in which you have vindicated the aspersed character of the Catholic priesthood of this city. It is truly gratifying to witness the handsome manner in which the Protestant press of Lower Canada has come forward voluntarily to maintain the good name of their fellow-citizens of a different creed, who, from their peculiar avocations, are in a manner prevented from doing so themselves. At the same time, I cannot but think the Catholic journals of this city are somewhat wanting in common courtesy to their contemporaries, in not sufficiently appreciating or acknowledging this generous conduct. Surely, on such an occasion as the present, they will not allow themselves to be biassed by party spirit or political rancour, but candidly and freely tender their thanks for the very liberal aid received from their Protestant friends. Among other facts which this *eclaircissement* has brought to light, not the least important is that which proves, beyond a doubt, the falsehood so often repeated by the *Minerve* and Papineau party, "that the hostility of the Scotch to the Canadian laws, &c., has its origin in a difference of religious feeling." To this unfounded assertion, the British, and more particularly the *Scotch press*, has given a most decided negative in its present liberal and honourable course.

A SCOTCH CATHOLIC.

Montreal, Nov. 17, 1835.

To the "Scotch Catholic" whose letter appears in our present number, we would remark that the Protestant press of this city, in stepping forward to defend the reputation of the Catholic clergy from the most unwarrantable slanders, sought for no thanks, nor did they look for any reward for doing that which, as "good chroniclers," it was peculiarly their duty to perform. It was the cause of justice and of truth, while at the same time the evidence of Protestants against the calumnies circulated by a Protestant writer possessed greater weight, probably, than any proceeding from those who professed the creed of the party attacked.

We thank, however, our correspondent, for the hint contained in the latter part of his note. The universal condemnation, by all the British journals in the province, of the articles which have appeared in the New York paper, goes fully to contradict the wilful assertion of the *clique* writers, that religious feeling has an influence upon the opinions formed by the British inhabitants of the province, in opposition to those entertained in the Assembly.

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(No. 19.)

From the Quebec Gazette.

We have received from New York a copy of *Awful Disclosures by Maria Monk*. The friend who sent it asks us only one question—"Is it possible that what is said here is true?" He is well informed, and has lived in Canada, yet he doubts. What will it be with those who know nothing of Canada, who are ignorant and prejudiced? Yet there is no one in Canada, who is capable of judging at all, that will not say everything is false, from the beginning to the end of the book; that the unfortunate and desperate woman, who has been the prey of licentious and avaricious men, is wholly mad; and that her mother has sworn that she never was in the convent, notwithstanding the fanatics who exposed Maria Monk in Montreal offered the mother bribes to swear that the daughter was there. Such is one of the effects of a *free press*. In the United States, a legislature has refused to remunerate the outrage and total destruction, by a riotous mob, of the property of helpless nuns, whose industry and virtues had amassed a fortune of 80,000 dollars, and which they still devoted to the education and accomplishment of their sex. Such is one of the effects of a *free government*. That legislature represents an educated people. Such is one of the effects of the *education of the day*. And will any one in his mind say that common sense and reason have been bettered by the progress?—that poor human nature is not weak, and always a prey to one deception, if not to another? The Jew who in England had personified a Turkish bashaw, and was asked his reason before being imprisoned,

well answered, "Thish ish humbug, dat ish humbug, and all ish humbug!"

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(No. 20.)

From the Montreal Gazette.

We are happy to perceive that the respectable journals in New York are exposing the true character of Miss Maria Monk's "Awful Disclosures." We would particularly direct attention to the liberal remarks of the *Evening Star*, which is conducted by a gentleman professing the Jewish faith.

As there appears to be some quarrelling about the profits and the paternity of this narrative, we may reasonably expect soon to have the whole history of its concoction brought before the public.

We have read the first six chapters, and can safely say, of our own knowledge, that falsehood is stamped in almost every line.

We beg leave to repeat to our New York contemporaries this striking fact in reference to Maria Monk. Her mother, a respectable and religious woman of this city, has sworn to her daughter's occasional insanity, and to her never having been an inmate of the HOTEL DIEU nunnery. When the charges brought against the ROMAN CATHOLIC priests and nuns first appeared in the *Protestant Vindicator*, they were condemned in the strongest terms by the whole Protestant press of Lower Canada.

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(No. 21.)

From the New York Courier.

AWFUL DISCLOSURES BY MARIA MONK.—A book under this title has just been published by Howe & Bates, 68 Chatham Street. We hasten to caution the public against purchasing it, as it is one tissue of lies from beginning to end. A second moon story. A set of fellows have lately found their way to this city, who seize upon every subject to which public curiosity is alive, and make it the foundation of some fictitious tale. Reprehensible as this is in every case, it is particularly so when the effect is to destroy the character of ministers of religion. We think the Roman Catholic priests whose names are mentioned in this work, owe it to society to prosecute the publishers of these "awful disclosures."

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(No. 22.)

From the New York Evening Star.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING STAR.

January 19, 1836.

SIR:—In your notice of a work published by us, entitled "Awful Disclosures, by Maria Monk," we think your assertions that the book is a "catchpenny," and "that the sale was the main object of its publication," are unkind, and calculated to injure us in our business. We assure you that if we had not fully believed the book to be true, and that it would do good by being generally read, we should not have published it.

We beg to enclose for your inspection the oath of Miss Monk to the truth of the book in all its details, which, after examination, please return by the bearer.

Very respectfully, your ob't servants,

HOWE & BATES.

[G.]

(Copy.)

City and County of New York, ss.

Maria Monk, being duly sworn, doth depose and say that the statements contained in the book entitled "Awful Disclosures," are true, and further saith not.

MARIA MONK.

Sworn, the 9th day of January, 1836, before me.

S. WARFORD, Comm'r of Deeds.

REMARKS.—That the publishers of a work should declare that they would not have printed and circulated the same, unless they believed it to be true, is really a singular fact in the annals of printing. Had they said, we would not have published the book, unless we imagined it would sell, they would have been generally believed.

Messrs. Howe & Bates must not be alarmed at the prospect of being injured in their business; Maria Monk's book will sell well; it has all the ingredients to feed a morbid appetite for horrors; but we have no belief in its truth, although the lady swears to it. What, in the city of Montreal, a large, respectable, and commercial city, under the British government—a city where the laws are respected, to have murders of nuns, infanticides, and the most gross debaucheries, under the cloak of religion, carried on with impunity! It is not to be believed.

We regret to see revived in this enlightened age, the old and exploded charges against Popery, and the uniform attacks made by one branch of Christians against another—of Protestants against Catholics: and, above all, the constant stream of calumny directed against Catholic institutions.

We cannot perceive that the Catholics, in return, assail the Protestants and Presbyterians: we do not hear of their attempts to convert them to Popery. While we can

separate the political from the ecclesiastical power of the Catholic Church, we see no danger in the religion; on the contrary, it is an excellent religion for a vast number of its followers—and particularly in this country we have no right to do anything to bring it into disrepute. The religion that such men as Leo X., Gregory IX., and Pius professed, among other illustrious names, does not merit this wholesale calumny and sweeping denunciation.

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(No. 23.)

From the New York Times.

MARIA MONK'S BOOK.— We are late in noticing this detestable publication, this tissue of abominable lies, this vile appliance to the lowest tastes, the most gross ignorance, and the most blind superstition of the day. There are subjects too loathsome to be touched, and this is one of them. The book to which we refer is a tissue of palpable lies, a vile fabrication from beginning to end. It is, besides, an attack, gross and uncharitable, on a sect of professing Christians, with whom we may perhaps differ on certain points, but who in a land where freedom of conscience is a birthright, are not to be persecuted with impunity. Fortunately for the intelligence of our citizens, and for the manliness of the American press, this detestable attack on a worthy sect of Christians has been properly appreciated. An eastern paper states that this work is a translation of an old canting book, called "The Gates of Hell Opened, or a Development of the Secrets of Nunneries." Who were the miserable instigators, or what is the character of the miserable victim of their rascality, we know not. In Canada, where the scene of this fiction is laid, and where the character of the Catholics is fully known, the book is regarded with loathing by all intelligent people of all sects. But enough of this. Publishers have been found—base or weak enough—to give to the world a book false on its very face, calculated and intended for mischief, and assailing a sect which has borne the bitterest revilings without a murmur. We are glad to be able to state that the good sense, good taste, and the manly and liberal feeling of the public, has revolted at this infamous attempt. There is a point beyond which even persecution dare not go, and the publication of "Maria Monk" will aid the very sect which it sought to destroy.

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(No. 24.)

From the Boston Pilot, Feb. 20.

MARIA MONK'S AWFUL DISCLOSURES.

The publishers of this humbug have offered us a reward of *one hundred dollars* to produce the book to which we alluded. a few weeks since, as containing the articles which we had then seen in the public prints. We will briefly give an account of our knowledge of the business, in the hope that it may lead to the recovery of the work in question. Some time in 1825 or 1826, we were in the bookstore of Captain John Gilley, in State Street, Marblehead, whither we were frequently in the habit of resorting; and, on looking over his library, the book we have spoken of met our eye. We eagerly perused it, it being full of all manner of horrible developments of Papal iniquity, and at so [early] an age the impression of its contents was remarkably vivid and durable. Either at that time, or very shortly after, we purchased the book (which was much worn, having an inferior skin binding), either of Captain Gilley, at private sale, or at one of his frequent auctions, for a trifling sum. Upon reading the first two extracts from Maria Monk, which appeared in the papers, viz., her conversation with the Lady Superior, and the account of strangling the nun, we immediately exclaimed to our wife that we were in possession of an old book containing the same identical stories, and immediately rummaged our little stock of books to find it—not recollecting, at the moment, that we had lent it some years since. This presently occurred to our mind, and we accordingly indited the declaration in the Pilot of that date. These are the simple facts of the case. Now we offer a reward of fifty dollars to the person to whom it was loaned, if he or she will return it forthwith; and would offer the whole hundred we are promised by the publishers, were it not that we think we deserve a fair share of the premium; and if a man can make fifty dollars by borrowing a book and not returning it, he can have no reason to grumble. We conclude with a very quiet suggestion to a portion of the inhabitants of that venerable and respectable town, where they gave us *toil* enough, in all conscience, day and night, for years, though we caught little or "no fish:" that if those who are *able* will follow the example of some of their neighbours, and *pay* us their bills, some of which have been standing five years—and if others will return four-fifths of the books belonging to us, now in their possession, to say nothing of surgical instruments and other trifles, our purse will be

heavier by a number of hundreds—our library will be augmented by the addition of two hundred volumes, our own debts will be paid, we will give them receipts, ask no questions, and bid them go in peace, at the same time assuring them that we could not possibly have meant the last paragraph as a *hint* at all. J. S. B.

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(No. 25.)

From the N. Y. Courier and Enquirer, Feb. 6.

"AWFUL DISCLOSURES OF MARIA MONK."

Although fully aware that any further notice of this disgraceful work—disgraceful to the wicked woman who has lent her name, and doubly disgraceful to those who prompted her—will only serve to excite public curiosity, still we cannot refrain from performing a solemn duty in pointing out the atrocity of its details, and the still greater atrocity of the motives which undoubtedly prompted its publication. The first glimpse we had of it was sufficient to convince us of its being a most wilful and malicious libel; and in this decision we are fully borne out by the following statement made in the columns of a French paper published in Montreal, called *L'Ami du Peuple*.

(This statement here alluded to was given in our last, marked No. 9.)

Even if the details of this infamous production had been true, their offensive and disgusting character should have prevented any one who respected public decency, or had the least regard to the morals of society, from placing them before the world. They are eminently calculated to debauch the imagination of youth, and bring religion itself into contempt; for it is high time for sectarian zealots to begin to comprehend that the reproach of one denomination of Christians more or less extends to all. United as they are under one great head, deriving their doctrines and principles from the same common source, and partaking in the same common nature, they may rest assured that they cannot diminish our respect for one class of preachers or believers, without detracting from the divinity of religion itself.

Further than this. When mankind see the professors of religion, whose divine Author most especially inculcates peace and good will to all mankind, disregarding that great precept which embodies all our worldly duties, forgetting the example of the Saviour, sowing the seeds of bitter malignant prejudice in the bosom of mankind, and resorting not only to reproaches, but downright calumnies; when they every day, nay, every hour see this, what must be the conclusion they will draw from such unseemly exhibitions of the worst passions of our nature? Will they not say in their hearts, that the ministers of the Gospel of peace have departed from the example of their divine master, and instead of preaching peace and good will to all mankind, are become little better than foxes with firebrands at their tails, let loose in the harvest field to destroy the labours of the righteous husbandman?

To read the different periodicals, dedicated to the propagation of various creeds, and coming forth as the oracles and expounders of the true faith, one would be led to believe, if we believe them at all, that there is not one of them which does not abound in the most pernicious errors, not to say downright blasphemies. If we were to read them all, and believe them all, we should be inevitably brought to the conclusion that there is no true religion in the world. Instead of arguing those sublime questions which originate in different interpretations of the Scripture, with the temper, the dignity, the devotion, the modesty, becoming the subject, and their own imperfect comprehension, we see, with here and there an honourable exception, nothing but arrogant assertion, contemptuous sneers, unmitigated reproach, and infuriated zeal, foaming at the mouth, and grinning defiance. The doctrines of one denomination of Christians, comprehending hundreds of millions of human beings, in the most enlightened nations of the world, are denounced as "a stupendous system of imposition and mendacity." "Forgeries and legends constitute the sole weapons which they can wield in defence of their idolatrous community." "Multitudinous, loathsome, and desolating as the Egyptian frogs, lice, flies, and locusts; and blinding, cheerless, and terrific as the darkness which was felt, are the innumerable narratives of the great lying wonders by which the beast deceiveth those who dwell on the earth." The same church is styled, in a publication pretending to advocate and enforce the Gospel of peace, "The mother of harlots," "The abomination of desolation;" its places of worship stigmatized as "idolatrous mass houses," "houses of death," and its clergy "Babylonish priests," "liars," "jugglers," and "sons of imposture."

And this is called defending the true faith, propagating the Gospel of peace! In disseminating the word of God, they break the most solemn commandments; in propaga-

ting that faith whose basis is peace with all mankind, they make war on their fellow-creatures, because believing in the same Saviour, worshipping the same God! And in pretending to vindicate their own belief, they pour a black stream of unmitigated obloquy, on the belief of the rest of the world. Is this the way to make men love one another? Is this the way to bring about the millennium, when the lion shall lay down with the lamb? A miracle we fear will happen long before the different sects of Christians, worshipping one God and one Saviour, lie down in peace together. The natural antipathies of beasts will become reconciled, we apprehend, long ere those of the church militant divines of the present age shall learn to respect the opinions of each other, and refrain from a war of tongues unworthy the toothless viragoes. They are filling the world with gall and bitterness, exciting the ignorant to the most malignant fanaticism, and disgusting the more enlightened by their ferocious, unrelenting, persecuting zeal, or hypocrisy—it is difficult to say which. The cool malignity of the latter often disguises itself behind the fiery impetuosity of the other, and cunning not unfrequently assumes the mask of madness, in order to escape the consequences of its excesses. Is it to be wondered at, that in the midst of these exterminating religious wars of the pen, in which all Christian precepts are violated, and all Christian duties despised, we see so many pious rogues and bigots without religion? Is it to be wondered at that a faith exemplified by such a course of uncharitable and unchristian dissensions, has produced thousands of neutrals and as many thousands of enemies? Assuredly not. The Christian religion is one. It has the same God, the same Saviour, the same book of faith, and we maintain it to be utterly impossible to bring one denomination of believers into contempt without reaching every other. The temple of God has many pillars, and if one be weakened by violence, or undermined by cunning, the whole edifice will only the more easily be shaken to the ground.

While on this topic, it would be unjust in us, not to exonerate one ancient and respectable church from our general censure. We have never seen in any of the organs of our own Episcopal Church, the least indication of this violence, this uncompromising bigotry. Zealous without persecution, earnest without anger, and pious without fanaticism, it pursues a sober, rational, dignified course, serene amidst this war of reproaches and defiance. Its venerable bishop—venerable, not so much for his years, as his mildness, his courtesy, his learning, and his amiable piety, encourages no breaches of the commandments of God, under pretence of propagating his religion. The young candidates for ordination, we understand, are asked by him, preliminary to their being licensed—"Will you maintain, and set forward as much as shall lie in you, quietness, love, and peace among all Christian people?" And the answer is, "I will do so, the Lord being my helper." Long may the excellent bishop live to ask the question, and long may his clergy live to keep their promise.

As one of the most refreshing specimens of that mild and Christian spirit of toleration, which is characteristic of this venerable church, we would call the public attention to a sermon delivered at St. John's Church, Brooklyn, on Thanksgiving day, by Evan M. Johnson, Rector. In these times of unchristian strife and clerical warfare, it cannot be read by too many Christians of all denominations. It is worthy of a pious minister of the Gospel of peace; worthy of a ripe scholar, and eloquent divine. It is eminently calculated to assuage the furious zeal, and cool the fiery bigotry of those who believe, or strive to make others believe, that there is but one solitary path to heaven, and they the only sure guides. Had we room, we would make copious extracts from this excellent discourse; as it is, we can only ask forgiveness of the reverend and worthy pastor, for having thus unpremeditatedly introduced his name and his work in the same article with one so totally unworthy the association.

With respect to the "awful disclosures" of Maria Monk, we have nothing further to say, except to enjoin it on all those whose names are coupled with such infamous, such unheard-of enormities, forthwith to commence prosecutions against the author and publishers, as the best mode of vindicating their own fame and the purity of the religion they profess. It is high time to show these pious incendiaries, that calumny can no longer be disseminated under the mask of pious zeal, nor whole communities libelled under the pretence of propagating the true faith. We most ardently hope the bishop and clergy of Montreal will at once appeal to the justice of the state of New York, and bring these offenders against personal character, as well as public decorum, to a severe reckoning. We shall then see whether New York tolerates libels with the same docility that Boston does violence against a particular denomination of Christians.

AWFUL DISCLOSURES.

Never, we believe, was there a more appropriate title to the description of a conspiracy than is the above, which has been so well chosen by the calumniators of the priests and nuns of Montreal. The series of documents which we continue to publish, unfortunately, discloses more of the awful turpitude of that bad party spirit which enwraps itself in the mantle of zeal and assumes the name of religion, than is ordinarily exhibited to public view. Would that we could flatter ourselves in the hope that such malignity is of rare occurrence. That is, however, impossible; our own observations, our own experience, our own memory too strongly testify to the contrary. We write not of transactions fifty or of one hundred years ago; we do not look across the Atlantic, we confine our view to our own Union, we keep within the limits of half a dozen years. We could not, if we would, hide from our fellow-citizens, from our neighbours, from the nations of Europe, the doings of the Boston mob, the mockery of justice in the courts of Massachusetts, the character of the legislature of that state; we cannot obliterate the dark stain of calumny from not only the publications in Pittsburg, but from their religious cotemporaries who so eagerly caught and blazoned the falsehood; we cannot, if we desired it, cover the abominable mass of moral pestilence engendered at New York, and spreading its poisonous infection to the remotest quarters of our country; we cannot destroy the recollections of those who in Baltimore have heard the grossest crimes charged upon the most inoffensive persons; neither can we destroy the pages which will convey the foul libels to after times as they have already borne them to distant regions. The Beechers, the Breckenridges, the Brownlees, and others of this description have not been idle.

The spots which we have indicated are but sparse exemplifications of the assertion that we make, of the prevalence of a spirit which is as opposed to Christian justice and to Christian charity, as it is degrading to the society which encourages or tolerates its exhibition. If we have named individuals it is not because we have any private feeling of unkindness towards them, for we know them not, we are not aware of having ever seen either of them, nor are we desirous of beholding them; it is not because they differ from us in religion, for very many of our dearest and kindest friends dissent as extensively from our faith as these men do; but it is because in their name and under their auspices, and in many instances by themselves, those unfounded statements have been publicly made, which were calculated to destroy, if they should be credited, the existence of our religion and of ourselves in these republics.

This bad spirit is as destructive of civil and religious liberty as it is at variance with Christianity itself. For should the fanatical host be this year successful against Catholics, no one could suppose it would rest content with their ruin; the Unitarian, the Universalist, the Episcopalian, the Lutheran, the Quaker, and others would successively be immolated by this self-constituted priesthood of intolerance at the shrine of its idol. And who could imagine that they who have already sought to dictate to Congress the mode in which the Sabbath should be observed, would, when in the very flush of victory, betray that cause of the Lord for which so much had been endured, for which so much had been achieved? If our liberties are in danger, our fellow-citizens will discover that we have more formidable antagonists to contend against than are the Pope and Prince Metternich.

We must take this up in our next.

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(No. 26.)

From the Churchman, N. Y. Feb. 13.

TOLERATION—COURIER AND ENQUIRER—MARIA MONK—CATHOLIC HERALD, ETC.

We promised last week to offer some further remarks on the sentiments which ought to be cherished in reference to the Roman Catholics, and we intended to redeem our pledge by the republication, with a running comment of our own, of a part of a sermon which is little known, but which is by far the best that we have ever seen on the subject; and is admirably adapted, at the present time, to calm the exasperation of the public mind. Since then, however, we have seen the letter of Bishop Kenrick, and have preferred to introduce this to our readers before it had lost its novelty, and reserve the other topic another week. Meantime, as bearing on the same point, we transfer to our columns part of an excellent article from the Courier and Enquirer of Saturday last, called forth by the "Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk." And as we have mentioned this book, we will give it a word in passing. We were duly favoured with a copy of it, and from the first glance

which we gave it, resolved not to acknowledge the receipt of it, nor in any way to bestow on it the slightest notice. And we still think this would have been the proper course for the press, both religious and secular, to pursue. The thing is too utterly contemptible to receive a moment's attention,—and to notice it, even in the way of censure, is to yield it more honour than it deserves, and to promote the designs of the publishers, by giving it a currency which, if unnoticed, it could never obtain. The little which we have read in the book inclines us to believe that it is, from beginning to end, a tissue of deliberate falsehood, at least in reference to the nunneries in Canada.* That nunneries have, at different times and places, been the theatres of licentiousness—that they are liable to the abuses which are charged upon them—and that the nature and tendency of monastic institutions are bad, we have not a doubt. The great abuses which resulted from them before the Reformation, and which have been since, at different times, brought to light in the old countries, are known to every reader of history. The disclosures effected by the labours of the indefatigable De Ricci alone were enough, one would think, to have shaken the faith of their most bigoted advocates, and led to their suppression for ever. We are, therefore, authorized by a knowledge of human nature, and by the experience of the past, to discourage such institutions, and regard them with suspicion.† Still, it ought to be remembered that the abuses which have grown out of them are *abuses*, and nothing more; and to suppose that the institutions are expressly organized and conducted with a view to the perpetration of covert licentiousness and crime, is a violation not more of charity than of common sense. Some writer on the evidences of Christianity has said that evil cannot be abused, but that whatever is abused must be good; and hence, he argues, religion, being the best thing in the world, is naturally the most abused. Without stopping to examine this aphorism, which the reader may ponder at his leisure, we have no hesitation in saying that monastic institutions originate in pure intentions, and have been productive of good. We do not advocate the kind of piety which gives birth to them; it is ascetic and anti-social, and such as the benign Founder of our faith never intended to inspire; nevertheless it is piety still, and they who cherish it are Christians, and, though misguided, their intentions are pure, and they aim to do good The rage for monastic life in England a thousand or twelve hundred years ago, was something like the rage for religious revivals which has recently scathed the United States,—a manifestation of the religious spirit, partaking of the character of the age and people among whom it prevailed. "In the year 731," says the venerable Bede, "peace being established in the kingdom of Northumberland, both the nobility and the common people, laying aside the exercise of their arms, betook themselves to monasteries, and persuaded their children to accept the ecclesiastic tonsure and retire thither too. But whither this will tend," he adds, "time must show." And Mr. Cressy, who says some truth under a load of fable, tells of we know not how many illustrious ladies of noble and royal blood who took the veil at this memorable time. Now, we know that both our Roman Catholic and Protestant brethren will be alike horror-struck at the avowal,—but we speak with all seriousness when we say that we regard this as a great "revival of religion." The people were inflamed by the most zealous preachers of their age, and instigated to renounce the world and devote themselves to God. And they did so under the influence of sincere, and heated, and misguided piety. Time, said the historian, will show the result; and it was not long in appearing for, at a later period, the same venerable; authority declares, "For thirty years past our country hath been infatuated with this mad error." "There are many," he says in his letter to Egbert, Bishop of York, recommending the reduction of monasteries, "and very great foundations of this kind, which, as is commonly said, are neither profitable to God nor man." We will not follow the venerable saint in the abuses which he depicts, but be content to say that they were such as, when they had reached a more aggravated and intolerable pitch, compelled the English Church to rise, assert the original right which she had as a Catholic Church, before the monk Augustine came to her shores, shake off the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, and tear up, root and branch, (and may they never again be

* We throw in this clause, because the book is said to be a translation, with merely a change of expression, of a Spanish book, descriptive of some old nunneries in Portugal; in which case it may be substantially true.

† [For a vindication of monastic piety see "Essay on Penance and Austerities," in Part I., "Discourse on Habiting an Ursuline Nun," in Part IV., "Life of Nicholas Ferrar," "British Critic," and "British Magazine," passim, and the writings of the Tractarian school in the English Church generally.]

planted!) institutions which, once pure and of high repute, had degenerated into dens of laziness and dissoluteness. But with all their abuses, who can deny that monasteries were meant for good, and that they did good? Every one knows that they were the retreats of contemplative piety—which ought to have been actively engaged; the prisons of learning—which, in this blessed age, is most thoroughly emancipated! and the asylums of poverty and wretchedness—the best that the times afforded. Let the boisterous maligners of convents and nunneries remember that the spirit in which they originated was a misdirected, indeed, but yet a religious spirit; and that on the same principle on which, for their abuses, the Protestant denounces them with wholesale maledictions, the Romanist may in turn represent the most extensive revivals of religion in modern times, in consequence of their abuses, to be the offspring of Satan. We know that Protestants and Romanists both may be found who deal in such sweeping censures; but we envy neither the philosophy nor religion of the one or the other. But while the bigots of both sides are dinning the world with their blasts, the calm Christian observer may be permitted to think that the religious institutions of all Christian denominations are meant for direct good, though, inasmuch as they are conducted by human beings, they are always productive of incidental evil. Instructed by the experience of the past, and a knowledge of human nature, we may safely say that monastic institutions are greatly in danger of evil; but it is not safe, nor reasonable, nor Christian, to impeach, in a general way, the sincerity of their inmates and managers. In this, as in other features of their system, Roman Catholics have been more guarded since the Reformation than before; and have done far better in countries where they are stimulated by Protestant vigilance, than where they themselves form an entire population. No impartial person can deny that there are at least some orders of nuns in the old countries, among whom those may be found whose holy and devoted lives put the effeminate piety of many luxurious Protestants to the blush. For our own part we gratefully acknowledge their piety—allied though it be to fanaticism—and their good works, wherever they are found, and appeal to them as the trophies of our Christianity. Of the nunneries in Canada, in particular, we know but little; but we have seen the most respectable journals in Montreal denounce with unbounded indignation statements credited to that vile print, the Protestant Vindicator, and bear high and united attestation to the purity of those who were assailed. On this evidence, the best we can obtain, we must rest; and though we should be quite ready to believe in any well-attested abuses, yet to believe that institutions which have the confidence of many of the first citizens of the British provinces, are already a match for the most obscure and infamous monasteries of Spain, Portugal, or Italy,—and that, too, on the authority of Maria Monk,—is what we are not likely to do until, to borrow the metaphor of a cotemporary, we are blessed "with the ostrich stomach of a Romish faith."

But Maria Monk has carried us off in a tangent, and we must now go back to the Courier and Enquirer, begging pardon for putting his name in such company, and acknowledge the courtesy with which he alludes to the church of which we are an unworthy member, and to the bishop under whose paternal supervision it is our privilege to minister. We desire to merit his good opinion, and to have him make the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ the standard by which to form it. In what he says about religious newspapers we cordially concur; take them all in all—their old wives' tales, their vapourish religion, their inflammatory appeals, and their angry controversies—we are disposed to think them rather a curse than a blessing. * * *

We are sorry to be thought vituperative, but we must speak plainly. We have paid some attention to the subjects of idolatry and fanaticism, and we sincerely believe the Romish Church to be fairly chargeable with encouraging both on a large and systematic scale; and as to make such a declaration, is an honest expression of opinion, it ought not to be accounted "vituperation." We desire to regard Roman Catholics, nevertheless, as Christians, and as brethren, to treat them accordingly, and to give them all due credit for their good deeds and piety.

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(No. 27.)

From the Southern Religious Telegraph, edited by the Rev. A. Converse.

Richmond, Va., March 4th, 1836.

AWFUL DISCLOSURES OF MARIA MONK; NEW YORK; PUBLISHED BY HOWE AND BATES.—This book professed to narrate the sufferings of the author during a residence of five years as a novice, and two years as a nun, in the Hotel-Dieu Nunnery at Montreal. Its disclosures are *horrible*. It exhibits the nunnery as the abode of licentiousness, infer-

nal cruelty, and murder, as well as gross superstition. We know not whether its disclosures are well authenticated. If true, they may serve as a beacon to nominal Protestants who favour this form of superstition; but the publication of such scenes is not probably the best method to convert Papists. Sold by Yale & Wyatt.

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(No. 28.)

From the Columbia (S. C.) Telegraph, March 5.

SHAMEFUL.

The warfare of one sect of Christians upon another is certainly the plague and disgrace of a faith, in doctrine eminently peaceful and charitable—in point of precept, the fittest that the world has ever seen, to be called *the religion of good will*. That good will should be such as can embrace not merely the casual and light differences of opinion, between those holding the same common form of belief, but can lift itself into a charity, a beneficence, a mutual tolerance and kindness as broad, as warm, as enlightened, as universal, as the day itself, that shines as kindly upon the lowest worm as upon the proudest and mightiest of our own all-subduing race. Christianity, indeed, forsakes itself, abandons whatever is divinest, in its own peculiar spirit, when it turns the persecutor, the harasser, of those whom the order of Providence itself has, by the accidents of country, or birth, or education, placed under a different mode of belief. What, then, is to be said of that unhappy zeal which can turn Christian sects themselves into fierce and rancorous enemies, pursuing each other with a hate as causeless as it is vindictive?

With this species of debate we rarely interfere. It is not of our vocation. But we hold very simple ground in all this sort of controversy—the party, or person, or sect stirring dispute—he who plagues or attempts to injure another in a matter which concerns nobody but the individual himself and God—must be in the wrong. In our country this is the great general rule which should be enforced against all who disturb the rest of the world with the vehemence of their own private opinions.

For this reason, we have once before, in the simple discharge of our duty as conservators of public right, felt ourselves bound to raise our voices against the systematic efforts which have been lately making to get up a popular alarm and crusade against the Catholics. That sect, let its character and organization be what it may in European countries, is here, as to public liberty and intelligence, *right*, the moment it is assailed by methods, the employment of which against others was, in its time of domination, its great reproach. If it is alleged yet to resort to such in countries where it has an unbridled ascendency, why, the whole matter is, that it does precisely what, in point of historical fact, all sects do as soon as they become strong enough. And for what is it, that we are to be induced to condemn the Catholics as persecutors—enemies of both civil and religious freedom? Truly for no other purpose than this: *that the hostile sects denouncing them may imitate precisely what they accuse!*

We need scarcely remind the public of the atrocious outrage committed last year in Boston, against an amiable, pious, and most charitable society of females, whose property, of about $80,000—the accumulated fruits of many years of harmless ingenuity and labour—was all destroyed in a single night—their very persons scarcely escaping. This revolting fact—the shame of Massachusetts, and a lasting stigma upon her laws—has been followed by no public redress nor compensation; and the helpless and ruined victims of bigot fury and credulity have been compelled to seek shelter in regions more liberal and humane.

Such could be the fruits, in this free country, of a religious libel. Without trial, without examination, without proof, upon the mere accusation of a single informant, of character entirely questionable, a community of defenceless women, gentle, unoffending, pious, benevolent, industrious, and useful, is beset by a furious mob; chased from the retreat in which charity and their own labour had sought to place them apart from the ruder scenes of life, and made, in a single night, beggars and vagrants.

But this terrible spirit of mutual persecution stops not at a single exploit of havoc. Inhumanity is not yet exhausted: a single convent only has yet been destroyed. If in Massachusetts Catholics have none of the privileges of citizens nor Christians, nor even sex, there are yet other states where a beastly rabble cannot, with impunity, plunder and sack their religious retreats. Up, then, O bigotry! It is time to be a doing. Pour fresh inventions into the ready ear of fanatic credulity. Whisper of chains, and racks, and dungeons under ground. Conjure up mysteries and horrors, such as the prolific brain of Mrs. Radcliffe could alone create; and heap them all upon the poor heads of a few unhappy nuns and friars, whose poverty, and self-sacrifice, and celibacy are the very last things to find imitators in America. Alarm the country for its

liberties. Carry us back, not only acros the ocean, but into a past century; and, in an age and among a people like ours, run us mad with the apprehension of *a Popish plot!*

Such is the object of a fresh religious forgery which has lately been brought out in the North, and is greedily swallowed there by the dupery of the hour. It is entitled "*Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk;*" and gives a shocking picture of the abandoned licentiousness of convents. And its monstrous tales will, no doubt, pass for ample evidence against a whole sect of Christians, although the witness herself would appear, upon her own testimony, to have [been] the habitual victim and partaker of the very crimes that she describes! She who is such strong evidence against herself, can be held no evidence against anybody else. The character of her book, however, may be judged from the following remarks on it taken from the New York Spectator—a pious, but liberal paper.

(Here follow the extracts which we have marked No. 23 and No. 19.)

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(No. 29.)

From the Charleston Observer, March 12.

MARIA MONK'S AWFUL DISCLOSURES.

Why do Roman Catholic papers print column upon column, and page upon page, to prove that this little book is a libel upon their faith—a slander upon their convents—and altogether unworthy of credit? Common sense dictates a summary way of silencing for ever the calumny, if, indeed, it be a calumny. If, upon the first appearance of the work, the Bishop of Quebec, or whatever be the title of the representative of the Church of Rome in the province of Lower Canada—or if the person in charge of the convent, respecting which these disclosures are made, had taken with him two or three gentlemen of character and integrity, and given them a fair opportunity of examining the whole establishment, cells, vaults, and all, their testimony in a few lines, if the book be not true, would have been amply sufficient to satisfy the public of the fact. But as the case now stands, the more they write to discredit the testimony of Miss Monk, the more fully will it be believed that it is no fiction.

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(No. 30.)

From the Philadelphia Catholic Herald, Feb. 25.

AWFUL DISCLOSURES.

The affidavits relative to the infamous book bearing the above title, which has lately issued from the New York press, have a better claim to be termed "awful disclosures" than the contemptible fabrication which they confute. Our readers are already aware that the leading journals of New York have expressed unqualified indignation and disgust at this last attempt to abuse public credulity and calumniate the sacred asylums of piety. Long since the Protestant editors at Montreal bore testimony to the purity of those whom the *reverend* editors of the "Protestant Vindicator," had so wantonly and wickedly maligned. To say one word in defence of injured innocence and outraged decency, is, surely, not necessary on our part, but we cannot abstain from remarking on the morbid appetite for calumny which such works as "Six Months in a Convent," and "Maria Monk," too clearly prove to exist. What, we would ask, is the reason that every tale of scandal is so speedily devoured by a Protestant public—provided the scene be laid in a convent, and the *dramatis personæ* be monks or nuns? To us it is manifest that it is the effect of error to increase that unhappy propensity of our nature, by which we more readily believe in the faults than the virtues of others. Ever since the days of the unhappy Henry VIII., when the alleged crimes of the inmates of religious houses—the ruins of which still remain to attest the creative power of Catholicity and the destructive spirit of the miscalled Reformation—formed the pretext for the plunder of a rapacious monarch and his greedy flatterers, what a mass of calumny has not been poured forth against all that was venerable in the past, or respectable in the present generations? The accursed spirit seems to have gathered strength from her past efforts, and at the end of three centuries, in an age of light, and in countries where intellect is supposed to have made its most gigantic strides, we find the same disposition on the part of most people, to credit every fiction which ascribes hypocrisy and depravity to thousands of their fellow-Christians. One can scarcely say whether the absurdity of these ill-concocted tales does not surpass their venomous malignity. Nor are they the productions of ignorance, which might be excused, but, in many cases, proceed from sources whence we might expect something of a different character. The Dublin University Magazine, published, as its name imports, by members of that body, some time since, assured its readers that the churches in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York, had dungeons prepared for the Protestants of these respective cities!!! We have no doubt but that the tale was piously believed

by many who glory in having emancipated themselves from the yoke of Popish credulity. But our wonder at the gullibility of our transatlantic friends ceases when we know that, in the metropolis of a neighbouring state, a vile fanatic had the audacity to tell the congregation he disgraces, or that portion of the public which reads his "*religious*" calumnies, that the cathedral of that city was erected over inquisitorial dungeons, and he seriously advised his deluded followers, that, in case of his disappearance, the vaults of the cathedral should be diligently searched.

The publishers of the profligate work which has occasioned these remarks have had the unparalleled audacity to declare that the tale cannot be disproved as false, until the *Hotel Dieu* at Montreal shall have been subjected to the examination of a Charlestown mob, we suppose. Tales of horror were circulated last summer, regarding St. Clare's Nunnery at Pittsburg, but the malignants, lay and clerical, having dared to implicate the character of respectable clergymen, were obliged, by the wholesome terrors of the law, to sign retractions, which were evidently more the result of fear than the evidence of good principle. Had it not been for a fortunate combination of circumstances that the story of Rebecca Reed, the disclosures of Maria Monk, and the dark insinuations of the "Christian Herald," were all triumphantly proved to be falsehoods, originating in the worst of motives, what a load of obloquy would not these vile productions have heaped on our institutions. And yet, so prepared is the public to believe every tale of wonder which will strengthen the prejudices already too strong, that were a new heroine to start up, and have discretion enough to confine her romance within the limits of probability, we are persuaded she would have numerous and devout believers. So fatally successful have been the ministers of error in instilling into the public mind a hatred of Catholic truth, and of those sacred retreats where, to use the language of a distinguished Protestant writer, "Those who are better than the world in their youth, or weary of it in their old age, find a secure asylum from its dangers."

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(No. 31.)

From the Pittsburg American Manufacturer.

THE AWFUL DISCLOSURES OF MARIA MONK.

A vile publication has appeared, bearing the above title. It purports to be an account by a female, of the manner of conducting the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal, Canada, which if true, would mark the nunnery as a place exceeding in wickedness the vilest brothel and house of prostitution in the land. The account contained in this book, concerning said nunnery, is, however, precisely for the stamp as the recent fabrications against the virtuous females of St. Clare Seminary, near this city, which fabrications originated with long-faced villains, pretending great sanctity of character. Some of them are now well known, and held by the public in the light they deserve, as the vilest of slanderers. The story of Maria Monk is, we say, precisely like those against the ladies of St. Clare, that is, utterly false. It appears that Maria Monk was an abandoned character, who, some time since, had an illegitimate child in an almshouse, the father of which she stated at the time of her accouchement, was a physician in Montreal. Her book is the work of some accomplished scoundrels, who doubtless have two objects in view—viz.: to traduce the Catholics and their religion, and to make money by imposing on public credulity. The principal parts of the book, it is said, are really translations from an old Spanish work against nunneries. Maria's book, however, is too execrable a thing to receive favour from any portion of respectable society, and it will therefore defeat the intention of its authors, as they will not reap from it, either money or fame.

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(No. 32.)

From the Winchester Republican.

SLANDER EXPOSED.

"But time is faithful to his trust,
Only await, thou pining dust,
And far o'er fancy's wildest flight,
Will fly the eagle's wings of RIGHT."

The truth is out at last with regard to the *pretended* disclosures of Maria Monk, a *pretended* nun of the Montreal convent, of whom our readers have heard. From the *affidavits* of her *own mother*, and several residents of Montreal, it seems that she is *no* Catholic—that she and her mother are Protestants, that she was never in the nunnery after her *eighth* year, previously to which, she received the rudiments of education, *gratuitously*, from the ladies of the convent—that she was *seduced* by a wretch professing to be a minister of the Gospel, a teacher of a Protestant Sunday school in Montreal, for whose individual crime the Protestants are, of course, in the eye of justice, not to be held responsible. There are bad men amongst all sects—*bad* Catholics and *bad*

Protestants, but to hold any sect responsible for the crimes of isolated professors of either, is neither sensible nor *Christian* conduct.

Unless we are much mistaken in our estimate of the American character, fanatics and hypocrites will ere long learn the *eternal truth* that *persecution builds up*, instead of *prostrating*, its victims.

Is it not strange, that in a land of freedom, fanatics should be found *daring enough* to outrage the *principles of human liberty* by systematic slander of any Christian sect, whether Catholic or Protestant?

We do not profess to be over-righteous, and in all humility, we are willing to admit that we are not as good as we ought to be —but against intolerance, slander, and falsehood, whether it come from Protestant or Catholic, we, as free citizens of a free country, will take our stand and maintain the cause of the unjustly aspersed and injured.

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(No. 33.)

From the Montreal Irish Advocate, March 8.

A pamphlet reached us yesterday, comprising twenty-four pages, and entitled, "A Review of the Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, in which the facts are represented as fairly stated and candidly examined," by G. Vale, 84 Rosevelt Street, New York.

It is a sickening subject,—one, perhaps, too puerile for further comment. The nunneries and the seminaries require no elucidation beyond their acknowledged utility and benevolence; and it is not possible for the most abandoned prostitute to lower them in public estimation. They stand triumphantly, and will stand eternally as the brightest models of Catholic charity. The "Review" will command a more extensive notice when we are less pressed by political contentions.

[H.]

To the Editor of the Irish Advocate.

Sir:—Miss Monk's adventures have lately been the subject of a nine days' wonder, and before they sink entirely into oblivion, I will relate a circumstance that happened about two years and a half ago. A young man walking out to the tannery was overtaken by a young woman near the Red Store. She inquired the way to the canal; the strange manner in which she spoke made him inquire what she was wanting there: she answered that she wanted to drown herself; he next inquired her name, she replied it was Monk. After some more conversation, he prevailed upon her to go into a house belonging to one Barre, who keeps a small grocery or tavern in the Recollect suburb. In the course of the evening the young man returned to town, when he was informed that she was taken to the watch-house. It was about this time that Hoyt became acquainted with her, and to show what a villain he was, he seduced a poor deranged girl, who had attempted suicide, and to make his villany doubly worse, he laid the blame to men of unspotted character, ministers of God, whose whole lives are devoted to the service of their religion, and also composed a tissue of falsehoods, which he now publishes as "Awful Disclosures." O tempora! O mores! what will come next? With regard to the priests and nuns of this city, I will quote an old adage, "Evil to him that evil thinks."

Yours,

Veritas.

Montreal, March 7, 1836.

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(No. 34.)

From the Boston Pilot, March 12.

Mr. Vale's Review of Maria Monk's Book and Character. We have received this able little pamphlet through the politeness of the author, who is well known as a former member of the corps editorial, and shall not fail to give our readers a notice and a synopsis of its contents, with extracts. As Mr. Vale is neither Catholic nor Protestant, he of course may be supposed to have examined the thing unprejudicedly, and faithfully has he shown up the iniquity of the plot, and the villany of its contrivers.

J. S. B.

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We have also received this pamphlet, and give to our readers the first part, or what may be called its introduction.

(No. 35.)

We are informed by the Rev. Mr. Tappin, chaplain to the almshouse, that there is such a person as Maria Monk, that she came to this city last summer, 1835: and we learn from her work that she was then with child, as she says, by Father Phelin, parish of Montreal: she was admitted into the almshouse, and the child was born in the autumn of last year. We learn, too, from the book, that Maria Monk related the substance of the contents of the book to Mr. Tappin in the almshouse; and that gentleman confirms this statement to us. We learn, also, that a Mr. William K. Hoyt took Maria from out of the almshouse, received her testimony, and took her to Canada, and represented her case to the

British authorities there; that these obtained a manuscript copy of her statements, and now retain it to forward, we suppose, to the head of the colonial department in London, and then wait for instructions: from that quarter we do not, however, expect any action, as *policy* will govern the British government. Mr. Hoyt, it appears, on his return prepared to publish this account, from a second copy which he had preserved, and applied to the Rev. Mr. Bourn and Dr. Brownlee for literary assistance: but Mr. Hoyt, becoming jealous of his new associates, and fearing they meant to rob him of the honour and profit of publishing, by procuring from Maria Monk the facts of the story, suddenly transported her out of their reach, and placed her, as he thought, in a sequestered spot near Bellevue; but Dr. Brownlee's son, by accident or design, rode out in that direction and discovered the spot, but was himself discovered, and his object being suspected, Mr. Hoyt again transported Maria Monk, and placed her somewhere in Jersey, and we suppose hurried out the book, without further assistance from those gentlemen; and this we believe to be the history of the book published by Howe and Bates, in which, however, the name of Hoyt is not mentioned. The copyright, it appears, is secured by one P. Gordon, and as far off as the district court of Massachusetts; and being thus secured by a person not well known in New York, and in another state, while the publishers were in this city, at first awakened our suspicion that all was not right: and we seriously doubted if any such person existed as Maria Monk, or the persons to whom she refers in her book. From the Catholic bishop of New York we first learned that there were such convents as those named by Maria, and that there was such a bishop, and that such priests did exist as she names in connexion with the convent; thus confirming the groundwork of Maria's story. We then visited the chaplain of the almshouse, and from him obtained the fact that the contents of the book accorded with what she had told him. He also related, or rather we extracted from him the facts we have given in relation to Mr. Hoyt, Dr. Brownlee, and the Rev. Mr. Bourn; the object of the latter gentlemen was to secure an interest to Maria Monk in the work, while he speaks also respectfully of Mr. Hoyt, as deserving a remuneration for the expense and trouble he has been at in making public this affair.

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Mr. Vale then gives the abominable detail of the "Awful Disclosures" in a condensed form, and ably demonstrates its utter falsehood, from its internal evidence, and various other circumstances.

The following is the conclusion:—

(No. 36.)

Maria relates that *all* the priests. including a large district of country, are debauchees, and partake of the crime of murder, by being actually engaged in it, or sanctioning it, and that *all* the nuns are prostitutes to the priests; that those of the Congregational Nunnery, or some of them, visit the Black Nunnery through the subterranean passages, for improper purposes: now the nuns of the Congregational Nunnery, Maria informs us, are the teachers all about the country, and surely *some* of these would have repented, and have disclosed the secrets of the establishment; but no disclosures have been made by them. The priests, too, enter on their studies young, and some come from abroad, and some are converted from other religions; some may no doubt be very wicked men, but that *all* should become debauchees and murderers is incredible: at what time are young and innocent students initiated,—when are the foreigners introduced into these abominable corruptions? When are the *converts* made acquainted with these new evidences of the truth of this religion? Father Richards is well known in this city as a former Methodist preacher, and as a man of great humanity; he it was who wished to save St. Francis, and this fact has been pointed out to us by some respectable Methodist as proof of Maria's story: but if Father Richards was sincere in his conversion, and retains his humanity and honesty, could he sanction child murder? could he sanction the murder of the St. Francis by his consent, and after silence, even though he did apparently wish to save her; or is this assumption of his wish to save her put in to suit his former known character; and thus in reality set him against himself? A Methodist preacher and humane man becomes a Canadian Catholic priest, and then practises adultery, and partakes in the murder of infants, refractory nuns, and old nuns, to make way for new ones, but yet retains his humanity, and wishes to save St. Francis; the thing is absurd: in the course of years there must have been *some* priests who would have been conscience-smitten, and have divulged the secrets; yet *no priest*, converted or not, has ever exposed the supposed inhumanity and corruptions.

Throughout Maria's book there is a marked Protestant tone and influence; concealed, in-

deed, as much as possible. We have no objection to Protestantism, indeed we prefer it to Catholicism in every form, but we must be impartial, and we must admit that there is throughout the book strong marks of Protestant influence and prejudice, which suggest the idea that those who assisted Maria were among that class who would *wish* the contents of her book true. Marks of this kind will be found on the title page, in the Scripture quotation; in page 59, where she says, "being accustomed to *Protestant society*, she heard *no* appeal to the Bible," see also pages 20, 21, 25, and 26, and 31. In page 101, she says she didn't know what I. H. S. means; this perhaps *was* the case, but that she should express it in the *present* tense and not say that she had since learned it from Mr. Hoyt, Dr. Brownlee, or others assisting her in her book, shows a Protestant wish to prove Catholic ignorance, and an attempt to conceal the author of the suggestion: in page 209 is the same spirit; she is made to say, speaking of the liquid poured into the hole in the cellar, "the liquor was called vitriol, or *some such name;*" she adds, it will penetrate flesh and even bones; now this *some such name* can only be explained by a contracted wish to make out Catholic ignorance; as if any woman had never heard of oil of vitriol by its common name, and known its caustic properties. The marks throughout the book of Protestant influence are too numerous to note; for this the book itself must be seen.

We now notice again that the book accumulates all that has ever been said against the worst ages, and makes even additions to them. We do not, however, think it a reprint. This accumulation of crimes in one nunnery, and that she should witness them all in two years, at a very young age, is a miracle.

We notice also that the book had no ostensible author, or responsible persons connected with it, but the publishers, who must make money, and could therefore afford the risk. Maria is irresponsible, from her character and situation. Mr. Hoyte has not put his name to it. Dr. Brownlee and Mr. Bourne have not publicly acknowledged what assistance they rendered. Gordon, to whom the copyright is secured, was paid as an agent, we learn from Maria's present friends, and he is to receive a small sum from each edition. Maria, too, was to receive $80 on every new edition of 1000, guaranteed by the Harpers. We have this from an attorney who saw the document, and who concludes unfavourably of Maria, from her rude manners in prison, when she visited Hoyte there, and her familiarity with him. "Hoyte, what has that fellow Conger against you? You know I have plenty of money; you shall not stay here an hour," were among her familiarities. Maria in distress, in the almshouse, and with child, has turned these untoward circumstances to admirable account, with the assistance of Mr. Hoyte, who is not now in repute, even by Maria's friends. The Catholics should prove, if possible, where Maria was, if not in the convent, or at once admit her residence. The former may be difficult. But Maria should have sworn the child to Father Phelin, and made other individual charges, which must have brought on an examination; and she should have given her history out of the convent, as the means of tracing her to and from the convent, and fixing the fact of her being with child while in the Black Nunnery. She has not done so. We have therefore no confidence in her narrative, in herself, Mr. Hoyte, Gordon, Dwight, the alleged editor, Mr. Bourne, or Dr. Brownlee, names unfortunately connected with strong prejudices against Catholics, and with the most intolerant spirits.

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(No. 37.)

From the Brooklyn American Citizen, March 11.

The following affidavits, &c., are copied from the last number of the "Protestant Vindicator," and prove, it seems to us, taken with other corroborating circumstances, the falsehood or irrelevancy of the testimony against Miss Monk, and therefore establish the truth of her narrative:

"*The Truth of Maria Monk's 'Awful Disclosures' amply Certified.*

"We the subscribers, having an acquaintance with Miss Maria Monk, and having considered the evidence of different kinds which has been collected in relation to her case, have no hesitation in declaring our belief in the truth of the statements she makes in her book recently published in New York, entitled 'Awful Disclosures,' &c.

"We at the same time declare that the assertion, originally made in the Roman Catholic newspapers of Boston, that the book was copied from a work entitled 'The Gates of Hell Opened,' is wholly destitute of foundation, it being entirely new, and not copied from anything whatsoever.

"And we further declare that *no evidence has yet been produced which discredits the statements of Miss Monk;* while, on the contrary, *her story has received, and continues to receive, confirmation from various sources.*

"During the last week, two important witnesses spontaneously appeared, and offered

to give public testimony in her favour. From them the following declarations have been received. The first is an affidavit given by Mr. William Miller, now a resident of this city. The second is a statement received from a young married woman, who, with her husband, also resides here. In the clear repeated statements made by these two witnesses, we place entire reliance, who are ready to furnish satisfaction to any persons making reasonable inquiries on the subject.

"W. C. BROWNLEE.
JOHN L. SLOCUM.
ANDREW BRUCE.
D. FANSHAW.
AMOS BELDEN.
DAVID WESSON.
THOMAS HOGAN.

"*City and County of New York,* [ss.]

"William Miller being duly sworn, doth say. I knew Maria Monk when quite a child, and was acquainted with her father's family. My father, Mr. Adam Miller, kept the government school at St. John's, Lower Canada, for some years. Capt. William Monk, Maria's father, lived in the garrison a short distance from the village, and she attended the school with me for some months, probably a year. Her four brothers also attended with us. Our families were on terms of intimacy, as my father had a high regard for Captain Monk; but the temper of his wife was such, even at that time, as to cause much trouble. Captain Monk died very suddenly, as was reported, in consequence of being poisoned. Mrs. Monk was then keeper of the Government House in Montreal, and received a pension, which privilege she has since enjoyed. In the summer of 1832, I left Canada, and came to this city. In about a year afterwards I visited Montreal, and on the day when the governor reviewed the troops, I believe about the end of August, I called at the Government House, where I saw Mrs. Monk and several of her family. I inquired where Maria was, and she told me she was in the nunnery. This fact I well remember, because the information gave me great pain, as I had unfavourable opinions of nunneries. On reading the 'Awful Disclosures,' I at once knew she was the eloped nun, but was unable to find her until a few days since, when we recognised each other immediately. I give with pleasure my testimony in her favour, as she is among strangers, and exertions have been made against her. I declare my personal knowledge of many facts stated in her book, and my full belief in the truth of her story, which, shocking as it is, cannot appear incredible to those persons acquainted with Canada.

"WILLIAM MILLER.

"Sworn before me, this 8d day of March, 1836,

"BENJAMIN D. K. CRAIG.
"Commissioner of Deeds, &c."

We have not seen the testimony of the nameless young married woman.

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(No. 38.)

From the Montreal Irish Advocate of March 11.

New York, February 1, 1835.

MR. JOHN MONK:

Sir:—I have, for several months past, been occasionally a witness of your sister, Maria Monk's trials and difficulties. I have frequently conversed with her, and from all I have seen and heard, I believe her honest in her statements. I have heard her "awful disclosures," and have read the book lately published. She was at my house this morning, in company with a gentleman, a convert from Popery, and who had studied for the purpose of being a priest. He is now a Christian and a member of the Methodist church. His name is Mr. Hogan.

She mentioned her mother's name; she had heard that her mother is *now* in this city of New York, for what purpose the priests here and with you only know. But she had not seen her mother; she was only told by a lady who had conversed with her; she called herself Maria Monk's mother, and alleged that she was come on to testify against her daughter's character and narrative.

She had also received your letter by Mr. Brewster, in which you stated that you know, from your own personal knowledge, that your sister Maria was a nun in the black nunnery, and that you know she had been cruelly abused.

I have seen your sister very often; and all I have seen of her has favourably impressed me in her behalf. I believe her to have behaved in the most correct manner, modestly and virtuously, since she has been here among Christian friends, who have done much for her, to instruct her, and give her a good example. I assure you that your sister is an interesting woman, and if you only saw her you would feel deeply for her, and your brotherly affection, I believe, would be strongly excited in her behalf—I am sure of it. The sale of her book has been somewhat injured by the conduct of W. K. Hoyte, who has been labouring to get her so under his influence

as to induce her to make *him her heir* in the case of her death, so that he might have the whole proceeds of her writing, if she died; while he affected to secure her a living as long as she was alive; and yet the poor man is not able, I believe, to support himself. I have lost all confidence in the said Hoyte, since his bad conduct in trying thus to make gains out of what does in no way belong to him.

But I repeat it, I have entire confidence in your sister's narrative and "Awful Disclosures." I feel deeply interested in her; and I have had no hand whatever in writing or publishing her book—that has been done by able and most respectable gentlemen and publishers. She gets half of all the profits, and this will make her comfortable.

I beg you to write to me on the receipt of this letter what you know of your sister being in the nunnery, and whether you would be willing to come on to New York, on her behalf, or send an affidavit in her favour. Write me fully, as I am the friend of your sister, and one who will do all in his power to aid, counsel, and protect her in her difficulties. I am persuaded that no language, and no tongue, and no pen, can sufficiently tell the villany of priests of Popery, or the infernal abominations of Popery. Write by return of mail, and direct to the Rev. Dr. Brownlee, of New York.

I am, dear sir, yours truly, &c.,
W. C. BROWNLEE.

Mr. John Monk.

SECTION II.

THE CHURCHMAN.

WE this day publish, as belonging to the documents under the head of "Priests and Nuns," relating to the libellous assault upon the clergy and religious of Montreal, the article No. 26, which is the chief part of a lucubration in the Churchman, a Protestant Episcopalian paper, published in New York, on the 13th of February. As the title of the piece indicates, it is not confined to a single topic, but it embraces four. With two of these we have at present no concern; with the remaining two we shall have some occupation,—"The Disclosures of Maria Monk," and the "extract from the Courier and Enquirer."

Had the editors of the Churchman been content with stating their disbelief of the calumnies of this libel, we should have given them credit for kindness and a disposition to do justice; but when we read and reperused their production, we felt that it was, if possible, more objectionable than the original libel; and, after some reflection, we resolved to exhibit it to our readers as a specimen of bad logic, bad taste, and bad feeling.

The editors inform us that they had seen the denunciation of the libellous statements in the most respectable journals in Montreal; and though they were ready to believe any well-attested abuses in the Catholic institutions of Canada, of which they knew but little, yet, after the high and united attestation given to the purity of those institutions, they were not inclined to believe them to be guilty. This, in all conscience, was saying as little as they could help in such a case. However they go further, and state that the little they had read in the libellous book inclined them to believe that it is, from beginning to end, a tissue of deliberate falsehood, at least in reference to the nunneries in Canada, which are the very institutions upon which the crimes are charged. Had they, we repeat, stopped here, we would have felt that they acted neither unreasonably nor unkindly, though not even generously. Such, however, was not their conduct; but they take occasion, upon expressing their disbelief of the charges against the Canadian nunneries, to publish their conviction that nunneries have, at different times and places, been the theatres of licentiousness; of this, however, they give us no evidence, except we may call a vague reference to history by that name. They specially denounce those of Spain, and Portugal, and Italy, without affording the particular grounds of this condemnation. We call it bad logic to draw conclusions not contained in the premises, which, in this case, would appear to be the ascertained falsehood of the charges made upon the nunneries in Canada, or this vague and general reference, which is not sustained.

It was bad taste thus to profit by an occasion, when charity would prompt any soul in which it was found to soothe and to sympathize with the injured, the insulted, and the calumniated Catholics. To choose that very moment, under the pretext of condemning the libeller who could not be protected, in order to substitute a more sweeping, a more general, and an equally atrocious charge, but one not so easily to be grappled with or exposed, for that which had been detected, laid bare, and denounced, evinces indeed bad feeling even more than bad taste. And this is the act of the writers in the Churchman! Another exhibition of this bad taste is using this same occasion for introducing, to the praise of their own church, an article from the

"Courier and Enquirer," which we gave amongst the documents in our last, (No. 25,) but omitting the first and last paragraphs, thereby concealing what the writer of that article gave in condemnation of "Miss Maria Monk," and of the injustice of Massachusetts.

We must confess that we have been at some pains in arranging the several propositions of this article of the Churchman under various heads, that we may the better see the inconsistencies of the writer, who appeared to us in no comfortable situation between evidence which he did not like upon one side, and wishes which he could not gratify upon the other. Such is our opinion, in which, perhaps, we mistake. Upon reviewing these propositions after their separation, it struck us that it would not be altogether useless if we should bestow upon them more than our usual hasty glance, and treat them at some length, for the purpose of exactly exhibiting the full value of this production. They who have patience to accompany us through the process will be able, we think, to appreciate the article of a writer who, if we are not greatly in error, has what many of his class do not want, the bump of self-esteem fully developed.

One of the best modes of putting such a gentleman through this process is by the style of cross-examination. In such a case it is unfair to place to the credit or discredit of the witness answers that are not his own. That our readers may judge of the rectitude of our course, we shall suppose the direct examination closed, and that it consists of the article which we have numbered 26. We shall therefore put our own questions arising from its consideration, and in giving the answers we shall place between inverted commas, those passages which we copy exactly in the words of the article itself, and we shall act in like manner with the passages so taken and used in the questions.—Where we draw a conclusion, it will be for the reader to judge whether it is fairly borne out by what has gone before.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Mr. Churchman. You say "you were duly favoured with a copy of *Awful Disclosures by Maria Monk*, and resolved from the first glance you gave it not to acknowledge the receipt of it, nor in any way to bestow on it the slightest notice?"

Yes, I did say so.

Pray, what do you think of the book?

"The thing is too utterly contemptible to receive a moment's attention."

What do "you think would have been the proper course for the press," in regard to this production?

"I still believe that the proper course for the press, both religious and secular, to pursue," would be "not in any way to bestow on it the slightest notice."

Pray do you not think the press should "notice it even in the way of censure?"

No, that "is to yield it more honour than it deserves."

What harm could arise from noticing it in the way of censure?

Great injury, for "it would promote the designs of the publishers, by giving it a currency which if unnoticed it could never obtain."

Of course, I am to suppose you do not wish to give this "contemptible thing" the currency which its publishers desire?

Clearly I do not.

Pray, sir, have you read any in the book?

Yes; a little.

May I ask your opinion of its contents?

"The little that I have read in it inclines me to believe that it is from beginning to end, a tissue of deliberate falsehood; at least in reference to the nunneries in Canada."

Does it treat of any other nunneries but those in Canada?

Not that I am aware of.

Do I understand you correctly when I believe you to say, that "in reference to them it is from beginning to end, a tissue of deliberate falsehood," and that it treats of no other nunneries?

Such was my answer.

Have you read the book from beginning to end?

"I read a little in the book."

That is, if I understand you rightly, you did not read it from beginning to end, you read only a little portion of it.—How then will you undertake to say that it is a tissue of falsehood from beginning to end?

I only say that "I am inclined to believe it to be so."

Pray what inclines you to that belief?

"The little which I have read in the book inclines me to that belief."

This book treats of nunneries in Canada; pray do you know much concerning those institutions?

"Of the nunneries in Canada, in particular, I know but little."

Now, sir, you have admitted that you know but little of the nunneries in Canada, and you have stated, that you have read only a little in this book, which treats of one of those nunneries, and yet, with this

doubly little knowledge, you venture to assert, that from beginning to end, this book, the greater part of which you have left unread, is a tissue of falsehood upon a subject of which you know but little. Pray sir, of what value is such testimony?

Sir, I have other evidence upon which I rest my statements.

I beg your pardon, sir; I understood you distinctly to say that "the little you read in the book inclined you to believe that it is from beginning to end a tissue of deliberate falsehood, at least in reference to the nunneries in Canada." Was not this attributing your inclination to believe, to what you read in the book, and not to other evidences?

I must admit that it appears so—but I had other evidence. "Of the nunneries in Canada, in particular, I know but little; but I have seen the most respectable journals in Montreal denounce with unbounded indignation, statements credited to that vile print the Protestant Vindicator, and bear high and united attestation to the purity of those who were assailed."

Then, sir, it is not upon what you read in the book you founded your opinion, but upon the testimony of the Montreal journals. Do I understand you correctly when I view it thus?

The statements of those journals, certainly impressed me. "On this evidence, the best that I can obtain, I must rest."

Do you consider "the authority of one Maria Monk, sufficient to induce you to believe that institutions which have the confidence of many of the first citizens of the British provinces, are a match for obscure and infamous" "dens of laziness and dissoluteness?"

"Not until I am blessed with the ostrich stomach of a Romish faith."

I do not think, sir, you would be a whit less respectable or less credible, had you turned the education you received to better account, and been a little more polite and less petulant. Now, sir, you stated, that "the little that you read in the book, inclined you to believe that it is from beginning to end a tissue of deliberate falsehood; at least in reference to the nunneries in Canada." Were you always indisposed to believe that abuses were found in nunneries?

No; for "I should be ready to believe any well-attested abuses."

Then, sir, in this instance you not only had not well-attested statements, but the statements which were made were denounced with unbounded indignation, by the most respectable journals of Montreal; those journals also bear high and united attestation to the purity of those persons who were assailed by the statements:—the institutions which are so assailed, have the confidence of many of the first citizens of the British provinces: the assailant is one Maria Monk, upon whose authority you are not, you say, likely to believe, until, to use the insolent phrase which you have thought proper to adopt, you are blessed with the ostrich stomach of a Romish faith. And yet with all this evidence on the side of the institutions, and this want of evidence on the side of the assailant, you are so exceedingly logical, docile, and impartial, as to be only *inclined to believe* that the book is a deliberate falsehood.—Now, I put it to you, do you believe it to be a falsehood?

"The little which I have read of the book, inclines me to believe that it is, from beginning to end, a tissue of deliberate falsehood; at least in reference to the nunneries in Canada."

Yet, sir, you have not read it from beginning to end; you know but little of the nunneries of Canada in particular, the book is too utterly contemptible to receive a moment's notice. Thus, if you are to be credited, we must believe that the foul, gross, and shocking nature of the charges, was such as to render it impossible for any reasonable man to believe that they would be tolerated in civilized society. No people having any remnant of human feeling could permit such a nuisance to exist as would be the nunnery there described; and this was so plain as to render it incredible that it could be suffered to exist in Montreal, if it was a "den of such laziness, dissoluteness," and other crimes. Upon reading even a little in the book you were therefore, previous to your reading any contradictory evidence, inclined to believe it a tissue of falsehood from beginning to end. You subsequently saw the plainest evidence of that description, and yet you hesitate to assert your conviction of the falsehood in plain terms. You are only *inclined to believe*, and yet you cannot express this inclination without yourself making the worst charges upon similar institutions, which you describe exactly in a style befitting "one Maria Monk." I leave to you to compound between your logic and your disposition. That, sir, is for you, not for me. I have, however, to remind you of another statement of your own. You thought "the proper course for the press, both religious and secular, to pursue" would be, in regard to this book "not to bestow on it the slightest notice." You direct a reli-

gious press; have you bestowed any notice on this book?

"As I mentioned it, I gave it a word in passing."

What induced you to mention it?

Having "promised to offer some further remarks on the sentiments of liberality which ought to be cherished in reference to Roman Catholics," "I transferred to my columns part of an excellent article from the Courier and Enquirer, called forth by the Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk."

If I mistake not, your object was "to acknowledge the courtesy with which the Courier and Enquirer alluded to the church to which you belong and to the bishop under whom you minister." Was it not so?

Yes; I so stated.

How much of your paper was occupied by this "word in passing" upon a thing which should not be noticed even in the way of censure?

Better than a folio column of leaded brevier written by me, and three quarters of a column of close brevier from the Courier and Enquirer.

This, sir, was a voluminous advertisement, "to promote the designs of the publishers by giving this tissue of deliberate falsehood a currency, which if unnoticed it could never obtain."—And all this done, against what you conceived the proper course for the press to pursue, for the purpose of acknowledging the courtesy with which the Courier and Enquirer alluded to your church. Pray, sir, do you believe that the end justifies the means?

Certainly not.

I apprehend, sir, your practice in this instance is then as much in contradiction to your principle of morality, as it is opposed to the expressions which you have used respecting the duty of the press.

I have made a beginning, and must close for this day, but, sir, we have as yet only touched the outskirts—I shall have the pleasure of resuming my examination next week.

You have stated that the "little you had read in the book" of Maria Monk's Awful Disclosures, "inclined you to believe that it was from beginning to end a tissue of deliberate falsehood, at least in reference to Canada." What is the cause of your limiting the assertion to Canada?

"Because the book is said to be a translation, with merely a change of expression, of a Spanish book descriptive of some old nunneries in Portugal: in which case it may be substantially true."

Independently of the evidence furnished by the Montreal papers, you were inclined, from what you read in the book, to believe it a tissue of falsehood. Pray, will you favour us with the motives which produced this result?

I stated them already. "To suppose that the institutions are expressly organized and conducted with a view to the perpetration of covert licentiousness and crime," as this book states, "is a violation not more of Christian charity than of common sense."

You, therefore, claiming to possess both Christian charity and common sense, could not suppose the book to be true, "and are inclined to believe that it is a tissue of deliberate falsehood from beginning to end, at least in reference to Canada." Is it not so?

I trust I do possess a share of each, and am so inclined.

To what spirit, then, did you ascribe the origin of monastic institutions?

"I have no hesitation in saying that monastic institutions originated in pure intentions, and have been productive of good."

Do you think, with the traducers of those institutions, that their spirit is irreligious?

No! "Let the boisterous maligners of convents and nunneries remember that the spirit in which they originated was a misdirected, indeed, but yet a religious spirit."

Is it not impious to create them?

"I do not advocate the kind of piety which gives birth to them, nevertheless it is piety still, and they who cheriah it are Christians, and though misguided, their intentions are pure, and they aim to do good."

Did I mistake when I understood you to say that monastic institutions have been productive of good?

"With all their abuses, who can deny that monasteries were meant for good and did good?"

I assure you there are many who deny both the one and the other; but you have now furnished me grounds for your inclination to believe the "Awful Disclosures" to be a deliberate falsehood from beginning to end. That book asserts that the institutions are expressly organized and conducted with a view to the perpetration of covert licentiousness and crime, which is quite at war with your convictions; you therefore very properly stated that such assertions are equally a violation of Christian charity and of common sense. Was it not so?

I could not give my support to such assertions; to do so, would indeed violate Christian charity and common sense.

Did I understand you to say that you knew but little of Canada?

I said, that "of the Canadian nunneries in particular I know but little."

And yet you found that it would be a violation of both Christian charity and common sense to believe the gross assertions respecting them contained in this little book?

Yes.

Pray how much more do you know in particular of the nunneries in Portugal, than you do of those in Canada?

I suppose you think I know just as little of one as of the other.

Exactly so: and therefore I will take the liberty of asking whether, upon your own showing, you have not violated both Christian charity and common sense, by the unwarranted assertion that the book may be substantially true, as a description of some old nunneries in Portugal?

By no means: for the description was given in a Spanish book.

This, sir, is not so clear. The assertion of the narrator was, that he saw the description in an English book, purporting to be a translation from the Spanish; and if you are not already aware of the fact, you may now learn that nothing was more usual in England, than to publish original fabrications of this description as if they were translations. It is but a pious fraud of comparatively little criminality, when viewed in union with the other means used in that country, during centuries, to vilify the Catholic religion. Did you ever see the Spanish original?

No: I did not.

No, sir; nor do I believe any other person ever saw it. But suppose you had seen it, would it be less a fabrication because it was in the Spanish language?

I did not assert its truth.

You insinuated it. You said, "in which case it might be substantially true." Now, sir, what becomes of your Christian charity? what pretensions have you to common sense? Was it not equally a violation of both, as it was ungenerous and wanting self-respect to insinuate, that what was evidently a tissue of falsehood respecting Canada, was substantially true as regarded Portugal?

"I am not likely, upon the authority of one Maria Monk, to believe that institutions which have the confidence of many of the first citizens of the British provinces, are already a match for the most obscure and infamous monasteries of Spain, Portugal, or Italy."

I must beg, sir, to observe, that what you are or are not likely to believe, is not the standard by which reason is discovered. Your flourish appears to me merely to assert, that because the Canadian institutions have the confidence of respectable citizens of the British provinces, you do not believe them to be places of abomination? Pray, sir, have not the monasteries of Portugal the confidence of the respectable citizens of that country?

I do not know; nor does it matter.

You are aware, sir, that during the late revolution effected in Portugal by the infidel party, aided by the French and English governments, many monasteries were broken up, their inmates turned out, their property seized upon and sold, to satisfy the debts incurred by the confederates. In such a conjuncture, the charge of being infamous would be a welcome pretext for the unprincipled and rapacious plunderer. Have you discovered that any charge of immorality was made upon the monasteries by their persecutors?

I have taken no trouble to inquire. I know they must be obscure and infamous.

In Spain also, sir, the party aiding the usurpers of the throne, under the auspices of the same governments, have instigated the people to murder several monks and to plunder the monasteries. Have you discovered that either the usurpers, or their adherents or abettors, did even make charges of immorality upon the clergy or the nuns?

I am just as indifferent to the case of Spain as I am to that of Portugal.

Yet, sir, you have called them obscure and infamous, and insinuated gross charges of the worst licentiousness and crime, besides charges of murder and of infanticide against them. You have had the hardihood to do what even the most profligate of the mercenary adventurers who have been hired to subjugate them has not dared to attempt—you have charged them with the worst of criminality, without evidence to sustain you, without knowledge of their country, to qualify you for forming any correct judgment in the case. You have made similar charges upon the Italian monasteries, not only without evidence, but against the knowledge of all who have had any opportunity of knowing the institutions. I can tell you, sir, that those institutions have the confidence of the first and best citizens of the countries in which they exist, and these are generally as respectable as are the Canadians or the British settlers in Canada. If, then, you would not condemn the Canadian nunneries, because of their possessing the confidence of the first citizens of the country, why would you condemn those of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, which possess a confidence equally respectable?

"The great abuses in them which, since the reformation, have been at different times brought to light, in the old countries, are known to every reader of history."

I am, at least, "a reader of history," and I do not know that such abuses have been brought to light, though I know of many efforts of calumny and slander like that of one Maria Monk.—Pray, sir, have you read the history of the French revolution in 1789?

I have.

I believe, sir, that every effort was then made by the infidel party to justify their misconduct towards the nunneries. I shall only remind you of one notorious and flagrant act of theirs. Having proclaimed that the nuns were kept in their convents by compulsion and would gratefully receive the boon of liberation, and having insinuated the charge of immorality:—they were mortified at being not only unable to sustain the last charge, but they had to use violence to drive those persecuted women from the retreats which they had chosen. To make an effort to sustain their own credit, and to mortify the lovers of religion, they arrayed the abandoned women of Paris in the religious costume, in which sacrilegious disguise they enacted the most disgraceful scenes in public, proclaiming themselves to be emancipated nuns. Pray, sir, do you not think it likely that Mr. Hoyte and Miss Monk, and the religious judges who accompanied them to Montreal, profited by this piece of history?

I do not undertake to defend those persons.

No, sir, I do not impute to you such folly —you have more tact, though upon your own showing you have as little of common sense as you have of Christian charity. But do you not think that the abuses in monasteries, brought to light since that change in religion which you call "reformation," partake largely of the character of the abuses of which the sanctimonious French infidels complained?

I consider them to be well-substantiated abuses—"I thought that the disclosures effected by the labours of the indefatigable De Ricci alone, were enough to have shaken the faith of the most bigoted advocates of nunneries, and led to their suppression for ever."

Were these disclosures of "the organization and conducting of the institutions with a view to the perpetration of covert licentiousness and crime?"

By no means! "Such a supposition is a violation not more of Christian charity than of common sense."

What, then, were the disclosures?

Disclosures "of abuses which have grown out of them."

Were they only abuses?

"They were *abuses* and nothing more."

Did not "some writer on the evidences of Christianity say that evil cannot be abused, but that whatever is abused must be good?"

"I shall not examine the aphorism; but I have no hesitation in saying that monastic institutions originate in pure intentions, and have been productive of good."

Did you not know that De Ricci repented of those labours, retracted his statements, and besought forgiveness for the scandal he had given?

That does not change the nature of the facts recorded by him.

Certainly it would not change the nature of facts, but you now beg the question in assuming as facts what are in many instances fictions, in others gross and distorted misrepresentations, made for the most profligate purposes of reckless partisans, and, upon reflection, condemned by their own compiler.—Pray, sir, do you call this history?

I do.

Then we know the value of what is so designated by you.—Be good enough to inform us of your opinion of monastic institutions?

"That the nature and tendency of monastic institutions are bad, I have not a doubt."

Did you not assert that "you had no hesitation in saying that monastic institutions originate in pure intentions and have been productive of good?"

Yes; and I still assert the same, and I ask, "who can deny that monasteries were meant for good, and that they do good?"

Does not this look very like contradicting yourself?

No! "for we have not a doubt that nunneries have been at different times and places the theatre of licentiousness."

But will you be good enough to give some proof for special facts?

"The great abuses which resulted from nunneries, before the Reformation, are known to every reader of history."

This vague and general assertion is no proof. You are continually begging the very question.—I am quite ready to admit occasional and very few abuses of the very best institutions; but these very rare exceptions do not make the nature and tendency of such institutions bad.

I told you of "the great abuses in nunneries which have been brought to light in the old country at several times since the Reformation."

Yes! but you gave no proof that such were brought to light.

Is not De Ricci proof?

Which way? For he solemnly retracts and repents of what he had published under undue influence.—Do you deny that the nuns of the old country are virtuous and useful?

"No impartial person can deny that there are at least some orders of nuns in the old countries among whom there may be found those whose holy and devoted lives put the effeminate piety of many luxurious Protestants to the blush."

Pray, sir, do you think those holy and devoted women would continue to reside in monastic institutions whose nature and tendency were bad?

Not if they knew their nature and tendency.

Which is it more likely, that the inmates and conductors of those institutions, who are holy and devoted to God's service, and who have for a long series of years made the nature and tendency of those institutions their study, should be well acquainted with that nature and that tendency, than a stranger who avows "his readiness to believe in every well-attested abuse, that may be discovered in them," who, without an opportunity of examination, avowed his prejudice by stating that "he has no doubt that nunneries are liable to the abuses that are charged upon them;" who states that "he is authorized by a knowledge of human nature to discourage such institutions," and who, without any experience of his own, and against the testimony of those whose holiness and devotion he admits, rashly asserts that he "is authorized by the experience of the past to regard such institutions with suspicion?"

"Instructed by the experience of the past and a knowledge of human nature, we may safely say that monastic institutions are greatly in danger of evil."

So far as I can discover, the only experience that you have had upon the subject is the evidence of their having been grossly libelled, and cruelly ill-treated. You have lived in a city whence a stream of fetid calumny flows almost daily. from the most polluted sources; never has the most profligate age or nation witnessed immoral, indecent, obscene, or infamously false publications to equal those which issue from the religious press of New York. They are of themselves sufficient to destroy the purity of the community. This you have yourself substantially acknowledged; and yet, whilst you testify to their falsehood, their virulence, their immorality, and their meanness, you indirectly sustain their credit! You live in the vicinity of a state which has permitted the most flagrant outrage upon well-educated, pious, highly respectable and defenceless ladies to pass unpunished, with the mockery of reproof and the denial of justice, whether vindicatory or compensating! You minister in the midst of a community whose pulpits are occupied by those men who live in affluence procured by the publication of slanders as notorious as they are revolting.

If to be the object of such a *religious* persecution as this is to be in danger of evil, then, sir, you have said truly when you answered, that you may safely say that monastic institutions were greatly in danger of evil! I shall not trouble you farther to-day.

Pray, sir, what do you intend by the assertion that "monastic institutions are greatly in danger of evil?"

I mean that they are liable to abuse.

What do you understand by a liability to abuse?

That which every one understands by it.

Being a member of this aggregate "every one," I shall venture to give you my notion of what is understood by liability to abuse; I look upon it to be the possibility of injuring that which is in its own nature good, or of turning it to bad account. Do you coincide with me in this opinion?

I shall not stop to examine your opinion. "You may ponder on it at your leisure."

Then I shall assume its truth, and look upon your assertion as to be explained upon this principle. Now, sir, upon this view, when you state that "instructed by the experience of the past, we may safely say that monastic institutions are greatly in danger of evil," am I correct in assuming that the monasteries are in their own nature good, but that it is possible they may be turned to bad account?

"The calm Christian observer may be permitted to think that the religious institutions of all Christian denominations are meant for direct good, though, inasmuch as they are conducted by human beings, they are always productive of incidental evil."

Am I to consider this to be your meaning when you state that "instructed by a knowledge of human nature, we may safely say that monastic institutions are greatly in danger of evil?"

Just as you please.

I should be pleased to arrive at your precise meaning if I could.

My words are before you; I suppose you can understand them.

They are not, sir, so very plain, espe-

cially when we consider the meaning which some gentlemen of your class occasionally attach to such phrases, but at present I shall be content to assume the meaning to be what I have given. Then, you, having the good fortune to consider yourself a calm Christian, look upon monastic institutions as productive of incidental evil, precisely because they are conducted by human beings. Is it so?

You have so assumed.

If it be otherwise, will you be good enough to say so?

I will say nothing more.

Am I not warranted, then, in assuming that you can say nothing more, and that I have correctly expressed your meaning?

I cannot say how far you may be warranted in your assumptions.

Sir, allow me to say that a spirit of haughty self-sufficient reserve, a spirit which, during the investigation of truth, wraps itself in mysteries; which has recourse to a vague phraseology for the purpose of non-committal, partakes more of the cunning of the serpent than of the simplicity of the dove; it has more of the pride of the world than of the humility of the Gospel, and is better calculated for the chicanery befitting the wily advocate of an indefensible cause, than for [the] manly candour of the defender of truth. If monastic institutions are productive of incidental evil, only because they are conducted by human beings, are they liable to greater abuses than are any other institutions so conducted? This affects every religious institution of every denomination, Christian, Pagan, Mahomedan, and Jewish; why, then, should those monastic institutions be specially assailed?

Because "I have no doubt that nunneries are liable to the abuses which are charged upon them!"

But, sir, are not all religious institutions of all other Christian denominations liable to abuse upon the same ground?

"I have no doubt that the nature and tendency of monastic institutions are bad."

So, then, it is not because they are conducted by human beings that they are productive of incidental evil; but that their nature is bad and their tendency is bad. Can they, then, be classed amongst the religious institutions of Christian denominations, which you, a calm Christian observer, declare to be all meant for direct good, though always productive of incidental evil, inasmuch as they are conducted by human beings?

"The good works of some orders of nuns in the old country are the trophies of our common Christianity."

Upon my word, sir, you blow your hot and cold with a wonderful facility, and give your declarations with as much composure and dignity as if you were a calm Christian observer who never suspected himself guilty of many glaring contradictions. Then, sir, am I warranted in believing that you who claim a participation in those trophies, are an advocate for the piety of those nuns, and an admirer of their monastic institutions?

"I do not advocate the kind of piety which gives birth to monastic institutions."

May I ask wherefore?

Because "it is ascetic, and anti-social, and such as the benign founder of our faith never intended to inspire."

Then am I to understand that you do not consider their good works to be piety?

By no means; "it is piety still, and they who cherish it are Christians."

Am I to understand, then, that there is a species of Christian piety which the benign founder of our faith never intended to inspire? Pray enlighten me a little upon this mysticism.

This piety is ascetic.

Did the benign founder of our faith never intend to inspire that kind of piety which was frequently inspired by Heaven?

God forbid that I should say so.

Was John the Baptist not inspired by Heaven to the practice of piety? Was not his piety eulogised by the divine founder of our faith?

Unquestionably; a more pious man did not exist.

Was not his piety in the desert ascetic?

Perhaps you will call it so.

Was the piety of the devout Anna who departed not from the temple, where she remained in fasting and prayer, according to your view anti-social and ascetic?

These were rare instances.

The number who embrace the observances of monastic institutions compared to the great bulk of mankind, are rare instances also. Now, sir, I have given you two, and I could give you twenty other scriptural instances of what you call "ascetic, anti-social piety, such as the benign founder of our faith never intended to inspire," and which was yet inspired by Heaven. "The spirit in which these convents and nunneries originated was," according to you, "a religious spirit," and if religious, it must emanate from Heaven. You "gratefully acknowledge the piety of some orders of nuns in the old countries," you appeal to their good works as "trophies of our common Christianity," and yet, strange to say, you do not advocate the

kind of piety which produces those trophies; you unsparingly declare that the nature and tendency of monastic institutions are bad, though in them there may be found those whose holy and devoted lives put the effeminate piety of many luxurious Protestants to the blush. Pray, sir, how can that which the benign founder of our faith never intended to inspire be a portion of Christianity? How can that whose nature and tendency are bad produce trophies of good Christianity? How can you gratefully acknowledge a piety which is fanaticism and which Christ never intended to inspire?

I can do many things which you cannot. There are more things in heaven and hell than are dreamed of in your philosophy.

I thank you, sir, for the word. What think you of the philosophy which denounces by wholesale, convents and nunneries because of abuses which are seldom if ever found really to exist?

"I envy neither the philosophy nor religion of Protestants who for their abuses denounce convents and nunneries with wholesale maledictions, or who deal in sweeping censures of such institutions."

Then, sir, I am to suppose you do not envy either the philosophy or religion of the writer who asserts that "he has no doubt that nunneries are liable to the abuses which are charged upon them; and that the nature and tendency of monastic institutions are bad." These are something like wholesale and sweeping. I suppose, sir, that I can safely assert that, as the censures are your own, you do not envy either your own philosophy or your own religion; and, sir, I trust you will not be displeased with me for not cherishing at least this sort of envy. I shall not disturb your enjoyment.

O, sir, I made no wholesale malediction!

But, my good sir, you made a sweeping censure. Do you not recollect also to have said, "that one would think the disclosures effected by the labours of the indefatigable De Ricci alone were enough to have shaken the faith of the most bigoted advocate of nunneries, and led to their suppression for ever?"

Yes, I said so.

Did you not also assert, "we are authorized by a knowledge of human nature, and by the experience of the past, to discourage such institutions, and to regard them with suspicion?"

I did make that assertion.

Were not those sweeping censures?

But they were not "wholesale maledictions."

Perhaps you will not acknowledge them to be such. Did you not also say that the English monastic institutions "had degenerated into dens of laziness and dissoluteness?"

I did,—and when their abuses "reached this aggravated and intolerable pitch, they compelled the English church to rise, assert the original right which she had as a Catholic Church before the monk Augustine came to her shores, shake off the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, and tear up those institutions root and branch. And may they never again be planted!"

When those monastic institutions thus degenerated into dens of laziness and dissoluteness,—when their abuses reached this aggravated and intolerable pitch, to compel the English church to tear up root and branch, and to draw from you that pious prayer, "that they may never again be planted,"—I suppose neither their managers nor inmates could be sincere Christian observers of virtue?

How is it possible that they could be sincere?

Yet, if I mistake not, you have said that "it is not safe to impeach in a general way the sincerity of the inmates and managers of monastic institutions." Is it not so?

I did make such an assertion.

Did you not say that "it is not reasonable so to impeach them?"

Yes, I did.

And pray, did you not say, "it was not Christian to impeach them?"

I have so expressed myself.

Am I not warranted, then, upon your own showing, to assert that your conduct is unsafe, unreasonable, and unchristian?

No! for I speak of a period before the Reformation. "In this, as in other features of their system, Roman Catholics have been more guarded since the Reformation than before."

Suppose, what is not the fact, that this assertion was true—yet would it not save you from the conviction which you have brought upon yourself. I could, however, bring a host of witnesses to show to demonstration that this latter "sweeping censure" is utterly unfounded, though I am aware that it is fashionable, and seems to have some weight. Have you not also asserted that "Roman Catholics have done far better in countries where they are stimulated by Protestant vigilance?"

Unquestionably they do far better in such places, "than where they themselves form the entire population."

It happens, sir, that as a general proposition this "sweeping censure" is very easily demonstrated to be altogether unfounded.

I have myself seen and could produce numerous witnesses to testify that they have seen religion, true, interior, vital religion, flourish much more, and have more general influence in places where not a Protestant was known, than in any city of England or of America. It could also be shown that sometimes more true piety existed in places amongst Catholics who lived in the midst of those who differed from them, than in other places where the population was altogether Catholic. These "sweeping censures are unsafe, unreasonable, and unchristian." You have here again condemned yourself.

I must, sir, examine you a little upon your historical assertions.

Have you not compared the rage for a monastic life in England to the religious revivals of the United States?

Yes "the rage for monastic life in England, a thousand or twelve hundred years ago, was something like the rage for religious revivals which has recently scathed the United States."

What do you call a religious revival?

"A manifestation of the religious spirit partaking of the character of the age and people amongst whom it prevails."

Have you not stated that about the period you mention, this rage for the monastic life led the nobility and the common people of Northumberland to retire to monasteries?

The assertion has been made on the authority of the venerable Bede.

Pray who was this venerable Bede?

I am astonished you should affect ignorance. You know that he was a virtuous priest, who was born between the mouths of the rivers Wear and Tyne, upon the territory of the United Monastery of Weremouth and Jarrow in Northumbria, in the year 672, and who was one of the best and most ancient historians of the English Church.

I did not affect ignorance, but I desired to have the value of this writer's testimony ascertained by a declaration of his character. Pray was he a monk?

Undoubtedly he was. He entered the monastery of Weremouth and Jarrow as a pupil at the age of seven years, and was educated by the monks there established by St. Bennet Biscop; he made his profession in that monastery and was eminent for his talent and virtue; his time was devoted to works of piety, to study, and to the instruction of youth, and he declares towards the close of his life, that during fifty-two years, he had been thus devoted to the most delightful of all pursuits.

And yet, sir, is not this that piety which you have called "ascetic, anti-social, and such as the benign founder of our faith never intended to inspire?"

O, I did not say so of the piety of Bede—I then was alluding generally to monastic institutions.

Do you not mean to insinuate that Bede was inimical to those institutions?

I only give you his own words: "In the year 731, peace being established in the kingdom of Northumberland, both the nobility and the common people laying aside the exercise of their arms betook themselves to monasteries, and persuaded their children to accept the ecclesiastic tonsure and retire thither too; but whither this will tend time must show."

It happens sometimes that the omission of one word will completely mislead the reader from the sense of his author. In quoting the words of Bede have you made any such omission?

I have given the substance of this remark.

I now hand you a book: look at it, and tell what it is.

It is an edition of the historical works of Bede — Smith's edition, folio, printed at Cambridge in England in 1722.

Be good enough to turn to page 219, marginal figure, line 17. What do you read?

"Qua adridente pace ac serenitate temporum, plures in gente *Nordanhymbrorum*, tam nobiles quam privati, se suosque liberos depositis armis satagunt magis accepta tonsura, monasterialibus adscribere votis quam bellicis exercere studiis. Quæ antem res quem sit habitura finem, posterior ætas videbit."

You may stop there. Now I ask you if what you have before given, is a correct translation of this passage? I shall not ask you whether you ever saw Bede's work before, or took the translation from some of "those divines of the Church of England, the study of whose works you so kindly recommend to the divines of the Church of Rome in this country," (of whom I believe there is not one in the United States,) "if they would aim even at the semblance of creditable and manly argument." But I ask you whether this, which I now hand you is not the correct translation of the passage?

"Which peace and serenity of the time smiling upon them, many in the Northumbrian nation, as well nobles as private persons, rather endeavour that they and their children, having laid aside their arms, receiving the tonsure, should enter into monastic vows, than exercise themselves in warlike trainings. But a future age will see what will be the end of this."

It is more literal, but there is no difference.

Does he not refer by the word *qua* or *which*, to a special peace?

I suppose so.

Look to line 9 of the same page. Does he not distinctly describe the peace and league with the Picts and Scots? Look to line 12, does he not describe the doubtful state of quiet with the Britons? And does not the relative carry this sentence with which it begins, which I have translated, back to a conjunction with the circumstances thus described?

Unquestionably it does.

Does not the context show that from former experience as well as from the actual circumstances, Bede had no great confidence in the continuation of this peace, especially as he describes the Britons as cherishing hatred to the Anglo-Saxons, though forced by circumstances to succumb to them?

Such I suppose to be your view of it.

And I assert that it is impossible for any person to read the passage and not have the same view of it that I have given. Now in this whole passage Bede says nothing against monastic institutions, but he doubts whether it will result in safety to the country that so many persons should upon so precarious a peace, lay aside their arms for the purpose of devoting themselves to the cloister. Now, sir, was not your construction framed by the little changes stolen into the meaning, and by the suppression of the circumstances, to insinuate that Bede condemned that monastic life of which he was so great an ornament?

I assert that Bede did condemn it.—"Time," said the historian, "will show the result:" and it was not long in appearing, for at a later period the same venerable authority declares, "for thirty years past our country hath been infatuated with this mad error." "There are many," says he in his letter to Egbert, Bishop of York, recommending the reduction of monasteries, "and very great foundations of this kind, which as commonly said are neither profitable to God nor man."

Did you say "*thirty years?*"

The words are not mine, they are the words of Bede.

I should then suppose that I am to count the thirty years back from the period that he wrote to Egbert. Am I not warranted to do so?

Certainly. But this letter to Egbert was at a later period than 731, when he said, "whither this will tend time will show."

I grant it; but he must have known it for a considerable period previous to his writing that this mad error existed for thirty years. Do you not suppose that he must have witnessed the infatuation as he calls it?

No doubt but he did, and he desired to abate it by reducing the monasteries, and he wrote to Egbert, urging him to suppress them.

In what year did this venerable man die?

Lingard says in 733; the general opinion is, however, that he died in 735.

Then this mad error must have existed at least upwards of twenty-five years, at the time he wrote "time will show," and though in fact, the letter to Egbert was written at what may be called a "later period," for it was written after the lapse of two or three years, still he did not want that time to enable him to see what he had been observing for nearly thirty years.

Was not your sentence insidiously constructed to insinuate, first, the suspicions of the writer, and then to furnish a lapse of time, in order to confirm their justice?

You cannot deny that "the result was not long in appearing."

I have only begun to test your honesty. You said that you "would not follow the venerable saint in the abuses which he depicts." Were they only abuses of what is in itself good?

They were abuses "which when they had reached a more aggravated and intolerable pitch, compelled the English church to tear the monasteries up root and branch."

Pray let us see what they were? Bede wrote to Egbert, you say, recommending to him the reduction of monasteries. Turn to p. 305. Is that the letter?

Yes, it is.

If I mistake not, Bede begins it by stating that Egbert and he had in the preceding year spent some time together in Egbert's own monastery, and had appointed to meet there again, but the "venerable saint" being, by reason of bodily weakness, unable to keep his appointment, wrote to Egbert his sentiments upon the subject of which they were to have treated. Is it not so?

Yes.

Look at p. 308; at line 44, there commences a passage which I have thus translated: "There are numberless places, as we all know, classed under the name of monasteries, but having nothing of monastic customs, of which I wish that some should be brought by synodical authority from luxury to chastity, from vanity to temperance, from intemperance of the belly and gluttony to continence and piety of heart." Is not this an enumeration of abuses, and a desire for a canonical reformation, and not a condemnation of the monastic institution?

" "They are *abuses* and nothing more."

Look to p. 309. I thus translate, from the beginning of the page: "And because there are very great and very many places of this description, which, as is commonly said, are neither useful for God nor for men; because there is neither regularity of life according to God, observed therein, nor do they possess soldiers nor companions of the secular powers, who would defend our nation from barbarians; should any one, owing to the necessity of the times, establish in those very places an Episcopal see, he would not incur the guilt of prevarication, but will rather be proved to do a work of virtue." Is not this translation correct? and does it not show that the chief evil which Bede feared in 731 was leaving the country defenceless at a period of questionable peace?

The translation is literal. I have no concern with your comment.

Well, sir, I shall state what you cannot with truth deny. Look to the sequel. The venerable writer urges the prelate to use his influence with the king to rescind mischievous charters granted to those places, because they were improperly granted, and it will be useful to the service of God and to the state to revoke them. I begin to translate at line 20. "Lest in our times, either religion ceasing, the fear and the love of the interior inspector should be deserted, or the sufficiency of the force of secular militia being diminished, there be a want of those who could defend our borders from the inroads of barbarians." He proceeds to state that many persons who are not in monastic life, shamefully occupy lands under the name of monastic property, and thus leave without their due reward the children of meritorious soldiers, who, unprovided for, and not desirous of leading single lives, go into foreign countries, or more wickedly entering upon those possessions without the virtues becoming the monastic state, are guilty of shameful crimes.

In line 31, he proceeds to describe the manner in which, by means of bribes, laics under the pretext of building monasteries, obtained charters and the right of transmitting to their heirs the lands thus unjustly exempted from the usual burthens of service. Some of them admitted monks over whom they exercised a cruel tyranny, others made the semblance of a monastery by congregating those expelled from the religious houses for misconduct; whilst others settled married persons with their families in buildings, and gave to them the name of monasteries.

I now translate, beginning at the last line of p. 30: "Thus for about thirty years, that is from about the time King Aldfrid died, our province has been infatuated with this mad error, so that there was scarcely one of the prefects, who during the time of his government, did not provide himself with a monastery of this kind, and implicate his wife at the same time in the like guilt of this hurtful traffic; and through the prevalence of a very bad custom, the ministers and servants of the king endeavour to do the same. The writer then continues to show how courtiers are regularly getting the tonsure, make to themselves the monastic titles, and are guilty of the greatest excesses. Now, sir, I ask whether your description of the mad error, was not a gross insinuation of falsehood?

You insinuated that what he condemned was the monastic institution. He condemned not the monasteries, but the misconduct of those who under the pretext of religious institutions dishonestly procured charters, which they subsequently abused to the worst purposes.

Now, sir, I presume you will yourself acknowledge that in this instance the venerable Bede has been most shamefully garbled by you or by those whom you have copied, and upon whose authority you have injudiciously relied. In the days of this good monk, there were monasteries, and there were dishonest semblances of monasteries. Was it fair, was it honest, was it safe, was it reasonable, was it Christian to impeach in a general way under the pretext of this testimony, the sincerity of the inmates and managers of monastic institutions, because persons who were not members of the monastic orders were dishonest and corrupt? You have yourself asserted that it was "piety gave birth to monastic institutions," "that they who cherish this piety are pure in their intentions," "that they aim to do good." Pray, do you believe that this description suits those profane swindlers whom Bede condemns? Was their aim to do good? Were their establishments really monasteries?

I can call them nothing else.

Yet, sir, Bede would not acknowledge them to be monasteries, though they were legal corporations, bearing a name, to which in a religious sense, they had no title. His words are, "loca in monasteriorum adscripta vocabulum; sed nihil prorsus monasticæ conversationis habentia." *Places getting the name of monasteries; but having nothing at all of monastic customs.* Will you still persist in calling them monasteries?

I can call them nothing else.

Did you not insinuate that what Bede

called the "mad error which had infatuated the country for thirty years," was the "betaking themselves to monasteries, and persuading their children to retire thither too," "renouncing the world and devoting themselves to God, under the influence of a sincere, but heated and misguided piety?"

Clearly I did make the statement in those very words.

Are you not ashamed at having so grossly misrepresented the venerable historian?

I will not acknowledge that I have misrepresented him.

Are not the crimes which Bede describes as this "mad error," fraud, rapine, and the formation of impious congregations for the purpose of *spoliation*, and not "renouncing the world and devoting themselves to God, under the influence of piety," whether cool or heated?

I cannot deny that such are the expressions of the historian.

Did you not assert that "the people were inflamed" to this betaking themselves to monasteries "by the most zealous preachers of their age, and instigated to renounce the world and devote themselves to God," and that they did so under the influence of a sincere, but heated and misguided piety?" And did you not describe this as the "mad error," of which the saint complained?

I must avow that such were my statements.

Can you name any of those "most zealous preachers?"

I have not named one.

Can you name one? or do you know of one? or do you not know that all the zealous preachers of that age and that region agreed fully in sentiment with Bede and Egbert, and declaimed against this mad error? Did not the councils denounce it? How then can you assert that the most zealous preachers of their age inflamed the people thereto?

Because I wish to draw a parallel between the ancient Saxon monasteries in England and revivals in the Evangelical Protestant churches in the United States.

You say that when these abuses reached a more aggravated and intolerable pitch, the English church was compelled to tear up root and branch the monasteries in which they existed. Pray, when did this occur?

Of course "when the English church shook off the usurped authority of the bishops of Rome."

That was under King Henry VIII. Was it not?

Certainly.

Am I to understand you, then, as stating that those Anglo-Saxon monasteries continued till that period?

Such is the idea that I give.

And am I to consider that those abuses gradually increased, and at that period grew to be so aggravated and intolerable, as to justify this rooting out?

That is precisely what I have stated.

Do you know anything of the Danish invasion of England?

Necessarily, I do. You cannot suppose me ignorant of that most important occurrence.

Were not all the Anglo-Saxon monasteries destroyed during their incursions?

I did not advert to that.

You ought to have been aware of the fact. Could you have been ignorant that the destruction of those institutions at this period was attributed by your own Protestant Archbishop Parker to the judgment of God. "Hæc licuit in medium proferre ut occultum Dei judicium in obruendis monachorum cultibus superstitiosis et diabolicis." (*An. Brit. fol.* 72.) Are you not aware that when Alfred mounted the throne there were no monasteries in England?

I took very little trouble to inquire.

Did you look into Wilkins, p. 239, you would have discovered King Edgar stating: "Temporibus antecessorum meorum, regum Anglorum, monasteriæ tam monachorum quam virginum destructa (et) penitus rejecta in * * * Anglia erant." "*In the times of my predecessors, kings of the English, the monasteries, as well of monks as of virgins, were entirely destroyed and rejected in England.*" It is true that other monasteries were subsequently established; but the evils of which Bede complains ceased with the institutions in which they existed—and these institutions were anything but monasteries—as your statements are anything but history.

I have done, sir. I was tempted to exhibit you a little longer, but more serious duties call me away: and I willingly prefer other occupations to that of showing up a flippant falsifier of history, whose supercilious self-sufficiency deserves a more severe chastisement than I am able to inflict.

Adieu, sir. It is not likely that we shall meet again.

SECTION III.

From the Franklin Repository.

MR. HARPER:—

Perceiving from the last No. of the Repository, that the "Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk" are still a subject of discussion, I beg leave to submit for insertion *some facts* relative to this matter, which came under my notice during a very recent tour

through Lower Canada. I arrived in Montreal on the 15th of July, and spent about ten days in visiting this city and Quebec, the capital. During this period I had the best opportunities of conversing with their polished inhabitants, and of examining the many and magnificent institutions that adorn them. I was not a little surprised at finding that the work of the famed Maria Monk awakened not the slightest interest in the Catholic and Protestant population of Montreal. I naturally thought that the very spot which was represented to be the theatre of the *most abominable atrocities ever committed*, would be at least somewhat agitated; but strange as it may seem, in this great city which contains upwards of forty thousand inhabitants, and whose character has been so awfully assailed, there is not felt, respecting the production, the thousandth part of the interest which is manifested in the village of Chambersburg! The Hotel Dieu Institution, concerning which so much alarm and ignorance prevails, is not a Nunnery, but a spacious and charitable establishment for the sick poor, founded by Madame de Bullion, in 1644, and under the charge of Nuns, who vary in number from thirty to forty. It is most gratuitously asserted by some, that these religious ladies have but little to occupy them—that they may eat of the bread of idleness, and are forcibly immured and kept in bondage. The reverse of all this I have had occasion to witness in my late visit. There are, at present, in the hospital, upwards of fifty indigent invalids, men and women; and the stranger who visits this admirable institution, may behold, every hour of the day and night, these daughters of charity performing all the duties which compassion and humanity inspire; and all this often to most loathsome objects, and without any compensation this side of the grave! On leaving this house of the most enlarged benevolence and goodness I ever saw, I involuntarily turned to the charges of Maria Monk, and asked myself whether it were possible for those assailed ladies to be at once angels and devils—to pass from the sweetest and sublimest exercises of divine charity to the commission of the most revolting horrors! *Credat Judæus Appelles.*

It is also, unfoundedly, believed that these religious persons are forcibly detained "in durance vile." The doors of the Hotel Dieu Institution are open at all hours of the day. The nuns, at any moment, might, if they were so disposed, retire from its walls. They are only held here by the tie of religion and charity. Conscience and duty are the only chords that bind them within the limits of a place where the two greatest commandments of the love of God and our neighbour, are accomplished in the most exalted and extensive sense.

My visit to the Hotel Dieu was most opportune. During my sojourn in the city of Montreal, three Presbyterian clergymen, of reputation and learning, were by the courtesy of the good nuns, admitted for the purpose of examining and exploring the interior of the establishment; and all facilities were given them for that purpose. Before my departure from the city, I ascertained that the results of their inquiries was perfectly satisfactory, as regards the falsity of Maria Monk's account of the Hotel Dieu. I have heard read the affidavit of the Rev. Mr. Curry, one of the examining clergymen, and nothing can be fuller, more circumstantial, or convincing. The affidavits of these three reverend impartial examiners, with those of many other highly credible witnesses, will shortly appear in a work now in press, in the city of New York, and which establish, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the statements of Maria Monk *are false in every particular*.

Without intending to anticipate the cumulative evidence which the approaching publication will bring forward, to show that Maria was never a nun in the Hotel Dieu, I will remark, that there will be given a fuller testimony of the mother of Maria Monk, and declarations under oath, of several individuals in whose family this noted girl lived during the whole of the time she pretends to have passed at the Hotel Dieu. It is an invariable rule of the religious ladies in this institution, not to admit any person as a novice or candidate, under the age of sixteen years. They are to spend some years to ascertain their vocation—whether they have grace, courage, or disposition, to enter with ardour upon the labours and privileges which charity and religion will impose upon them, in the event of their being admitted into this institution. Now, on the testimony of Maria Monk, it will be made appear that she is in her nineteenth year. It can be, and will be proved where she has been from her present age, until we trace her down to her fifteenth, when she could not have been received as a member of the religious community, or nuns, who superintended the Hospital Dieu.

Having been told, when at Montreal, that Maria Monk was never a member of the Hotel Dieu Institution, but that she was a *member of the Magdalene Asylum*—a house for the correction and reformation of aban-

doned women—accompanied by a respectable friend, I repaired to this establishment, and was very politely admitted by the very respectable lady, Mrs. M'Donnell, who superintends this institution, and by whose charitable efforts many of those unfortunate females, who have been victims of seduction, are won back to virtue and to God. It was here that *Miss* Monk found refuge from vice and wickedness. This *the kind of Nunnery* from which she made her *grand escape*. Having read her book I was fully competent to ascertain the exactness of her descriptions. The picture she draws of the *locale* of the Hotel Dieu *literally* corresponds with the *Magdalene Asylum*. There you may see the *gate* through which she effected her miraculous exit—*the room* where the *fancied* Nuns are occupied in preparing wax candles—*the apartment* where the superior nuns can watch, unobserved, the movements of the others, &c. I also understood, from the lady who presides over the institution, that three reverend gentlemen who had examined the Hotel Dieu, had been at the Magdalene Asylum the day before, and found Maria's description of the *building* of the Hotel Dieu to quadrate exactly with this house, established for the reformation of *blasted females*. During my visit to this abode, I was introduced to a character who makes a conspicuous figure in the "Awful Disclosures," as a very eccentric nun. *Like* Maria, she entered this house, which charity opened to the fallen female, but, unlike Maria, she remained not impenitent and abandoned. She deplored to me the part she is made to act in the "Disclosures." She declared that none of the things she is made to say or to do, by Maria Monk, *were ever said or done by her*. Justice to this injured individual requires this passing notice of her.

Among the observations that occurred to me during my stay at Montreal and Quebec, was the perfect harmony and mutual charity that prevailed between the Catholic and Protestant population. In the cities about two-thirds of the inhabitants are Catholics. The remaining third consists of Episcopalians, Scotch Presbyterians, and Methodists. In the interior of the country the population is almost exclusively Catholic. I was informed, by the best authority, that the priests of the seminaries are on the *most familiar* terms with their Protestant brethren. They very seldom preach on controversy, and when they do, they confine themselves *to theological proofs* of their tenets, without introducing any irritating topics. I was fortunate enough to meet, at a friend's house, a very intelligent Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Eason, the pastor of Maria Monk's mother. He expressed to me his astonishment at learning that there were many Protestants in the United States who believed the statements of Maria Monk. Charges so monstrous, said he, should not be credited without a *rock of evidence*. He further declared that there were no Protestants of any character, in Canada, who gave the smallest share of belief to the "Disclosures." This I found to be the case without exception. The right reverend and reverend clergymen, whom the author of this work has so wantonly assailed, and represented as guilty of the grossest immoralities, are known, throughout Canada, to be the most excellent and exemplary of men. Dr. Lartigue, the amiable, pious, and learned Bishop of Montreal, is universally revered as *the father of the poor, and the best friend of the forlorn orphan*. A school, near the Cathedral, in which the blessings of education are dispensed, *gratis*, to upwards of two hundred poor children, is chiefly supported out of the Episcopal revenue, which is by no means ample. The Rev. Mr. Phelan, a clergyman, who is also the subject of foul abuse, has, during fifteen years' residence in Montreal, secured to himself by innumerable acts of charity, a high place in the affections of the Irish, English, and Scotch Catholics and Protestants of this city.

The object of my tour to Canada being fully attained, I prepared to bid adieu to this interesting country, which in *the polish* of its inhabitants and in *the splendour of its* charitable establishments, reminded me of all that I had ever heard or read of *la belle France*. After having visited the splendid churches and institutions with which religion has beautified its cities—after having admired the walled and strongly fortified city of Quebec, the Gibraltar of America, and after having venerated the spot where the brave Montgomery fell—after feasting upon the enchanting views which the majestic St. Lawrence everywhere offers to the delighted traveller—the smiling and endless train of villages which line its shores, and the innumerable churches which, with their glittering spires, crown every hill, I departed, on the 25th of July, for the United States, bringing with me the most pleasing recollections—happy if I can make the slightest approximation to the living and lofty models of virtue, religion and charity, which it was my good fortune, *even transiently*, to behold.

THOMAS HEYDEN.

Chambersburg, August 2, 1836.

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SECTION IV.

From the New York Courier and Enquirer.

"AWFUL EXPOSURE."

WHEN we found, some months since, placed on our table a book entitled, "Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk," a glance at its contents sufficed to convince us that it was a most vile catchpenny concern, and we hastened to caution the public against its purchase. Unfortunately, however, so numerous now-a-days have the vehicles become in this city which spread a prurient tale before the world, which seek to live by creating an idle curiosity, or ministering to a depraved taste, that Maria Monk and her book soon became objects of public notoriety. It sold wonderfully we are told. Maria and her *reverend* friends found they were doing a thriving business, and by now and then springing some new mine to arouse public attention—such, for instance, as an application to the chancellor—have managed to this day to keep the book a going; and have received among them, from its sale, almost a little fortune.

For our parts we should not revert to this monstrous instance of gullibility, were it not that Messrs. Jones and Leclerk, of Montreal, publishers there of a highly respectable journal, learning that the book full of lies and nonsense sold so well, thought, we suppose, that a refutation of them would sell equally well,—that people so ready to devour absurdities would be equally desirous to learn the truth; and they have, in consequence, presented to us, under the title of "Awful Exposure," a plain narrative of the creature's life, with all the facts authenticated by affidavits.

She turns out to have been, what might be supposed, a half crazed prostitute and thief, an inmate of the Magdalen Asylum of Montreal, to which building the description she gives of the architectural arrangement of a nunnery applies, and the occupants of which she, in her book, has transferred into nuns. There is no peg left on which to hang a doubt. The girl is followed from her cradle to her last visit to Montreal in company with the Reverend! Mr. Hoyte. There are the affidavits of the individuals with whom she lived as a servant, of the constable who arrested her for theft, of people who knew her during her abandoned course of life, of her own mother, of the highly respectable matron of the Magdalen Asylum, and of the Protestant clergy of Montreal.

It has been reserved for this city and these days, to witness the success of a plan of deception, the scene of which is laid in our very neighbourhood, and in our own times, and a belief in which demands a belief in crimes incompatible with human nature. The tales of monkish excesses which flowed from the British press during the period of the Reformation, and which probably were circulated more from motives of policy, than any belief in their veracity, carried the scene of action to some distant country, to some almost inaccessible Italian mountain, or dark mysterious valley in Spain, where no law existed, or none could reach. But here we have a monstrous falsehood preached before us, impeaching men now in existence, and who are living at our own doors, and under a strict administration of law by English Protestants. Impudence and villany never went so far before.

The conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy of Lower Canada has been what reflection tells us was right and proper. They have treated the vile creature and her equally vile associates with silent contempt. How, indeed, could the spiritual guides of a whole population descend to notice the slanders of an abominable prostitute, or the Bishop of Montreal place the religious character of the females under his pastoral charge in opposition to that of a prostitute and the Rev. Mr. Hoyte.

SECTION V.

COLONEL STONE'S VISIT.

WE stated last week that Col. W. L. Stone, the editor of the New York Commercial Advertiser, had visited the nunnery in Montreal, the place in which Maria Monk lays the scene of her Awful Disclosures, and we determined to republish his statement, whatever it might be, knowing as we did, the character of Col. Stone, himself a member of a Presbyterian Church, and though strong in his feelings against the Catholic religion, still too much of a Christian to countenance any misstatement. The account of Col. Stone occupies seven pages of his paper, in which he gives some account of the monastic institutions, his arrangements for visiting the *Hotel Dieu*, &c., which we are compelled to omit this morning, and confine our extract to the investigations, remarking that Col. Stone says that the Rev. Mr. Perkins, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Montreal, and successor to the Rev. Mr. Christmas, endeavoured to prevent the publication of Maria Monk's book, by representing to the persons concerned its absolute falsehood. Col. Stone was accompanied by

his lady, Mr. Frothingham, and Mr. and Mrs. Shephard of Virginia.—*U. S. Gazette.*

The hour appointed for commencing our researches was two o'clock, and the residue of the morning was devoted to the study of the latest edition of the "Awful Disclosures," which is accompanied by the drawings of the premises as laid down in the tablets of Maria Monk's memory, and for a copy of which, I was indebted to the politeness of Mr. Clary. A few passages for special reference were marked in pencil, and the leaves turned down at others. But my determination was to take the examination book in hand, and refer to its pages as occasion might require. Such was the course pursued.

Punctual to the appointment, we arrived at five minutes after two, and were received in the apothecary's by the assistant superior, Miss Weeks, an American lady, and two other sisters, who had been designated to attend us. I inquired for Miss Beckwith, also from the United States, whose parents reside in the neighbourhood of Batavia; she was immediately sent for, and soon made her appearance. Our meeting was like that of old friends. She is certainly one of the most prepossessing ladies with whom I have ever met. Her countenance is full of intelligence, and expressive of great tenderness and sympathy, and the tones of her voice harmonized with these qualities. I remarked to them that I presumed from what had been dropped at our former visit, they were fully apprised of the object of our call—being, if possible, to test the truth or falsehood of Maria Monk's publication in New York. I informed them that I should be satisfied with nothing short of a minute examination of any and every part of the institution. I said to them, frankly, that I had been admonished of their arts of deception, and had been told that they would mislead me at every turn, and throw dust in my eyes at their own pleasure; and that, consequently, I trusted that they would be neither displeased nor surprised if the scrutiny I was about to institute, should seem over-nice and particular. They replied that it was their desire to have the investigation satisfactory to me, and that the keys and their assistance were at my disposal. The lady superior, they informed me, was confined to her apartment by indisposition, otherwise it would have been her pleasure to receive us in person. She would, however, be happy to receive us in her own apartment.

We then commenced our travels and researches, being soon joined by several additional members of the sisterhood, who accompanied us through our examination. Others we met in their respective apartments, busied in their regular occupations. Having passed through the hospitals as before, we entered the cloister, and proceeded through the various apartments of the first story. Every door of every room, closet, and pantry, was readily opened at my request, and there was not an apartment in either story which I did not examine with the closest scrutiny, from floor to ceiling, to note whether there had or had not been any alterations, any removal of partitions, closing of doors, new paintings, or suspicious whitewashings, or any such things, not forgetting one truth, inserted by the amanuensis of Maria, in the sequel of her latest edition, that "whatever alterations may be attempted, there are changes which no mason or carpenter can make and effectually conceal." But in this story there had been no changes of any kind. The work and the fixtures were all evidently time-worn and ancient.

There were, however, trap doors in several of the apartments—several more than are specified in the drawings of Maria Monk. Every one of these trap doors I opened myself, and into every one of the vaults I descended, sometimes alone, but more frequently accompanied by Messrs. Frothingham and Shephard. These vaults were usually store-rooms for the accommodation of the particular apartments immediately above. Every wall was carefully examined both as to its appearance, the texture of the mortar, &c. After these examinations were ended, the sisters took us into the yards, and conducted us into the cellars and vaulted rooms. The same scrutiny was everywhere made, and the texture of the mortar tried by an iron-pointed cane. Every door and passage-way was opened and examined with the like results.

We now re-entered the convent and ascended to the next story, examining every apartment with the most deliberate and eagle-eyed attention. We visited the cells of the nuns and examined their furniture. The unsophisticated reader may, perhaps, think these "cells" are very dark and gloomy places, with stone floors, and locks, and bars, and grates. No such thing. They are neat little apartments, containing a single bed with green curtains and counterpanes, two old-fashioned high-backed chairs, a little desk, with a small case for books, and within which is also a crucifix. The books, so far as we looked at them, were such as good Protestants might become still better by reading. Having ascended to the attic, we had now examined every part except one of the long attic

rooms, into which I looked carefully through a glass window at the head of the stairway, Miss Weeks having forgotten to bring the key to the door. The room was used for drying clothes, for which purpose, as it was well lighted, I saw the necessary fixtures, and I did not think it necessary to send the lady down all the stairs for the key.

Soon after we commenced our investigations, we were presented to the lady superior at the door of her apartment, into which we were admitted. She was suffering from an attack of rheumatism. She is a lady of dignity and refinement of manners, somewhat advanced in years. She received us with the utmost urbanity, nay, with cordiality, and regretted not being able to accompany us through the institution. Indeed the nuns have all the ease, simplicity, dignity, and grace, which distinguish the high-bred and truly genteel. I have rarely seen so many ladies together, possessing, in so great a degree, the charm of manner. They were all affability and kindness. Cheerfulness was universal, and very unlike the notions commonly entertained of the gloom of the cloister. Their faces were too often wreathed in smiles to allow us to suppose they were soon to assist in smothering their own children, or that those sweet spirits were soon to be trodden out of their bodies by the roughshod priests of the seminary. The costume of the black nuns is different from what I had supposed. The dress is of black bombazine, with ample skirt, and bishop sleeves; the neck dress consists of a large square white linen collar, reaching up to the chin; to this is attached a strap passing across the top of the head, to which the bandeau is fastened. This is a white linen band bound round the forehead and reaching down to the eyebrows, so as to conceal the hair entirely. To this the black veil is attached, which is made of a large double square of black Italian crape, and reaches from the top of the bandeau half way down the skirt behind. The face is not at all covered by the veil, nor the front of the person. The skirts are turned up like those of the gray nuns. The *tout ensemble* is dignified, becoming, and rather graceful.

In the recreation-room we were introduced to the novices, some four or five. The conversation was gay and cheerful, and so pleasant was their laughter at some of our remarks, that I asked them in badinage, what right they had to laugh—that in such a place their business must be to look grave and gloomy, and never smile. The greater number of the nuns are advanced in life, and some of them are very aged. In the infirmary of the cloister, we were introduced to quite an aged member of the community. Although an invalid for many years, she was cheerful and agreeable, receiving us with marks of kind consideration. Indeed I have never witnessed in any community or family, more unaffected cheerfulness and good humour, nor more satisfactory evidence of entire confidence, esteem, and harmony among each other.

Among the instances of innocent sportiveness which occurred, proving that the merry mischief of woman did not always leave her on taking the veil, was the following: I had been diligently looking for the "purgatory," as laid down in Maria Monk's book. The sisters told me I must find it. At length we came to a small apartment, less ancient than the other wood-work, built out from the wall, in one corner of a large room, in the apartment in which the hired women, seamstresses, spinners, &c., were at work. The door was locked, and there was no window, except a square cut hole through the partition deals, high up from the floor. "Ah," I exclaimed, "Miss Weeks, what have you here?" "Nothing"—said she—"nothing but a——poor nun doing penance!" "That spinning wheel," I remarked, "would be penance enough for many young ladies in our country. But give us the key." "No," she said—"you must look for yourself." Taking a chair, I thereupon climbed up to the dark hole, and thrusting my head through, discovered that the mysterious cell was a store-room for loaf-sugar hanging round the walls, and a few barrels of other family supplies. And this was all the "purgatory" discovered by us.

And here, perhaps, I may as well remark as elsewhere, that in the course of our inspection I took frequent occasion to refer to the drawings and the pages of the "Awful Disclosures," and I am constrained to say that I was utterly unable, throughout, to discern any mark, or sign, or trace of resemblance to anything she had laid down or described, other than the external localities, which nobody could well mistake. But so far as it regards the whole interior, neither I nor my companions could discover, from the drawings, the least evidence that the author had ever been within the walls of the cloister. By way of excusing the inaccuracies—or rather the total and all but universal dissimilarity of the map—the friends of Maria first assert that great changes have been made in the building; and if that is not sufficient, they imploringly exclaim—"Oh, what can a poor girl do! We do not pretend to perfect accuracy—but she has given drawings from recollection, the best that were in her power." To the

first excuse it may be replied, without fear of contradiction from any one but Maria herself, that there have been no changes. To the second it may be well said that the girl must be an incorrigible blockhead, not to be able to remember somewhat of the interior of a house in which she pretends to have been so long a resident, and in some apartments of which she maintains that such terrible scenes have been enacted. But she does not; and it is a little remarkable that the only internal resemblance to the diagrams she has given are said to be found in the recent Catholic Magdalen Asylum of Mrs. McDonnell, which was dissolved about a week before our visit, and in which the celebrated Jane Ray remained until the last.

Having ascended again to the apothecary, Miss Weeks informed us that the task was over. I told her that there was another cellar under the wing in which we then were, which I had not explored. She remarked that, as that did not properly belong to the convent, my permission did not extend to it. For a moment my suspicions were awakened. I replied that I must explore that cellar, and the trap door which I had discovered near where we were, or my work was not done. Miss Beckwith was thereupon despatched to the superior for permission, which was immediately and readily granted. The task of exploration was forthwith undertaken and executed. It was most thoroughly done; and we were now about to take leave, when I discovered another cellar door leading from the outside directly into that part of the building from beneath which, according to the plan of the book, the secret subterranean passages lead to the Seminary one way, and the Congregational (School) Nunnery the other. I asked if I might examine that cellar. Certainly, they said; but as it is merely the kitchen cellar, we did not suppose that you cared about looking into it. An Irish labourer near by was then directed to go into the kitchen for the keys, and Mr. Frothingham and myself were inducted by Pat into the receptacle of potatoes and turnips—for such it proved to be. But here, true enough, we discovered what Maria calls "a great, gloomy iron door!" To be sure, it was in quite a different place from that designated by her. But it was locked, and would not yield. Perhaps, thought I, we shall find the range of prison cells here—poor nuns with gags, and a charnel house of skeletons. I told Pat he must open that door. Well, he said he must do it upon the other side—and away he went. In a moment more, the massive iron turned upon its ponderous hinges, and lo! we were—— let into the daylight on the other side, in a store-room which we had examined before! There was also a kitchen well in this cellar —small, and furnished with an old iron pump, and other dilapidated fixtures. Not supposing that the nuns would throw their murdered sisters and children into the spring from which they draw their water for their tea and cooking, I did not descend. The walls, however, as before, were most thoroughly examined, into every nook and corner—and I was compelled now to conclude my subterranean researches, without being able to stroll *under* the deep foundation of the cathedral, and startle the priests of the Seminary by coming up through one of their own trap-doors.

I have already remarked that the cellars in general were used for store-rooms. In one of them, into which I descended through a trap-door, I found a number of large stone jugs. Recollecting that Maria had spoken of some vessels, which from her description must have been carboys of sulphuric acid, used, as she intimates, with lime, to destroy the remains of the murdered victims, I examined these jugs. From the odour of the corks, and the scent of the jugs themselves, I presumed their contents had been syrups, essences, and medicinal decoctions for the sick and the apothecary. The only lime that I discovered was in a hot bed the gardener had been making for radishes, I believe.

Thus ended this examination, in which we were most actively engaged for about three hours. The result is the most thorough conviction that Maria Monk is an arrant impostor—that she never was a nun, and was never within the walls of the cloister of the Hotel Dieu—and consequently that her disclosures are wholly and unequivocally, from beginning to end, untrue—either the vagaries of a distempered brain, or a series of calumnies unequalled in the depravity of their invention, and unsurpassed in their enormity. There are those, I am well aware, who will not adopt this conclusion, though one should arise from the dead and attest it—even though "Noah, Daniel, and Job" were to speak from the slumber of ages and confirm it.

These will ask why, if the "Disclosures" were not true, the nunnery was not at once thrown open to the public—why its doors were so long closed—and why did silence as to those charges so long reign within its walls? There are several reasons. In the first place, the tales were so improbable of themselves, and the character of Maria Monk herself so literally worthless and detestable, that it was not deemed necessary to pay the least regard

to them. They did not suppose in Montreal, either within or without the convent, that there could be found in the United States, or elsewhere, persons so weak and so credulous as to lend the least credence to them. But the best answer is found in the sensible remarks of the nuns themselves. "You see," said Miss Weeks, "how impossible it would be for us to conduct the establishment, if visiters were usually admitted into the cloister for no other object than the gratification of their own idle curiosity—more especially such crowds of visiters as we should have had after the publication of the work." Proceeding with her conversation, she added—"We are constantly employed, and each has her portion of occupation. If our labours are interrupted, our sick must suffer, and the whole business of the establishment come to an end." And besides all this, a man's house is his castle; and what man or woman among us, or which of our hospitals or public institutions would consent to suspend their labours, and relinquish all their comforts, to gratify successive swarms of Canadians, or others, whose curiosity might be stimulated by the scandalous tales of one of Mrs. M'Dowell's pupils?

In answer to my objection that the drawings furnished by Maria Monk do not, so far as I or any one else have yet been able to discover, correspond with the internal fixtures and localities, it has been said, and will be said again and again, that great alterations have been made in the nunnery—that masons, and carpenters, and painters have been at work these nine months—and that the newly escaped nun (Frances Partridge) declares that so many alterations have been made during that period, that she should scarcely recognise it herself. To this I answer most emphatically, it is not true. There have been no such alterations, either in the building within, or the vaults beneath, or the walls without. All things remain as they were. Let it here be borne in mind, "that whatever alterations may be attempted there are changes which no mason or carpenter can make and effectually conceal." Impressed with this truth—and it is almost the only one I have been able to discover in the book, I went prepared upon this point. I thought it not unlikely that I might be mystified by paint and whitewash. But it was not so. There is not an outward wall, nor a cellar, nor a vault, that has been whitewashed. The mason-work is all, everywhere, of stone-work, ancient and massive. The mortar, moreover, has become everywhere so indurated in the lapse of time, as to be impenetrable as the stone it serves to cement together. No builder could break up an old stone wall or partition and remove it or stop up a vault, or build up a gateway without leaving indubitable evidence of the new work, and the alterations. Could any builder in New York build up the doors and windows of the Bridewell, without the use of paint or whitewash, so as to prevent detection, or so as to make the new work in all respects correspond with the old! The thing is impossible.

Again—Maria Monk has laid down the track by which she says she escaped, and has given a narrative of the way she proceeded to get out, which, in the first place, the walls she must have climbed, prove to be impossible, and to which the internal regulations of the house, as I believe, give a positive contradiction. By the course she has marked out on the map, she must have come first to within a few feet of the broad gate, always open in the daytime, leading into St. Joseph Street. In the yard where she then was, there are various doors opening into several parts of the buildings. Well, having been near the broad gate, she says she wheeled round to the right, almost crossed her track in turning a wing, and finally escaped through the garden grounds into Jean Baptiste Street. Now this whole tale is not only improbable, but absolutely impossible. There is no passage that way. She must have leaped a succession of walls—the outer wall some twenty feet high—walls which no unaided mortal, man or woman, could have surmounted.

When reminded of these facts by Messrs. Jones and Le Clerc, gentlemen from Montreal, who had an interview with Maria at Messrs. Van Nostrand and Dwight's bookstore, in August, she resorted to the usual subterfuge, that there were a door and a grate there then—but intimating that they had been altered. Again I say *it is not true!* The walls have stood a century—there was no gate, and no passage-way has been filled up. As well might Alderman Woodruff send a bevy of masons to build up the portals of the City Hall, and the people of New York not know it, as that such works could have been executed in Montreal, and the people of Montreal kept in ignorance of the fact. But whence this great difficulty of escaping? There are plenty of doors and gates, and every nun has a key at her side. Their restraint is voluntary, and they can break their vow and retire if they please. Or, if their health will not bear the confinement, they can leave after the white veil, and before taking the black. Such instances are not rare. The whole tale is one of falsehood.

Again, as to the secret passage under

ground to the Seminary. Whence its necessity, since the gate is always open, and the hospitals with communicating doors to the cloisters always accessible? If such passage had ever existed, it must necessarily have led under the present foundation of the stupendous cathedral before described. The foundations of this structure were laid broad and deep. They dug until they came to water; and had such a pathway existed, it would have been discovered then. Mr. Frothingham and hundreds of others passed the spot daily, and viewed the progress of the work continually. Yet no such passage was ever seen or heard of. And there has been no filling up. There was indeed an old passage-way to the river—perhaps from the old French church in Notre Dame Street, now pulled down, constructed, according to tradition, for use in time of war—perhaps for the procurement of water—but that has long years ago been filled up.

It was probably some reminiscence of this old affair that gave the hint for the story of the passage to the Seminary. But no such passage exists. * * *

But I weary in the exposure of impossibilities. Nor is it necessary to proceed farther with them. I might indeed write a volume as large as her own, in the exposure of the multitudinous inconsistencies and contradictions of the "Awful Disclosures." But "the game would not be worth the candle." And besides, with the ample refutation I have given the great and essential features of her work,—the minor and less important fabrications fall to the ground of course. I will therefore now close this protracted narrative by expressing my deliberate and solemn opinion, founded not only upon my own careful examination, but upon the firmest convictions of nearly the entire population of Montreal, embracing the great body of the most intelligent evangelical Christians, THAT MARIA MONK IS AN ARRANT IMPOSTOR, AND HER BOOK, IN ALL ITS ESSENTIAL FEATURES, A TISSUE OF CALUMNIES. However guilty the Catholics may be in other respects, or in other countries, as a man of honour and professor of the Protestant faith, I MOST SOLEMNLY BELIEVE THAT THE PRIESTS AND NUNS ARE INNOCENT IN THIS MATTER.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the copy of the foregoing narrative was placed in the hands of the printer, at the urgent solicitation of some of the friends of Maria Monk, I have had an interview with her, together with the newly escaped nun, as she calls herself, Frances Partridge, who has arrived in season to confirm all Maria's statements, and add divers other tales of terror of her own. The result is, so far from giving me reason to alter a single line that I have written, I would add to the force of my contradictions of the calumnies contained in the "Awful Disclosures," if language would allow of it; for if I before had entertained the least lingering fragment of a suspicion, that I could in any respect have been deceived, this interview would have done all away. The friends of Maria have looked upon the arrival and confirmatory statements of Miss Partridge as a godsend; but if they are ever brought to their right minds upon this subject, they will lament in bitterness of heart that they ever had anything to do with either. It is not necessary to go into details of the short examination which I gave them, in presence of some half dozen of their friends, clerical and laical. Suffice it to say, that their imposture was, in ten minutes, rendered as apparent as the sun at noonday. I am now more free and bold than ever to declare, *that neither Maria Monk, nor Frances Partridge, has ever been within the walls of the Convent of the Hotel Dieu.* So ignorant, indeed, is Frances Partridge of the institution, that she located it on the wrong side of a very large block of buildings—assigning a passage and stairway entrance into the *Hotel Dieu* from Notre-Dame Street. Nor was this a mere *lapsus linguæ*. I gave her time to recover. Maria—for they assisted in prompting each other—gave her a kind hint to recover herself, but she did not "take," and three times distinctly, did she repeat the fatal mistake. In the course of various other questions, she stated that within her knowledge, a new stone wall had been erected across a particular cellar, during the late summer. The story was untrue. On being asked which of the cellars was newly white-washed during the present season, she replied that they had all been thoroughly white-washed throughout, this season—that she had herself assisted in white-washing them—and asked Maria, if they had not formerly been engaged in that work together. To which Maria assented. *Now it is a fact that neither of the cellars of the Hotel Dieu has ever been white-washed at all!* neither the present year, nor in years past. Not a particle of white-wash has been used beneath the first story, and the walls are as bare of lime as when taken from the quarry! The examination was pursued, especially with Maria, until the proof was clear as the light that they were both, in all respects, lying impostors. Under the circumstances, I gave my views to the gentlemen present, and begged them to discard them at once.

But as I thought they appeared to place more confidence in their word than in mine, I retired. They urged me to stay longer; but I told them it would do no good. The fact was now unquestionable, that they had never been in the convent, and remain and bandy words with them I would not. One reverend gentleman waxed angry, and said that he had as good a right to pronounce me a liar, in saying that I had been in the nunnery, as I had to pronounce those women liars. Of course I took my leave—pained that men of sense should allow such spirit, and allow themselves to be made such egregious dupes of, by two of the most shallow impostors that I ever saw. The apostle speaks of certain men in latter days, who, among other things, were to "make captive silly women." The case is here reversed.—"Silly women," are "making captive" men of sense. How melancholy to see grave theologians, and intelligent laymen, thus pinning themselves to the aprons of such women! But enough. W. L. S.

SECTION VI.

MARIA MONK.

COLONEL STONE.—This Evangelical speculation has totally failed. The poor saints! To what shall they turn their ingenuity next? But they have now a *Partridge*. Well, as Colonel Stone says, she must indeed be a Godsend; all we have to say, is, we wish them luck in their bargain. We have mentioned the name of Colonel Stone, and we invite the attention of all who read the Miscellany, to the report of the visit *he* paid to the Nunnery in Montreal, (penned with his own hand,) for the avowed purpose of comparing the interior of the establishment with Maria's diagrams, and we leave to themselves the task of recording a verdict for or against him. In certain quarters we well know its fate. It will drive the saints stark mad, and sooner than yield one iota, sooner than pen one line that would convince the incredulous of their honesty, come before them any testimony, no matter how unimpeachable, true to the spirit of their vocation, Maria must be the pink of truth; and even amongst ourselves might perhaps be found an Evangelical, equally as in New York, who would brand the editor of the Commercial as a *liar*. Be it so—they know that upon such they live. We take the following notice of Colonel Stone's report from the Philadelphia *National Gazette*:—

"Regard for the cause of truth, and the claims of an injured community of charitable women, on our sense of justice, has not allowed us to hesitate an instant in giving place to the narrative of a visit to the nunnery of the Hotel-Dieu, by the editor of the Commercial Advertiser, which will be found on our first page. We have had but one opinion concerning the Disclosures of Maria Monk, since their original appearance. We have ever looked upon the greedy credulity which aided their circulation as nearly akin to the spirit which prompted the destruction of the Charlestown Convent, and allied to the worst exhibitions of religious bigotry, which modern times have witnessed. The tardy justice afforded to the objects of that bad woman's malevolence, can, it is true, do very little towards removing the impressions produced by her wide-spread falsehoods, but it may make the public more cautious in future. It may, moreover, teach those who taking credit for good motives, without sufficient examination, give their sanction to wild tales of atrocious and systematic crime, that their own responsibility to an enlightened community will be measured by what they are bound to know, rather than by what they feel willing to believe. A distant scene, an exciting theme, an absent object, may make falsehood easy, tempting and plausible, but we have yet to learn that it can render it justifiable or lessen the obligations of those who circulate it, to examine thoroughly the grounds of its pretensions. The extent and completeness of the investigation should increase with the facility of the fraud.

"As to the miserable woman herself, the alleged authoress of these calumnies, she appears never to have entered the walls of whose whereabout she prates with such pertinacity of falsehood, or if she has entered them, to have done so as an object of charity and the victim of disease. In the former case her tale falls instantly to the ground, as it purports to be founded on her personal observations. In the latter, she has but added ingratitude to her other crimes; reciprocating beneficence by a libel, and stinging where she was fostered. But the conduct and character of Maria Monk, individually, are of little consequence. It is the use to which her inventions have been put and the stimulus which they have been made to administer to bad passions and invidious ends, which are to be stigmatized and deplored. She herself seems to be but one of those profligate outcasts over whom humanity may weep, but who are below censure as they are beyond reformation.

SECTION VII.

Col. Stone—Dr. Brownlee.

To the Editors of the Journal of Commerce.

Gentlemen:—"Can a man meddle with pitch and not be defiled?" is a question, perhaps, that I ought to have put to myself, before I consented to a late interview with Dr. Brownlee and others, which has occasioned the correspondence of which this letter forms a part. Perhaps, also, it should be repeated, before I stoop to notice such a communication as that of the estimable Doctor, which graced the columns of your journal of yesterday. Of that the public must judge.

It was inconsiderate in me, I admit, thus alone to have been drawn into the society of Dr. Brownlee and his associates, under the circumstances of the case, albeit the result has been favourable to the cause of truth. The object of the interview, on my part, was to bring the character of Maria Monk and Frances Partridge to the test, in the presenee of Dr. Brownlee, whom I considered a weak and vain, but nevertheless, a good man, unhappily given over to "strong delusions." I was labouring under the erroneous impression that the Doctor was himself a lover and a searcher after truth. It appears, however, that the object of the Doctor was far otherwise; it being rather to ensnare me, and by a species of *Jesuitism* which I am truly sorry to find prevailing to any extent among Protestants,* to draw such information from me as might perchance assist their hopeful *protegees* in continuing their impositions upon a credulous public. Having foiled them in their purpose, and at the same time, by the simplest possible process of eliciting truth, unmasked the aforesaid females, and disclosed their impostures and their falsehoods in the very presence of their protectors, it is but natural that the latter should feel somewhat uncomfortable in view of the very unequivocal attitude in which they might themselves be made to stand before the bar of an outraged public.

Such being the peculiar, and certainly most unenviable predicament in which Dr. Brownlee and his associates are placed, great allowance is to be made for the temper and spirit of the articles published by them in relation to this matter. Of the first, to which I replied on Saturday last, Doctor Brownlee denies the authorship, although he ambitiously placed his name at the head of the trio who so chivalrously avouched the imaginary facts contained therein. The Doctor says it was written by the Rev. Mr. Slocum—a very benevolent gentleman, whose mantle of charity envelopes the precious persons of Maria Monk and Frances Partridge. Very well, let the authorship rest there. Mr. Slocum has acknowledged that Maria Monk will sometimes lie, and perhaps he was using her pen when he wrote the article.

A few words more of Dr. Brownlee. The Doctor's complaint is, that "I insulted two helpless females, by ribald language in his own house," whereupon he undertook to fulfil the Scriptures by getting *angry* without *sinning*—with what degree of success is not for me to say. Certainly he *sinned* against good manners. In regard to "ribald language," I leave the public to judge by the full report just published by Howe and Bates in a pamphlet. Perhaps I am wrong, but it does seem to me that when a minister of the Dutch Church ascertains that he has invited gentlemen to meet ladies who are not only harlots but impostors, his anger should be directed towards those who are proved to be such, and not be wreaked upon the head of the very person invited there to ascertain their true character.

I shall pass over most of the Doctor's "ribaldry," as being altogether unworthy of anybody but the author. There is one passage, however, so pungent and so beautiful, and so true withal, that I cannot forbear requesting you to repeat its publication:—"Colonel Stone has become, all of a sudden, for reasons best known to himself, an apt pupil of his new-made associates and fellow-labourers, the Jesuit priests, *with whom he has been quaffing champagne and smoking segars;* for instance, with '*My lord, Bishop M'Donald,' et id genus!*"

This gentlemanly charge first appeared in a penny paper—The Sun. The Doctor has not designated it by marks of quotation, and it is therefore a fair presumption that he was himself the writer. I congratulate the readers of the penny papers on such an acquisition to their hopeful corps. The Protestant Vindicator will consequently stand no longer alone in its—infamy. But, Messrs. Editors, paltry, contemptible, and despicable as this miserable attempt at wit may seem, I shall not suffer the Doctor to get off from this point quite so easily. Though but the repetition of a stale imputation of old party times, it is nevertheless false in itself, and doubly false in the base insinuations of collusion with the Catholic priests, which it is intended to convey. It is more than nine years since I have pol-

* [Among whom, alone, this miscalled "Jesuitism" has any real existence.]

luted my lips with a segar; and I never tasted wine with a Catholic or any other priest in Canada. Let the Doctor think of this matter when he goes next into the pulpit, or rather before he goes.

There are only one or two other points of the learned Doctor's fanfaronade upon which I will bestow attention. The Doctor says he will prove the existence of the subterranean passage from the Hotel Dieu to the priest's seminary, and will also prove the alterations of the premises of which we have heard so much. Undoubtedly he can prove these things, and as much more as he pleases—*by Maria Monk and Francis Partridge!!!* neither of whom has ever been in the nunnery. But to prove either of those statements by a credible witness, who knows anything upon the subject, he cannot—since *such* a subterranean passage only exists in the *word* of the two female worthies just mentioned, and in the distempered imaginations of their friends and protectors in New York; and as for the alterations, I repeat that they have never, one of them, been made. There is no mistake upon this point—as the worthy Doctor would soon ascertain beyond the power of allowing himself to be duped any longer, if he would go and look for himself. Second sight would not save him from the dissolution of his hallucination.

Again:—"Col. Stone risks his honour and veracity in solemnly declaring that he has, in less than three hours, visited and explored every room, chamber, closet, garret, and cellar, in that immense pile of four vast extensive buildings; of three buildings three hundred and twenty-five feet: and one, namely, the central building, four hundred and sixty-eight long, by about one hundred feet wide each; having, on an average, including the cellars, four stories! And that, moreover, in less than three hours, he carried his lady and another lady over all these immense buildings."

Doctor Brownlee! Doctor Brownlee! Don't be after making such a Judy of yourself. Why, mon, there's nae siccan a pile buildings in all America. The Capitol at Washington and Astor's Hotel together, would not make up the number, or the dimensions. "Three buildings three hundred and twenty feet, and another four hundred and sixty-eight feet long, all four stories high, and one hundred feet wide!" Oh, Doctor Brownlee! Doctor Brownlee, oh! Why the hospital and the nunnery are both under one roof—are scarce as large as either one of the imaginary buildings you have mentioned. Those are merely "*castles in the air*," my good Doctor, that you see. Pray go to Montreal, and you will find the Hotel Dieu to consist of a rather spacious old-fashioned two-story house—no more stories, Doctor, whatever *stories* you may tell about them—a few ordinary outbuildings, no basement story, and only some comfortably dry cellars for stowing away potatoes, cabbages, apples, and empty barrels. You will find on most of the grounds which you fancy to be occupied by those tremendous structures, a variety of fruit-trees, and some very good crops of corn and beans, potatoes and parsnips, timothy-grass and sun-flowers. But as for those immense piles of buildings, good Doctor, it would require the second sight of yourself and all the "Whigs of Scotland" to find them. But we forget those great alterations!!! Goodbye, my dear Doctor, and may you live a thousand years—five hundred of which, I am afraid, will be required to bring you back to this mundane sphere, and your own sober senses.

I am, with the most profound consideration, and with unspeakable regard for your reverence's acumen, your reverence's very humble and dutiful servant,

WILLIAM L. STONE.

New York, Thursday morning.

SECTION VIII.

COLONEL STONE'S INTERVIEW WITH MARIA MONK AND FRANCES PARTRIDGE.

AFTER the copy of the foregoing narrative was placed in the hands of the printer, at the urgent solicitation of some of the friends of Maria Monk, I had an interview with her, together with the newly-escaped nun, as she calls herself Frances Partridge, who has arrived in season to confirm all Maria's statements, and add divers other tales of terror of her own. The result is, that so far from giving me reason to alter a single line that I have written, I would add to the force of my contradictions of the calumnies contained in the "Awful Disclosures," if language would allow of it; for if I before entertained the least lingering fragment of a suspicion, that I could in any respect have been deceived, the interview would have done all away. The friends of Maria have looked upon the arrival and confirmatory statements of Miss Partridge as a godsend: but if they are ever brought to their right minds upon this subject, they will lament in bitterness of heart, that they ever had anything to do with either. In order that the public may be enabled to judge as to the credibility of those wretched women, from

their own testimony, I proceed to give a succinct account of the interview referred to. We met by my own appointment, (after repeated invitations,) at the house of the Rev. Dr. Brownlee, at half-past 4 o'clock, P. M. of Friday last. The two pretended fugitives were attended by the Rev. Messrs. Brownlee, Bourne, and Slocum, and by three lay-gentlemen, who feel a deep interest in the controversy, and of whom one was the writer of Maria Monk's "Awful Disclosures." There was also another lady present. The pretended nuns were seated side by side, in close proximity, able and willing, as the event proved, to aid and assist each other by suggestions if necessary. After an introduction and a pause of a moment, the conversation was commenced, I believe by the Rev. Mr. Slocum, the guardian of Miss Monk, and with whom Miss Partridge is also now residing. Mr. S. began by a series of preliminary questions, to the following effect:—

"You have recently been in Montreal, I am told?"

"Yes."

"How were you pleased?"

"Very well."

"Did you ever see the Rev. Mr. Clary?"

"Yes."

"I am surprised that he has not written to me: I have been expecting letters from him for some time. Did you see much of him?"

"I saw him three times."

"Did you visit any nunneries?"

"I did."

"Which of them?"

"Two; the Gray nuns, and the Hotel-Dieu."

"Which is the largest of the two?"

"The convent of the Gray Sisters occupies the most ground, I believe?"

"Are you not mistaken? The Black Nunnery is very large."

"True; but I believe the grounds of the other are of the greatest extent."

"Well; where did you go next?"

"To the Hotel-Dieu."

"Which way did you enter it?"

"Through the broad gate, in St. Joseph Street."

By Miss Monk. "You found yourself among a number of out-buildings there?"

"Yes; several."

Thus far I had submitted to the questioning, because the preliminaries were not material. Another question was now put to me, I think by Mr. Slocum, the effect of which would have been to make me open the doors of the convent to them. This was not the plan I had adjusted in my own mind, to bring the veracity of the pretended nuns to the test. My reply to the question was as follows:—

"Gentlemen, I did not come here to be catechised. I have answered thus far cheerfully. But I am neither a party in this matter, nor a witness. I came here on invitation, to meet these ladies, and hear what they and you have to say. My object is to arrive at the truth as to the matter in hand."

To which there was a general reply from the gentlemen, that was also their only object.

After a pause, and a few indifferent remarks as to the embarrassment of the position in which we were all placed, Maria Monk spoke up quite pertly:—

"I should think that such an old man as you, Mr. Stone, would not be afraid to speak to such girls as we" (or before us upon this subject, I am not certain as to the words.)

"Not so very old, Miss Monk; how could you say so? I have not a gray hair yet!"

Miss Monk. But can't you tell us how you found the nunnery? We should like to know something about it, as you have been there so long since we have.

"So I suppose. But I don't choose to be questioned about it now."

Another brief pause then ensued. The truth was, I had resolved in my mind, if called to examine the pretended nuns, to take them upon two or three definite points, so simple that they could not be misunderstood, and of such a nature as would most likely test the question at once, whether or not they were acquainted with the institution. It would have been a pretty affair for me to have given a lecture upon the internal structure and police of the institution, from which these women—impostors as I doubt not they were—might derive facts and hints for improving their plausibility, and thus serve to aid them in keeping up the deception. It was a trap in which I was not to be caught.

However, after looking at each other a few seconds, and the interchange around the circle of a few words of no importance—finding that the interview was likely to result in nothing, I told them, if it was their desire, I would break the silence by asking a few questions; to which all assented.

The following is the spirit of the examination which ensued, and nearly in the very words:—

Question by Mr. Stone. Miss Partridge, you are lately from the Hotel-Dieu?

Answer by Miss Partridge. I am.

Q. Well, Miss Partridge, about these alterations that have been going on in the nunnery; I am told that you say they have been so extensive, and the place is so much changed, that you would hardly know it yourself?

A. Yes, it is so.

Q. Very well; be so good as to tell me which of the walls in the cellar has been built during this season?

A. A wall across the east side of the cellar.

Q. The east side? You are quite sure, Miss Partridge?

A. Yes.

Q. What kind of a wall is it?

A. It was a wall——

Q. Of stone, I suppose?

A. Yes.

Very well; all the walls are of stone, of course.

Q. Now as to the plastering of the ceiling, do you know anything of that?

A. The ceiling was all newly plastered, and partly down on the wall, where it broke off. You could see a blue or green streak where the new plaster was joined on.

By Dr. Brownlee. Was it light in the cellar so that you could see?

A. Yes; perfectly light.

Q. Miss Partridge, you are quite certain of all this?

A. Yes.

Gentlemen, it is important to pay attention to these points.

Question by Miss Partridge. Did you go up all the stairs?

A. I believe I did.

Question by Miss Partridge. Did you go up the long stairway leading from Notre Dame Street?

A. The stairway, did you say, leading from Notre Dame Street? Are you quite sure?

At this moment Maria jogged her, and interposed—"The Congregational Nunnery you mean!"*

Mr. Stone. I am talking to Miss Partridge, Miss Monk. You are certain, Miss Partridge, that it is the long stairway, leading from the Hotel-Dieu into Notre Dame Street?

A. Yes; that is the one, (or words equivalent.)

Gentlemen, these inquiries are important, and must be kept in mind.

Question by Mr. Stone. Well, Miss Partridge, we will come to the cellars again. Pray tell me which of the cellars under the hospital has been the latest whitewashed, during the present season?

A. Why, they all have been whitewashed this summer.

Q. What! all the vaults and cellars? Are you quite sure, Miss Partridge?

A. Yes; all of them have been thoroughly whitewashed.

Q. Are you not mistaking about *all* being whitewashed?

A. No: I know it, for I helped to whitewash them myself. Why, (turning to Miss Monk) Maria, you have helped me to whitewash them, hav'n't you?

To which I understood Maria to assent.

This examination of the latest pattern of an escaped nun was sufficient. I told her that was enough, and turning to her friends I remarked:

Gentlemen, that woman has not been in the Hotel Dieu at all. She is an impostor. She is imposing falsehoods upon you. I assure you, upon my honour, and from my own personal knowledge and observation, that all she has told us here is false. There has been no new wall built where she describes, or in any other place. I have examined every inch of ground. There have been none of the alterations of which she speaks: not the removal of a wall, a partition, or board. She does not know, gentlemen, even where the convent is situated, for she has located it on the wrong street, and on the wrong side of a very large block. Three times has she said there is a large stairway, and a passage from the convent directly into Notre Dame Street: whereas the convent is far away from that street, without any opening or communication thither. But, more than all, gentlemen, on the subject of the whitewashing. All that she has said is false; not a single cellar

* The convent of La Congregatione de Notre Dame, in Notre Street, and forms a range of buildings 234 feet in front, and 433 in depth, along St. Jean Baptiste Street; besides the principal edifice, it contains numerous detached buildings, and a large garden. The Hotel-Dieu stands on the south or southeast corner of a large block, formed by St. Paul Street, on the east, St. Jean Baptiste Street on the north, Notre Dame Street on the west, and St. Joseph Street on the south. The Congregational Nunnery stands on the north or northwest corner of the block fronting on Notre Dame Street. Thus the two nunneries are on the opposite sides of the block, and at diagonally opposite corners, one fronting to the east, and the other to the west. The Congregational Nunnery is composed of sixty sisters, and the object of the institution is female instruction in its different branches. The business of the sisters is giving instruction; and they often send missionaries into different parts of the district to take charge of parish schools.

or vault of that convent has *ever* been whitewashed! The walls are as dark and bare of lime as when they were first built, a century ago. This fact I know, from having just examined every one of them with the closest scrutiny. And yet she says she helped to whitewash them; and Maria, too, says she has formerly helped her! It is all false, gentlemen.

Question by Dr. Brownlee. But, Miss Partridge, how many stories are there under ground?

A. Only two under ground. Oh, I believe the lower one under ground has not been whitewashed.

By Mr. Stone. That does not help the matter at all, Doctor. In the first place, there is no such thing under ground; and in the second, the first and only story under ground has never been whitewashed at all. It is all false.

Having thus spoken, Miss Partridge drew back with affected dignity, intimating that she would say no more to me, if I presumed to deny her having been in the nunnery. I thereupon turned to Miss Monk.

Q. Well, Miss Monk, how happened it that when you escaped from the nunnery, after coming round the wing into the yard, and within a very few feet of the wide gate into St. Joseph Street, you turned so short about, almost crossing your track, and finally went out across the grounds, and into Jean Baptiste Street?

By Mr. Slocum. We have never supposed that the drawing was laid down exactly right; the poor girl was so frightened, that she did not know exactly how she did get out.

Q. You are quite sure, Miss Monk, that you passed out across the (garden) grounds into Jean Baptiste Street?

A. Yes.

Q. But, Miss Monk, there are several high walls in the way—all solid stone walls—and the outer wall is some twenty feet high. Pray how did you get over these obstacles?

A. I went out through the gates.

Mr. Stone. But there are no gates: the walls are solid, massive stones.

Miss Monk. It was so then; I don't know what alterations have been made since.

I now turned, and remarked to the company: "Gentlemen, this is utterly untrue. There is no passage in that direction. There are no gates. This wall is as solid as when built a century ago."

Some general remarks were made by the circle, about the possibility of the alterations having been made, and yet the spectator or the public being kept in ignorance of them. I replied to these objections much in the manner of my remarks upon that point, in the preceding narrative of my visit to the convent. "Mr. Dwight," I remarked, "do you suppose it would be possible for a builder to send his workmen to the Park, and build up the portals of the City Hall with solid mason-work, without the workmen being seen, or the alteration attracting the public notice? And do you suppose, that by the day after such an alteration had been made, the people would forget that there had ever been such a portal there? The thing is impossible: and equally impossible would it be for the priests and nuns to make the alterations for which you contend, without the knowledge of the people of Montreal, who are passing and repassing the convent every hour and moment of the day.

I now resumed the examination of Maria Monk.

Q. Miss Monk, in your book you speak of finding a certain book in the superior's room, containing a record for two years, of the entrance of novices into the convent, and the births of children which were murdered?

A. Yes.

Q. How many pages did that book contain?

A. I do not remember.

Q. Can you recollect how many pages are stated in your book?

A. No. I told Mr. Dwight as near as I could recollect, and he put it down.

Mr. Stone. Very well: I will help you. Your book says there were about one hundred pages. Now, Miss Monk, how many pages did you say were written over?

A. I don't recollect. I told Mr. Dwight as near as I could.

By Miss Partridge and Miss Monk. We could never have time to count the pages of such a book. We should not dare to look at such a book more than two minutes, and how could we count the pages!

Mr. Stone. Very well: I will help you again. You say in your book that one quarter of the book was written through—making twenty-five pages. Now, Miss Monk, can you tell how many entries there were on each page?

A. I do not recollect.

Mr. Stone. Then I will assist you again. You say there were about fifteen entries on a page. Now, Miss Monk, can you inform me how many of these twenty-five pages were devoted to recording the entries of novices, and how many to the births of infants, all of which were murdered?

A. No. I don't know the exact number. I told Mr. Dwight as near as I could.

Mr. Stone. Very well! Your book says, "several of these pages" were devoted to the recording the births of infants. Now, how many do you mean by "several?"

A. Why that's a strange question. Of course more than one.

Mr. Stone. But that will not answer. If what you say is true, those were deeply important records—nothing less than the births and murder of children. We must endeavour to arrive at some degree of precision. About how many do you mean by several? Surely you can form some opinion.

Miss Monk hesitated; and several of the gentlemen intimated that I was pursuing an unfair method of examination,—to which I replied, "Not at all, gentlemen; this is an important point. It must be pushed home, to get at the truth."

Mr. Dwight. You might as well ask her how large is a piece of chalk.

Mr. Stone. That will do very well for a get-off, Mr. Dwight; but I must have an answer of some sort. Now, Mr. Dwight, what do you understand by several, in the sense you have used it in writing the book? Suppose a book of one hundred pages, twenty-five of which were written over, and "several" of which were devoted to a particular subject. In such a case, you would suppose that "several" would imply as many as five or six, would you not?

Mr. Dwight. I should think that about right.

Mr. Stone. Very well: we will take five. (To which Miss Monk assented.) We have now five pages of the records of births of infants, which have been born and murdered within two years—fifteen on a page. Now, gentlemen, I remarked, there are but thirty-six nuns in the convent——

Miss Monk turned round, smiling at my assertion, and said there were many more.

No, gentlemen, (I continued) there are but thirty-six nuns, and some four or five novices.*

Dr. Brownlee. We say there are more. How can you prove that there are but thirty-six?

Mr. Stone. Nay, sir, the proof does not rest upon me. I assert the fact.

Several gentlemen. You must prove there are no more.

Dr. Brownlee. Miss Partridge, you were in the nunnery when Mr. Perkins, with the committee, made their examination, were you not?

Miss Partridge. I was.

Dr. Brownlee. How many nuns were in the convent that day? How many were sent off before the committee came?

Miss Partridge. I don't know how many were sent away. There were only nineteen in the nunnery that day. A good many were sent off.

Mr. Stone. Gentlemen, this is all nonsense. That woman has never been in the nunnery at all, and there were none sent off on the occasion referred to—it's all folly to suppose any such thing.

Several. But the proof rests with you.

Mr. Stone. No, gentlemen: not at all. I assert the fact that there are, and have been but thirty-six nuns in the Hotel-Dieu. That was the original number of the foundation—it has always been the number, and no more. For the truth of this assertion I can appeal to the history of the institution—to the whole people of ontreal—to my own observation. I then added—

"Gentlemen, there are but thirty six-nuns in that convent—more—considerably more—than one-half of those nuns are too far advanced in life to become the mothers of young children. And yet we have, by Miss Monk's statement, five pages of records, fifteen births and murders to the page, and all within the period of two years, and not more than twelve or fifteen nuns who would probably bear children." Then, turning to Maria, I asked—

"Pray, Miss Monk, will you be so good as to inform me how many children apiece those nuns have every year?"

There was no direct answer.

I next adverted to her plan and drawings of the interior of the nunnery, and asked how it happened that everything was so unlike, that we found it impossible to trace any resemblance? Reference, in reply, was again made to the alleged alterations. These I of course denied, from my positive knowledge that none such had been made.

Mr. Slocum. We never supposed they were put down exactly correct. They were according to the best of her recollection. We never supposed they were correct as to feet and inches.

Mr. Stone. I care nothing about feet and inches. I merely ask for some remote similitude—some distant resemblance—which there is not. And I asked them—Gentlemen, do you believe it possible that any woman of common intelligence could have resided in any building, no matter what, for a series of years, without being able, on leaving it, to retain some distinct

* There are, in fact, but thirty-four nuns at present in the convent: thirty-six being the full number.

impression concerning the location and general appearance of some one apartment?

Miss Monk. But I am willing to go to Montreal. All I want is to go, and prove what I say on the spot.

Mr. Stone. Still you appear to be dreadfully afraid that the priests will kill you.

Mr. Slocum. It is not so. She is not afraid, and is anxious to go.

Mr. Stone. Very well. It may be so. I have only her own word for it. It is so stated by herself half a dozen times in the pamphlet, giving an account of her interview with the Canadian gentlemen, at Mr. Dwight's book-store.

To my own personal knowledge, it was objected that the time occupied by me in the exploration was altogether inadequate to a thorough examination. I replied that they were mistaken; and assured Dr. Brownlee and Mr. Dwight that if they would only go to Montreal, and visit the Hotel-Dieu, they would see in twenty minutes' time how utterly mistaken they were in all this matter. They would see the utter impossibility of the ridiculous and base tales of these women. But Dr. Brownlee said he would not venture to place himself there, nor would he think of making an examination unless he went with masons and carpenters, &c., &c.

But I had yet one point more in reserve, and proceeded:—

Q. Miss Monk, about those said trap-doors—how many are there?

By several. What do you call trap-doors?

Mr. Stone. I mean the old-fashioned trap-doors—such as were formerly common in farm-houses—raised up from the floor on opening, and leading to the cellars: how many were there, Miss Monk?

A. One.

Q. Only one?

A. I never saw but one.

Q. Where was that?

A. In the cellar, leading to the secret passage of the priests.

Gentlemen, I remarked, it is very clear that the woman has never been in the cloister of the Hotel-Dieu. There are quite a number of trap-doors, opening from the principal apartment into the vaults and store-rooms below. These could not have been unseen and unknown by a resident. I have opened them all, and examined the vaults below. I certainly opened from four to six, and there can be no mistake. As to the one trap-door of which she speaks, I know there is none there—and never was.—I mean where she has laid down the secret passage—which also does not exist. These, gentlemen, are facts upon which it is not possible that I should be mistaken.

I had now proceeded far enough, and attained my object. The proof was as clear as though written with a sunbeam, that the women were both impostors, and had never been inmates of the cloister. I arose, and in taking my departure, once more earnestly appealed to the gentlemen present, to discard them at once. I told them it was high time that they should cease listening to the falsehoods—as falsehoods their stories were, from beginning to end; and it was high time, moreover, that this community should be disabused of their impostures. They urged me to remain longer—saying that they were not half through with their proofs. I replied, that no farther proofs were necessary. I had proved them to be impostors from their own lips; and with such abandoned women I could have nothing more to do. Nor would I remain longer with them. Perceiving, moreover, as I thought, that the gentlemen were so blinded by their prejudices, as to be inclined to believe them rather than me, I was the more determined to depart. Dr. Brownlee attended me to the door, and urged me to return. I still declined—and remarked to the good doctor, at the door, that it was high time that men of sense should give up this business—that within my own knowledge, those women were imposing on them with a pack of lies; whereat the doctor waxed rather warm, and said:—

Dr. Brownlee. I have as much right to call you a liar, as you have them.

Mr. Stone. Very well, if you choose to do so.

Dr. Brownlee. In the same sense in which you say they lie, I may say you lie. You say they have not been in the nunnery. I have a right to say you have not been there.

Mr. Stone. But I have been there, and from my own knowledge I know that they are telling you falsehoods.

Dr. Brownlee. Your story is all a humbug; and if you go to publish anything, recollect that we have got a press too.

Mr. Stone. I shall take my own course, doctor, (or words equivalent.)

Dr. Brownlee. In the same sense in which you say that they lie, I (may) say you have not been there and that you lie, (or, are a liar.)

Mr. Stone. Good afternoon, Dr. Brownlee.

Such is a faithful account of my first and only interview with the pretended nuns and their special friends. I have endeavoured to write it out with all fairness and impartiality—preserving all that was essential to the case, and, as far as possible in the words that were used. The sense, certainly, has

been faithfully preserved—for my memory is rarely at fault when I have the business of reporting in hand.

SECTION IX.

From the N. Y. Truth Teller of August 8.

COLONEL STONE *vs.* MARIA MONK.

We must apologise to our readers, for occupying so much space, with the fooleries of Maria Monk, to the exclusion of much valuable matter prepared for this day's paper. It is the *last time*, we trust, the name of this profligate shall *foul* our columns—nor should it appear in them now, were it not with the view of calling the attention of our readers to an able article from the "Quarterly New Haven Christian Spectator," which will be found in another column, and which tears off the last shred of *hypocrisy* and *deceit* that veiled this *notorious prostitute and base liar*—from the indignant look of many a respectable citizen, and enlightened on every subject, save that of Catholicity. The article appeared also in the "Commercial Advertiser," on last Tuesday evening—and drew forth from the able pen of Colonel Stone, a piquant editorial, in which he sets forth his reasons for its publication, in the following language:—

"In the first place, we have inserted in the preceding columns a review of the celebrated books written by others in the name of Maria Monk, for the last number of the 'Quarterly Christian Spectator,' published in New Haven. Long as it is, we have been induced to publish this article, without material curtailment, for several reasons. In the first place, it is from a religious source. The editors of the 'Christian Spectator' are gentlemen of high literary and approved Christian character, who would never have given place to such an article until after thorough investigation. In the second place, unwearied efforts have been made by the 'most Christian Christians' who have staked their characters upon the impostures of Maria Monk, to injure the reputation of the writer of this article and of this paper, among the religious public—especially in the country—for the whole humbug is now pretty thoroughly understood in this city. We were, therefore, desirous of placing before the public, the testimony of a professed religious journal of high character. In the third place, the article from the 'Christian Spectator,' we happen to know, was written by an able and exemplary Protestant clergyman, living in Montreal, who knows the facts of the case, and is intimately acquainted with the whole history of this strange imposture." * * *

Respecting the committee that were to have visited the convent at Montreal, he says:—

"We have one more reason. The reviewer encounters and demolishes the second book put forth by Mr. Slocum, and written in part by him, and in part by Miss Monk's private secretary, after our visit to Montreal, and first exposure of the imposture. In that second volume, the adroit impostor availed herself of information obtained from the writer of this article, of which she avowed herself ignorant, and proved herself to be ignorant, at the time. This second volume has been taken in hand by the reviewer, and demolished in a manner, too, which gives the *coup de grace* to the whole concern. The armies of giants, living and fighting in the distempered imagination of Don Quixote, were not more unreal, than the islands and convents and castles, described in the second volume of Miss Monk, as the scenes of enormities, certainly never committed in buildings never built, and upon islands not yet created.

"We cannot speak with certainty as to their present intention of visiting Montreal, or whether they will go at all. Our opinion is yet unchanged, that to the leaders of this bold and nefarious imposture, the fact of our obtaining the celebrated order last winter, for the full and free examination of the establishment of Hotel-Dieu, was the most unwelcome tidings they ever heard. Hence the artifice hit upon by Dr. Brownlee, that they would recognise no authority to visit the nunnery, which should come through the hands of the present writer. There were, nevertheless, some worthy and honest men among the believers in the imposition, who not only saw that such a pitiful evasion would not go down with the public, but really scorned the evasion themselves. Two of these gentlemen called upon us in March, examined the authority we have received from the bishop, and expressed themselves fully satisfied therewith. They behaved like gentlemen, and said that after what had taken place upon the subject, they felt themselves bound to go. The month of June was fixed upon as the probable time of the visit. We suggested to them that they ought, in justice to ourselves, to select a competent, well-bred architect, to accompany them and investigate the matter of pretended alterations—not one of which was ever made or thought of. We objected to the plan then on foot, of putting an ignorant journeyman house-joiner for such a purpose. He was no architect, and we insisted that they ought to employ a *gentleman* for that purpose, who was known as an

architect. At the same time we said their journeyman might go along if they pleased."

June has come and gone, and July has also come and gone. But the committee has not gone, and we have been informed that a portion of the committee has positively refused to go. For what reason we are not advised. Meantime there have been fresh disclosures respecting the character of the impostor in this city, which possibly may somewhat have cooled their ardour. The *Partridge*—the other bird of *ill-fame*—as our readers have been months ago advised, has *flown*. She turned out to be worse than even we suspected, and we are informed, has been advertised by the Maria Monkites themselves as an impostor. She has, indeed, been passing herself off as the real Maria Monk, in the country, and pronouncing herself to be the genuine article, and Maria the humbug. And yet, although we saw those two loose women side by side, at the house of Dr. Brownlee, supporting and sustaining each other, the reverend doctor's eyes have not been opened, and he yet believes in the truth of the whole imposture, with just as much sincerity as the Knight of La Mancha believed that in full tilt against the wings of a windmill, he was shivering the lances of an army of giants!

One thing more, and we hope the matter will for ever be ended on our part. We have had it in our power these six weeks to state the fact, THAT MARIA MONK HAS HERSELF, MORE THAN ONCE, ADMITTED THE WHOLE THING TO BE AN IMPOSTURE! We could give, if we had the space, a series of her conversations upon the subject, but that is not necessary. She has declared fully and freely, that there is not a shadow of truth in her stories respecting the Hotel-Dieu—that her statement as published by us last fall, was correct as far as she knew anything about it. She has more than once declared that all the knowledge she possessed of the Hotel-Dieu, she obtained from the Rev. George Bourne and his wife (who, it must be borne in mind, once lived in Montreal). She has said that she was five years engaged in concocting the stories in her head—but that more has been written down for her than she said—which, by the way, we do not believe. She says she thinks Dr. Brownlee honestly believes her stories, and she thinks the gentleman who wrote them may also believe them. But she names others of the precious concern, who she says "know better."

But she is a cunning creature, and knows her men exactly. "Now," said she one day, after making a full confession, and laughing at her dupes—"I had just as leave you would go down to the office of the Protestant Vindicator and tell all I have said as not. Because, all I should have to do, would be to go down there to-morrow, tell my old story over again, and they would believe every word I say and not one word that you would say!"

She judged rightly. Fanaticism has neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear, nor heart to feel. They will believe the first tales of this miserable woman, and disbelieve the last. Of course the deceiver will deny her own confessions. For this we care not. We state the fact in the fullest belief of its truth, that she has confessed, as one day she knew she must, the entire falsity of her whole revelations. Twice we were invited, in the progress of her confessions, to have confidential interviews with her. We refused. The result of our labours in this matter—in the cause of truth—is now before the public. Here we leave it. Fanaticism, we are aware, will rear his snaky crest, and foam, and hiss, and rave, and rage. But it will be in vain. The committee may or may not go to Montreal, at their pleasure. But they should first provide themselves with the celebrated telescope by which Sir John Herschel made his famous discoveries in the moon.—No magnifier of less power will disclose to their eager visions the uncreated island, and some forty other non-existing things, set forth in the Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk. But—the imposture is ended.

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From the Quarterly New Haven Christian Spectator.

MARIA MONK AND HER IMPOSTURES.

Awful Disclosures, by Maria Monk, of the Hotel-Dieu Nunnery, of Montreal. Revised, with an Appendix, &c., &c. New York, published for Maria Monk, 1836.

Farther Disclosures, by Maria Monk, concerning the Hotel-Dieu Nunnery, of Montreal. Also, her visit to the Nun's Island, and disclosures concerning that secret retreat. Preceded by a reply to the priest's book, by the Rev. J. J. Slocum. New York: published for Maria Monk. 1837.

If the natural history of "Gullibility" is ever written, the imposture of Maria Monk must hold a prominent place in its pages. That a miserable and well-known prostitute in the city of Montreal should invent a tale of monstrous and self-evident absurdities, and by means thereof gain immense sums of money to herself, and almost universal

credit to her story, that she who is on her own confession, a murderer, a fornicator, and a liar of the most depraved character, should gain credit among well-informed and intelligent men, and should be received and caressed in good society, in the city of New York; and that all who venture to doubt, or even examine the truth of her story, should be denounced as the panderers of popery, and aids to the devil; all this is most wonderful, and deserves to be recorded among the phenomena of the age.

We propose, in this article, to give not a formal and argumentative review of the works of Maria Monk, much less to notice the grotesque logic put forth in the form of defences and prefaces to her books; we shall give a brief narration of the rise and progress of this singular delusion. Our facts come from the most unquestionable sources.

In the summer of 1835, it was whispered about in certain circles in the city of Montreal, that a nun, once an inmate of the Hotel-Dieu, had returned after an elopement of the previous year, for the purpose of exposing the crimes perpetrated in the country.

At once, the Rev. G. W. Perkins, pastor of the American Presbyterian Church, in Montreal, and the Rev. Mr. Curry, agent of the Canada Education and Home Missionary Society, determined, for their own satisfaction and the satisfaction of their friends, to investigate the truth of her story. Mr. Curry is extensively known as a clergyman of excellent character, whose Protestantism, piety, and veracity, no responsible person has dared to question. Mr. Perkins has resided several years in Montreal, is well known there, to have been, from the first hour of his residence in the great centre of Canadian popery, the public and uncompromising opponent of Romanism. At all times, and in the most promiscuous assemblies, he controverts and exposes its influences. That the subsequent testimony of this gentleman may be duly appreciated, and the course he has pursued relative to Romanism clearly seen, let the following extract from the New York Evangelist be read:

"Montreal, L. C., Feb. 3, 1837.

"Will you give the outline of an address of the Rev. G. W. Perkins, pastor of the American Presbyterian Church, in the city of Montreal, delivered a few evenings since, at the annual meeting of the Montreal Bible Society, an insertion in your paper? You may remember that he has been assailed with peculiar bitterness and loaded with the most opprobrious epithets, for the testimony in relation to the work of Maria Monk, and its utter falsehood. These remarks, made by him in a large public and promiscuous assembly, in the city of Montreal, will show how fearlessly he assailed the Roman Catholic priesthood in their very citadel, and how base are the insinuations that he has been either bribed or intimidated."

After some introductory remarks on the subject of a resolution which he held in his hand, he proceeded.

(Here follows a report of the speech referred to, by Mr. Perkins, for which we cannot make room.)

The two gentlemen first sought an interview with Maria Monk herself, and heard from her own lips, the narrative of her escape. As she had not at that time become perfectly familiar with her own story, they perceived in the incoherency and contradictions of her tale, the most ample proof of its falsehood.

Another startling fact was soon ascertained. Maria Monk had travelled from New York, in company with a young man of rather unfortunate notoriety, by the name of Hoyte; and from inquiries addressed to some of their fellow-passengers by the way, and subsequently, from her own confession, they learned that those two worthies had, during the journey, passed in taverns and steamboats *as husband and wife*. In proceeding with their inquiries, they found that the girl was well known in Montreal, as one of that wretched class who abound in the suburbs of every large city. Her notoriety as a harlot, was established, not only by those who had been her associates in this career of infamy, but by the testimony of individuals whom accident or benevolence had made acquainted with her character.

As these inquiries were made almost immediately after the arrival of the girl, there could have been no time for the formation of any concerted scheme, by those interested, for the ruin of her reputation. The gentlemen making the inquiries were known and declared opponents of Popery; if there was any danger of partiality, their prejudices would have inclined them to believe every story to the disadvantage of the priests, and the professors of the Catholic faith. Had the story of Maria Monk been confirmed, it would have given an immense advantage in the controversy pending between Catholics and Protestants. Their prejudices and interests, all would induce them to receive favourably every fact or assertion which could go to confirm the character and evidence of Maria Monk. They found, however, the notoriety of the girl so great; her character so infamous; and could trace her through scenes of licentiousness so revolting,

during the very years when she pretends to have been an inmate of the nunnery, that they felt constrained, after full investigation and on evidence, to pronounce her a harlot and impostor.

The wretched girl remained in the city of Montreal but a short time. Within that brief period, however, her own conduct aside from all the evidence which has been previously alluded to, was exceedingly suspicious. On one occasion, she became dissatisfied with her keeper, Hoyte, informed the servant at the hotel, that her *husband* rendered her life miserable, by ill-treatment, borrowed a bonnet, and fled. She was found the next day in one of her old and familiar haunts, a brothel in the suburbs, and by some means was persuaded to return to her employer. When some degree of notoriety had been given to her tale, among the inhabitants of Montreal, it excited nothing but a smile of pity or contempt. It was considered beneath notice, belief, or refutation. The stories of Munchausen or Gulliver, were as likely to be met with sober denial or argument, or received with credit among intelligent men, as the fictions of Maria Monk.

Finding she could gain neither belief, money, nor opposition, in Montreal, she departed. It was supposed that she would return to her former pursuits; neither Catholic nor Protestant thought it necessary to deny her story. The inhabitants of New Haven would hardly be persuaded formally to deny, that an "*auto da fe*" had been held on their public square, in the summer of 1836, even though some prostitute in Philadelphia should declare that such a thing had been done, and a few silly dupes there should believe her story. No more did the inhabitants of Montreal believe it necessary to notice the absurd fabrications of Maria Monk.

It happened, however, that on her return to New York, she found a few minds already possessed with a monomania on the subject of Popery; and to whom her tale furnished just the means necessary to produce the excitement they wished. They were perfectly rabid from the dread of Popery, and anticipating from it the speedy destruction of our free institutions, determined to crush it. It is to be feared they were not fastidious in the selection of their instruments. There has been a course pursued which can only be justified by a Protestant adoption of the old Jesuitical maxim, that "the end justifies the means."* Indeed, one who professed to be a partial believer in the work of Maria, was heard to declare, "no matter if the disclosures are false, the priests are bad enough, and the lie will do good."

With such Protestantism we have no communion. It is abhorrent to the Bible and to humanity. We are, and ever shall be, the determined opponents of Popery; but our weapons shall be truth and righteousness. We would as soon ally ourselves to the spirits of the pit, as employ falsehood in the defence or support of religion.

And here we cannot refrain from a digression, on the manner in which Popery has been treated in the United States. For what reason were multitudes of Catholics struck off from the large and compact masses, in which they were consolidated in Ireland and Austria, where truth cannot reach them, and scattered abroad and cast over the enlightened territories of New England, and the other portions of the United States? Most evidently, the design of God was, that enlightened citizens should, by means of light and love, remove the bitter and rancorous prejudice with which they are taught to regard Protestants, and win them over to the Gospel; that by means of prayer and personal intercourse, they should be led to a knowledge of the truth; that by sharing in the general intelligence of the American people, they might be rescued from the spiritual despotism and mental slavery in which they were held. Had Christians done their duty; had fervent prayer and affectionate influence been used, we should have seen prejudice disappear, and multitudes of Catholic minds yielding to the truth. Ignorant, bigoted, and darkened, their minds are; but God's means for converting Jew and Catholic, pagan and Mahommedan, are light and love. If those means avail not, we may rest assured, that other instrumentalities will only drive their minds to more hopeless induration and hostility.

But how were Catholics treated? Like conspirators and enemies. Christians and politicians denounced them as the enemies of religion and liberty. Certain bloodhounds, in the form of periodical writers, were let loose, to mangle them indiscriminately, as spirits from the pit. The whole community were taught to regard them with a kind of horror, as being from the least to the greatest of them, the accredited agents of pandemonium.

What has been the consequence? Increased hostility to Protestants. The poor Catholic Irishman, who, in his own country never knew anything of Protestantism, ex-

* [Another repetition of this shallow and despicable calumny against the Society of Jesus; in this case, uttered by scholars too well educated to be excusable.]

cept when he saw it in the shape of some fox-hunting Episcopal parson, come with bailiff and soldiers to exact his last pig or potato for tithe, finds in America the same spirit of hate blazing against him through the public press. What wonder, then, that he believes what his priests tell him; that he abhors a religion which oppresses him with tithes in his own country, and meets him with hate, suspicion, and taunt, in America?

But to return to Maria Monk. On her arrival at New York, some gentlemen concluded to commit her revelations to the press. They were warned by letters from Montreal of the character of the girl; and entreated, before the irrevocable *litera scripta* was given to the world, to send on a competent and respectable deputation to Montreal, for the purpose of examining her character, and the credibility of her story there; they were reminded, that no individuals, however wicked or dangerous, should be branded as murderers and demons, without a fair and deliberate investigation of the evidence; it was argued that the cause of religion could not but be ultimately injured by an alliance with one so corrupt and degraded. They were, however, deaf to these remonstrances.

Accordingly, in due time the "Awful Disclosures" was ushered into the world as an authentic detail of transactions in the Hotel-Dieu Nunnery of Montreal. Still the inhabitants of that city were incredulous. Supposing it impossible that any mind could be duped by such fabrications, they neither noticed nor denied them. They were not even angry. They treated the whole affair with ridicule.

They were entirely mistaken in their estimate of the discernment of the Christian public in the United States. Immense editions of the work were sold in rapid succession, and gained, to an astonishing degree, belief among all classes of readers. Even intelligent and candid men began to receive her fictions as authentic details of fact.

In the summer of 1837, an opportunity occurred for putting the pretended disclosures to a decisive test. Maria Monk had given in her work, a description of the interior of the nunnery, together with a plate or map, representing the various rooms in the several stories of the building. She staked her veracity on the correctness of these representations, and declared her willingness to be discarded as an impostor, if her description should be found not to agree with the building. The Rev. Mr. Curry, for the purpose of giving evidence, which he hoped would be satisfactory to the religious public of the United States, asked and obtained permission to visit that part of the nunnery described by Maria Monk. A few days afterwards another visit was made by a number of gentlemen, to whom the Rev. Mr. Perkins was added at the request of Mr. Curry.

They were furnished with every facility; took as much time as they pleased; and with the latest edition of Maria Monk's work in their hands, explored the whole edifice, from garret to cellar. They were careful to examine every part; and particularly attended to the alleged alterations in the establishment.

The result was the most complete conviction that the girl had never been in the nunnery at all. She could not have described a building more unlike the Hotel-Dieu if it had been her special object. These gentlemen stated their opinions in the following terms. These statements were subsequently published in a work entitled "Awful Exposures," &c.

This may certify, that, being desirous of ascertaining the truth in regard to Maria Monk's printed plan and description of the Hotel-Dieu, or Black Nunnery, of this city, I did, a few weeks since, in company with N. C. Doucet and J. P. Lacroix, Esquires, and without sending any previous notice, visit said nunnery, and with the said map and description in hand, examined most minutely, from the cellar to the roof, all that part of said building between the wall on St. Joseph Street, and the wall running from the north side of the chapel, (the top of the map being called north,) that fronts on St. Paul Street to the extreme corner, from whence the passage to the Congregational Nunnery is laid down in said map; and I do most freely declare, that after a patient and protracted scrutiny of the walls, windows, closets, doors, cellars, rooms, and furniture of the same; after having examined with equal scrutiny all the hospitals, out-houses, vaults, gardens, &c., &c., with special reference not only to their appearance, but the relative position to each other, so as to be sure that nothing was overlooked; I was unable to discern any resemblance whatever between said building, in the whole or part, and that portion of said map furnished by Maria Monk. The only resemblance being, that between the outside walls and the ground plan in said map, which, she says, was furnished by another hand. All the interior is unlike her plan in every respect; and inasmuch as most, if not all, of the partition walls are commenced in the cellar, and built of heavy

stone, it is impossible in the nature of the case, that the building should have been so altered as to make this discrepancy, for, to say nothing of the labour, expense, and publicity of such a work, the walls and wood work have that appearance of age which cannot be counterfeited. When the nuns and the lady superior, to whom I was introduced, learned the object of my visit, they cheerfully opened every enclosure of every description; answered all inquiries promptly; and one of them assured me that if they had timely notice of my visit, a permit from the bishop would have been obtained, to give me immediate access to the whole of the cloistered department; and I was assured that as soon as he should return to the city, such permit should be had.

I furthermore certify, that having been informed that a permit had been obtained for a party to visit and examine the said Hotel-Dieu Nunnery, and that I was requested to make one of the number, I did, on the 15th July, 1835, after the Rev. G. W. Perkins had been added to the number, go in company with the said party, consisting of Rev. G. W. Perkins, of the American Presbyterian Church, Rev. H. Esson, of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, Benjamin Holmes, Esq., Cashier of the Montreal Bank, Protestants; and J. Jones, publisher of the L'Ami du Peuple, Roman Catholic, and commencing at the general hospital and chapel, I examined, in company with these gentlemen, all the remainder of the building and grounds of the said Hotel-Dieu Nunnery, until we had completely traversed every section of the same. We examined closely the walls, windows, doors, rooms, vaults, &c., &c., and compared the same with Maria Monk's printed plan and description of what she denominates the Black Nunnery; and I freely declare, that after the closest search, during which the lady superior and several of the nuns stood ready to lead in every direction, and give every assistance, we were unable to discover the remotest resemblance between any part of said building and the plan or description of Maria Monk. I furthermore assert, that I do not believe it possible that any persons could have made those alterations in the building, which would have produced this discrepancy, without having torn down and rebuilt the nunnery from the roof to the ground. We examined, also, the burial-place and register of deaths, commencing with the foundation of the convent. We examined, also, the register in which are the names, ages, and dates, of the taking of the veil of each nun. To ascertain whether this was the real register, I called for the name of a nun with whom I had become acquainted about one year since, and was immediately referred to it. In this record, which was an old book, there were no erasures, no mutilations. We searched for the name of Maria Monk, and others mentioned in her book; no such names were there. In conclusion, I declare to all whom it may concern, that if Maria Monk has told the truth in the description of the Hotel-Dieu Nunnery of Montreal, I shall not be slow to believe that the nuns of Canada yet retain the power of working miracles with stone and mortar; and that Maria Monk possessed this accomplishment up to the moment of her arrival in Saint Jean Baptiste Street, at the time of her escape. For, when she "stepped across the yard, unbarred the great gate, and was at liberty"—she must have passed over, under, or through, at least three high stone walls, that would have discouraged a less adventurous lady.

(Signed) F. W. CURRY.
Corresponding Secretary of the Canada Education and Home Missionary Society.
Montreal, July 18, 1836.

Having visited the nunnery in company with the Rev. Mr. Curry, and other Protestant gentlemen as stated in the preceding declaration, I do most fully agree with the statements therein contained. In every step of my progress through the building, I had the last edition of Maria Monk's work in my hand, and did not fail carefully to compare it with the interior of the edifice. I hesitate not to say, that it was utterly impossible, that a person at all acquainted with the internal plan of the nunnery, could have drawn up the sketch or map given in her book; so thorough was our scrutiny, that no changes, if materially varying the interior, could have escaped our notice.

(Signed) G. W. PERKINS.
Pastor of the Amer. Pres. Church.
Montreal, July 22, 1836.

When certain individuals in New York found that Mr. Perkins and Mr. Curry would not be made their tools in this nefarious concern, they began, in the columns of the American Protestant Vindicator, a series of the most unchristian-like and malignant abuse. The vilest epithets, the grossest slanders, culled out of the letter of some Montreal correspondent, who was gratifying his own envy and their malice, by retailing stale personal calumnies, were heaped upon those gentlemen.

Not long after this, Col. William L. Stone, of New York, visited Montreal in the course of a northern tour. He was aware of the state of public feeling in New York; had been disposed to give credit to the "Disclosures;" and wished to satisfy himself and his friends respecting their truth or falsehood. With this view he visited the nunnery, and like the gentlemen who had preceded him, was furnished with every facility for the impartial and thorough exploration of the edifice. He did examine thoroughly. The result on his mind was the most complete conviction of the imposture of Maria Monk. The narrative of his visit, published in the New York Commercial Advertiser, has probably been perused by all the readers of this article.

Immediately commenced an attack upon his personal character, which, for savageness, recklessness of assertion, and scurrility, has seldom been equalled in the annals of newspaper controversy.

It had been repeatedly asserted by the abettors of Maria Monk, that her stories were universally credited by the citizens of Montreal; that every one in that city knew, and had known for years, that the Hotel-Dieu Nunnery was such a den of abominations as she asserts. Accordingly, the inhabitants of Montreal, convinced at last that the book was believed, not only by a few dupes, but by intelligent Christians, thought proper to take some notice of the work. At length, a public meeting of the Protestants of the city was convened at the requisition of a large number of the most respectable inhabitants of all nations and denominations.

(Here follow the requisition for the public meeting referred to, and the resolutions subsequently adopted, all of which were published some months ago in the Miscellany.)

From the moment that the Disclosures of Maria Monk issued from the press, her coadjutors and abettors clamoured incessantly for admission to the nunnery; they maintained that such an examination would be a *decisive* test of the authenticity of her work, the result of which would *satisfy* every mind as to the truth or falsehood of her story.

They were reminded, that in common honesty they were bound to have requested such an examination by responsible individuals, *before* publishing to the world such serious charges; that Mr. Perkins and Mr. Curry, two gentlemen who understood Popery, and were well known as its uncompromising opponents, *had* explored the building; that Colonel Stone, whose prejudices had been all in favour of the book, had by a most thorough investigation of the nunnery, been convinced of the imposture of Maria Monk. Still they pretended, that these examinations were partial and unsatisfactory, and were more clamorous than ever for admission to the establishment. At length admission is granted. The episcopal document is completed, allowing Maria Monk, with a sufficient retinue of her friends, the right of an unrestricted examination of the Hotel-Dieu Nunnery.

She and her friends are dangerously shy of such an experiment. They have suddenly ascertained that a visit to Montreal would be attended with great hazard; that even an examination of the nunnery would not be satisfactory; that even if Maria Monk's account of the building should prove false, it would not affect the truth of her story. The very examination to which she herself appeals, as the infallible test of her veracity, and for which her abettors have been clamouring for months, is now declined as dangerous or uncertain.

We have forgotten to mention in its proper place, an incident of some importance to our narration. In the summer of 1836, a report reached New York, that another nun had escaped from the nunnery, and was then residing in one of the small towns in the interior of the state. A special messenger was immediately despatched, for the purpose of securing her services in aid of Maria Monk. She came to New York; Maria and Frances Partridge, (for that was the recent fugitive,) recognised the story of each other as old acquaintances; each corroborated the story of each other; when one made an assertion respecting the transactions of the nunnery, the other was invariably appealed to, and uniformly asserted her presence and knowledge of the fact. In short, Maria Monk identified her own credibility with the fact, that Frances Partridge had been herself an inmate of the Hotel-Dieu Nunnery.

In vain was it asserted, that Frances Partridge was also a notorious harlot, whose infamy at Caughnawaga had been rather below the ordinary range of female depravity. The assertion was met with a stout denial, as the usual subterfuge of popish vengeance. Unfortunately, the new nun was not very tractable; she found probably, that a sufficient share of the spoils was not to be allotted to herself, and soon deserted the confederacy. After charging her male Protestant associates with taking undue liberties with her person, she declared that Maria Monk never was a nun, and she alone is the authentic *échappée* of the Montreal nunnery.

As the gentlemen conductors of this business have charged licentiousness on one class of individuals, upon the testimony of one frail female, they cannot complain that the testimony of another of the sisterhood should equally implicate their own characters.

We did not intend, when we commenced the preparation of this article, to more than present our readers a brief historical sketch of some leading facts relative to the rise and progress of the impostures of Maria Monk. But, as the book is probably believed to a very considerable extent, we will annex a brief summary of some objections which are fatal to its credibility.

1. Repeated examinations have been made of the interior of the building, by gentlemen of unquestionable honour and ability. Their prejudices were wholly *against* nunneries, and all the establishments of the Roman Catholic religion. Their unanimous and explicit testimony is, that the building bears no resemblance to the description of Maria Monk, and that no alterations have taken place. She has staked her character on the result of such an examination. By the very test she has chosen, she is convicted of imposture.

It is said, indeed, that these gentlemen were *deceived*—that they only saw a part of the building, that alterations had been made, &c., &c. It is easy to make the assertion. But we put it to the common sense of our readers, who are most worthy of credit? Men of intelligence, who have actually explored the building, or those who have not? Of course, all which the gentlemen accused can say is, we *know* that we are *not* deceived; we took such means to examine every part, and to be *sure* that we examined every part, and such means to detect any suposed alteration, that we do speak what WE DO KNOW.

Now again, we ask, who ought to be believed? distinguished and intelligent men, who have examined the building, or the word of a woman, whose character is notoriously bad, and who gives evidence in her own case; and the declarations of those who never went beyond the mere threshold of the building?

The fiction respecting the alleged alterations of this edifice is supremely ridiculous. We need only ask the citizens of New Haven, if the large range of college buildings standing on their public green, could be completely altered, except the mere outside walls; every room and partition, from cellar to garret, in all the buildings thrown down; old windows filled up, new windows opened: the building, in short, eviscerated and rebuilt: and yet, not a passer-by in the whole city ever to know or suspect that any such alterations were going forward, and no person, though allowed afterwards to inspect minutely the whole interior, could find a trace of any recent work.

2. Her own character is bad. By her own acknowledgment she is a murderer, fornicator, and liar; there is hardly a crime, which depraved human nature ever conceived, of which this girl of nineteen has not acknowledged her perpetration. Certainly, then, she would have no objection to stating falsehoods, which would secure to her money, reputation, and rank in society.

3. It has been found, that during the very time when she pretends to have been an inmate of the nunnery, she was actually an inmate of the brothels of the suburbs of Montreal.

4. Those who are produced to corroborate her statement, stand convicted of the most brazen ignorance, if not perjury.

One Mr. Miller testifies that he saw the subterraneous passage leading from the Seminary to the Hotel-Dieu, by means of certain openings in the streets, and then adds, "the places where these openings were made in the underground passages, were in Joseph Street, for the water pipes; and for the gas pipes in Notre Dame Street, near Sacrament Street, at a short distance from the nunnery." Now there never has been a gas pipe laid down in the city of Montreal. The gas company was not incorporated until the year 1835, and at this time (April 1837) not a pipe had been laid by the company.

But the most singular part of this testimony remains to be noticed. He speaks of Sacrament Street. Now that street is in quite a different part of the city. The inhabitants of New Haven may conceive of the nature of the evidence, by supposing that an individual were undertaking to show that an underground passage existed between the Tontine and the Steamboat Hotel, should assert that he saw a portion of the subterranean work near the Medical College! A citizen of New York may conceive the absurdity, by supposing one attempting to prove the existence of a similar passage between the City Hall and Astor House, and should assert that he had actually seen the passage near Hudson Square!

We leave our readers to judge, whether this veracious Mr. Miller is to be believed, when he declares that he saw gas pipes, which never existed; and a subterraneous passage, between two contiguous places,

stretching out into a remote part of the city.

5. Another similar instance of misrepresentation, to give it its milder name, occurs in the testimony of Mr. Clary. In a letter lately published, he says—"He (Colonel Stone) said nothing about the recent building and repairing stone walls within the inclosure of the convent, and which everybody who wishes can see, nor the new wall *within* the building—*as we mentioned privately, by one of the former examiners.*"

Mr. Curry, to whom allusion is made in the preceding extract, after a private interview with Mr. Clary, wrote a note to him, from which we make the following quotation: "When you told me that you did not allude to me (in the above extract), I wish you to correct the misrepresentation, assuring you that *I never spoke to any person of such a wall.*" "I reminded you, that in a conversation with yourself, immediately after my visit to the nunnery, I said that Maria must have gone through three stone walls in making her escape along the 'track' laid down in her map—that I should say nothing of the fourth wall, because one angle of that was evidently green,"—"although I was convinced that a wall was at the same place where Maria professed to have escaped: I assure you then, as I do now, that your insinuation in this matter was *utterly without foundation*, for all the walls mentioned were outside ones." Mr. Clary was urged more than once by Mr. Curry, to correct the misrepresentation before his (Mr. Curry's) name should be connected with it in the public prints, but no such correction has yet made its appearance.

6. The same individual, in a letter published in the "Further Disclosures"—speaking of the examination of the nunnery by Messrs. Curry and Perkins,—writes: "The community who know the facts of the case, will not be satisfied with such an examination; for *all the gentlemen who examined the convent*, were strongly prejudiced against the book, and none more so than Messrs. Perkins and Curry; and *that prejudice in them is the result of personal dislike to Hoyte, and perhaps to others* here, who were active in the first movement that was made in regard to those disclosures."

We cannot stoop to apply to these remarks and the author of them, the appropriate epithet. To what extremities must the abettors of Maria Monk be driven, when they endeavour to substantiate her declarations by the letters of one who assumes the office of judging the heart; and then imputes, gratuitously, to clergymen of respectable standing, the weakness of acting, in a business of great public moment, from the vilest of all motives; and charges them with wilfully misleading the community, for the gratification of personal grudge!

7. In one of the last editions of her book, she gave a plan of the interior of the nunnery. This is substantially correct. Any one, by entering the yard, could sketch the external form of the edifice. She also gives a plan of one of the wings. It will be seen by a plan of the west wing, called also the middle wing. Now, that wing stands in a yard always open to the public by a large gate, sufficient to admit a carriage, and invariably opens into St. Joseph Street, one of the most public parts of the city. This wing is, and for many years has been, occupied by the kitchens and other offices of the hospital, and every one who passes there is perfectly familiar with the fact. This whole wing, in which Maria Monk locates the most secret chambers, has been repeatedly visited by travellers, without the knowledge of the bishop. Any respectable stranger may gain access to it at any time.

8. Deliberate falsehoods are published respecting the testimony of gentlemen who have examined the nunnery. In the "Further Disclosures," it is declared

"Mr. Curry knows the alterations have been made, for he has declared, and I have been credibly informed, that he saw a hole or well newly dug, in the cellar of that establishment; and when asked why he did not mention it in his report, he replied, that he did not feel himself called upon to state what he saw in the nunnery."

We have the authority of Mr. Curry for declaring, that this statement contains only truth enough to make it plausible, yet plausible falsehood. Mr. C. never "declared" that he saw a "hole" or anything else "newly dug," or built within the nunnery, or near any part of the building, which Maria Monk professes to describe. He merely stated to a few who seemed astonished that he found no "horrible pit," and wished to know all that he did see, that in a cellar under the apothecary shop, near the great gate on St. Joseph Street, he saw a well with a pump and other fixtures, extending into a bathing apartment on the first floor; and that a physician previous to the examination had told him of its recent construction, by his advice, for the benefit of the hospital patients.—When asked why he did not mention this in his certificate, Mr. C. replied, that it could have nothing to do with the controversy; for in addition to its being a simple bathing establishment, it was far remote from the nunnery, as well

as from the middle wing, which last was the *only part of the building in which Maria placed the scene of all her disclosures;* and that he did not visit the nunnery to describe what he saw, but only to ascertain the truth or falsehood of Maria's statements.

9. The compiler of one of her works, in enumerating those circumstances which can confirm her narrative, offers the following remark:—"It was seen that for her to *speak truth*, when a slight temptation to deviate from it presented itself, required an effort on her part!"

Most wonderful logic! A girl is so infamous that she can hardly speak truth, *therefore*, the whole United States is to believe all she has said. Certainly, the guardians of our venerable Alma Mater should select a professor of logic, immediately, from these enterprising discoverers in the art of reasoning. If Maria Monk happens to make a statement of some notorious fact, she must be credited, because corroborative evidence can be produced. If she hazards some startling falsehoods, she is to be believed, because she is such an habitual liar.

It is rather unfortunate, that her own friends do not agree in their testimony. In a late pamphlet, it is stoutly asserted: "The conduct of Maria Monk, during her residence in New York, has procured many sincere friends, especially with the ladies with whom she has resided; and her *personal purity* has powerfully corroborated the truth of her narrative."

Whom are we to believe? Mr. Slocum, who declares that she can scarcely speak the truth? or herself, acknowledging that she is a murderer, fornicator, and liar? or other friends, who assert that her "personal purity (?) has corroborated the truth of her narration?"

10. The most singular instance of the boldness with which she presumes upon the credulity of her readers, relates the scenes narrated in the "Further Disclosures." The transactions are said to have occurred at the "Black Nuns' Island." She expressly says, that she does NOT mean "*the one nearest the city, which belongs to the Gray Nuns*, and is in full view from Laprairie and the ferry." Many travellers must have noticed the *Black Nuns' Island*, near Lachine, several miles up the river. "It lies a little below Lachine." On this island, with "its high walls, large edifices," some horrid scenes were enacted.

Now, let a person ride on the banks of the St. Lawrence, from Montreal to Lachine, on either side, and he will be unable to find any such island. It has no existence. It never had any except by the side of Lilliput and Brobdignag.

Yet such is the astonishing audacity with which this girl, emboldened by her former success, spreads her fictions before the public, that she asserts the existence of an island which has no existence—stakes her credit on the existence of such a place. So well has she calculated on the *monomania* of her readers, that this whole stale fabrication is actually swallowed by the Christian public of New York.

Had an individual actually asserted, that in the harbour of New Haven, between the lighthouse and the wharf, there stood an island, of one mile in extent, on which were immense edifices, surrounded by high walls: that in those buildings, the students of the college occasionally retired for the purposes of lust and murder; he would not have uttered a more palpable fiction than has Maria Monk, in her tale of "Black Nuns' Island."

"The Gray Nuns' Island," as she terms it, stands in plain view of Montreal; and the "Black Nuns" possess an island many miles above Lachine, near the mouth of Chateauguay, on which stands a simple French farm-house.

But we have done. We did not at first intend to devote so much time and space to works so polluting and gross, as those placed at the head of this article. They are evidently the productions of a mind familiarized by long intimacy with the interior of brothels, to scenes of beastly pollution, and disgorging its filthy imaginings upon a credulous public. We have not even alluded to a tithe of the contradictions, falsehoods, and impurities embodied in the pages of these works.

About the fate of Maria Monk and her Disclosures, we have no doubt. The bubble which she and a few others from interested motives have blown up, will burst. Her tales will soon take their place among obscene works, read only for the provocation of the baser passion. The audacious mendacity, which gained credit by the very recklessness of its assertions, and the impure imaginations which love such unchaste and monstrous details, we, as Christians [must condemn].

But there will come results of a grave and melancholy character. When the public shall be convinced, the reaction in popery will be fearfully strong. Catholics will at once receive the sympathy which naturally arises in favour of the injured. They will be enabled to say, "We cannot spend time to refute every idle and slanderous tale cir-

culated to our prejudice; but you see in the exploded calumnies of Maria Monk, a specimen of all the statements concerning Catholic enormities."

If popery should ever become triumphant in our country, on the authors and defenders of these works must rest much of the responsibility of so terrible a consummation.

SECTION X.

THE HOTEL-DIEU.

To the Editors of the Journal of Commerce.

GENTLEMEN:—I am again under the disagreeable necessity of requesting a place in your columns, in reply to the extraordinary communication of the Rev. Dr. Brownlee. But as that article "demands" my answer "before the public," the inference is that it will afford you pleasure to extend the courtesy which I now request. You will allow me, therefore, to come directly to the simple facts of the case, for I have no faculty like Dr. Brownlee, even did I possess the unenviable inclination, of writing falsehood in the seeming guise of truth, or of so distorting that divine attribute, that her friends can scarce discern the resemblance.

On Wednesday, the 1st of March inst., I published the following card, which speaks for itself:—

A CARD.

Some few weeks since, in the course of a conversation with a valued friend, who is disposed to believe in the impostures of Maria Monk, it was suggested by him, that inasmuch as it was the sincere desire of the friends of that unhappy woman to examine the celebrated Hotel-Dieu nunnery of Montreal, in her company, perhaps it might be in the power of the undersigned to effect an arrangement by which their desire in this respect should be gratified. Knowing that, as a part of the imposture, the public had been deceived as to the actual discipline of that institution, and that it had never been closed against gentlemen of respectability, with responsible introductions, and from no sinister or improper motives, the undersigned availed himself of the suggestion, and opened a correspondence with several gentlemen in Montreal for that purpose. He is happy to inform the public that his request has been cheerfully granted. The undersigned is therefore authorized to state, that he is ready to procure an order for the admission of such gentlemen of character of this city as may feel disposed to visit Montreal for the purpose of examining the said structure of the Hotel-Dieu—outside and inside—above and below—and roundabout. They shall be admitted to "visit, search, and examine, every part and apartment—cellars, out-houses, gardens, &c., without exception." They shall also explore Nun's Island as thoroughly as they may desire. Maria Monk herself shall be admitted as their conductress; and it is also desired that they take with them the most skilful and experienced architect in this city, to aid them in their investigations as to the alleged alterations in the structure of the said Hotel-Dieu.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

New York, Feb. 28, 1837.

N. B. Since the explosion of the case of the co-saint Frances Partridge—the reports which she has circulated in regard to the moral purity of her friends in this city—and her late letter in which she denounces Maria Monk as an impostor, and proclaims herself to be the true Maria Monk, it is presumed the gentlemen will not wish to take her with them.

In consequence of this publication, I was on the following day honoured with a private note from Dr. Brownlee, enclosing the "Card to Col. Stone," contained in your Journal of Saturday, with a characteristic introduction from the reverend author. To this communication I promptly addressed the following reply:—

"Mr. Stone takes the earliest opportunity of replying to the note of Dr. Brownlee.

"He declines publishing Dr. Brownlee's 'Card,' for the reason that, in his opinion, it is evasive and unreasonable, and not an answer to his simple and direct proposition to the friends of Maria Monk; but that it has been evidently drawn up with the two-fold object of escaping from the necessity of visiting the convent, or nunnery, and of creating popular effect. If Dr. Brownlee and his associates are really the friends of truth, the most direct course to attain it, freely and without obstruction, is now open to them. Let Dr. Brownlee, and those of his associate believers in Maria Monk, who may wish to join him in the work, send Mr. Stone their names, with a written pledge that they will go, honestly and in good faith, and examine the nunnery and its premises, and Mr. Stone pledges himself to obtain the necessary order from the Bishop of Montreal, according to the terms of his card in yesterday's Commercial, Thursday, March 2d."

On Friday, the 3d instant, I received a communication, purporting to be from the Executive Committee of the New York Protestant Association, much the same, in substance, with the card of Dr. Brownlee, but somewhat modified in its language. To

this communication I returned the following reply:—

"New York, March 3, 1837.

To the Executive Committee of the New York Protestant Association.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of yesterday; and although, from its lack of courtesy—insinuating, as it does, that I have no authority for the propositions contained in my card of Wednesday—I might well be justified in returning it to you, or in giving it no reply; yet, being desirous of allowing you not the slightest pretext for escaping the responsibility you have assumed in regard to the impostures of Maria Monk and company, I hasten to give you a fitting answer.

Your letter appears to be only a modification of another, which I yesterday received from Dr. Brownlee. In answer to the latter I wrote as follows, and beg leave to refer you to the said answer as a reply, in chief, to your own letter.

(Here followed a copy of my note to Dr. Brownlee, as given above.)

You will perceive, gentlemen, that my pledge to you is ample and complete, on every point that is essential. Your fourth proposition, however, is liable to the language applied above to the whole of Dr. Brownlee's letter, viz.:—'Evasive and unreasonable, and evidently drawn up with the twofold object of escaping from the necessity of visiting the convent, or nunnery, and of creating popular effect.' The idea that human beings who have not relinquished their *manhood*, should require a guarantee of *personal safety* when about to visit a sick-hospital, under the charge of a few benevolent females, whose occupation is that of administering to the wants of the sick—some of whom are aged, and all powerless—is quite too ridiculous to need a reply. The committee might as well request a military guard, should they feel disposed to attend the next meeting of the Dorcas Society of the Brick Church.

In regard to your request that some of your Protestant brethren of Montreal may be permitted to visit the nunnery in your company, I reply, that such is part of my own design. Whoever may go thither from this city, I shall take care that they be accompanied in their examination by Protestant gentlemen, living in Montreal, of approved Christian character.

Your request for a copy of my authority for making my proposition of Wednesday, is objectionable, and cannot be acquiesced in. Once for all, you are to understand that you are to take my word for what I say. Name to me such suitable persons as are willing to go, and furnish me with their written pledge that they will go, and if I do not fulfil *my* part of the contract, on my own head will rest the consequences.

I am, &c. WILLIAM L. STONE."

It would be a very easy matter, gentlemen, for me to follow up this correspondence with comments upon the other matters brought forward with such a flourish of trumpets, and with but little regard to truth, by Dr. Brownlee. But, for the present, I forbear. I am determined to keep to the point directly at issue; I am not to be diverted, by extraneous discussions, from my object. The correspondence, as given above, speaks for itself. These gentlemen have long professed a great degree of anxiety to visit and explore the Hotel-Dieu, with Maria Monk as a guide. I have offered them a free and unrestricted opportunity of doing so. Alarmed at the prospect of being compelled to test the truth of the abominable impostures in which they profess to believe, they are now striving to create obstacles, under the colour of which they hope to justify themselves before this community, in escaping from the responsibility they have assumed. They shall not do it. I have too much confidence in the intelligence of the public, to apprehend a verdict against me on this simple statement of the case. WM. L. STONE.

New York, March 4, 1837.

BACKING OUT.

To the Editors of the Journal of Commerce.

GENTLEMEN:—I perceive that Dr. Brownlee has had the "temerity" to make his appearance in your columns again. In one respect I shall be his imitator—and one only—I shall be short. In regard to the vile imputations charged upon me, of attempting to practise "a hoax" upon this community, I cast it back in the teeth of Mr. Brownlee, with that degree of scorn which it deserves. The doctor says—"Colonel Stone has had the temerity to publish *that he is authorized* to have the doors of the Hotel-Dieu nunnery opened to the inspection of the New York committee. Now, when lately called upon to produce *the Episcopal document*, as our warrant of permission and protection, from Bishop Lartigue, to make a thorough examination of that inquisitorial and murderous den, he turns round and unblushingly admits that *he has no authority whatever*—that he has, in fact, *not even yet opened a correspondence with Bishop Lartigue, the only person who can give permission or protection!*"

Now, if this paragraph had not been written by a reverend Doctor of Divinity, and published under his name, I should declare, clearly and distinctly, as I am ready to prove, that it contains two deliberate falsehoods. But, having been thus written and published, for the credit of the profession to which the author belongs, I shall only say, that it contains two assertions which are not true, and which the writer knows are not true. It *is* true that I said I was authorized to make the proposition contained in my card of March 1st. It is *not* true that I have admitted I "have no authority whatever," or that I have opened no correspondence with the Bishop of Montreal. I have neither asserted the latter fact nor denied it. The simple state of the case is this, and I repeat it because these aiders and abettors of fraud and imposture shall not escape the dilemma in which they are involved. At the suggestion of one of Dr. Brownlee's friends, who is also a friend of mine, though, I am sorry to say, a believer in the impostures of Maria Monk and her amanuensis, I undertook the office of procuring permission for a number of Miss Monk's Protestant confessors, who had been long professing a desire to that effect, to visit the Hotel-Dieu, and give the same a thorough examination from garret to cellar, in all and every part. I also assured them they should have Maria with them on their voyage of discovery, together with an architect, according to Dr. Brownlee's own request. When our mutual friend made the suggestion, or request, I told him it would do no good—that the friends of Maria Monk would never venture to test the truth of her pretended disclosures by actual investigation. They dared not do it; for just so sure as those gentlemen should visit the premises, their eyes would be open to the delusion. They would see how completely they had been duped and befooled by an artful woman, a well-known prostitute in Montreal, and in whom, after all, they have no real confidence. "But," replied the gentleman, "give them an opportunity to go, and if they do not avail themselves of it, on them will rest the responsibility." I have done so, and the result is exactly as I anticipated it would be. And the public has it now from Dr. Brownlee, in black and white, that *they will not go and examine the Hotel-Dieu.* Their pretext is, that they cannot accept the slender guarantee of my word. I ask them not to do it—and, therefore, once more I repeat the proposition: *Let them give me the names of three, or five, or seven gentlemen of known respectability, who will pledge themselves to go to the Hotel-Dieu, and I pledge myself to procure for them the necessary permission, in writing, from the Bishop of Montreal. I challenge them to test the truth of the stories of their virtuous protegée, by their own ocular examination,* IF THEY DARE! WM. L. STONE.

New York, March 7, 1837.

SECTION XI.

[THE last escapade played off by Miss Monk, narrated at some length in the Miscellany of Sept. 16th, 1837, the account of which we cannot sully our pages by inserting, had its scene in Philadelphia. Strange as it may seem, a few clergymen and laymen were again duped by her; and she tried her skill at imposture once more, by seeking admittance into a Catholic asylum, under a feigned name, and inventing a new story of abduction. She was, however, soon detected, and her tricks were fully exposed by Dr. W. W. Sleigh, one of her dupes, whose exposé, together with full particulars, may be seen by those whose curiosity leads them to inquire further, or who have not been sufficiently sickened with the exhibitions of crime, imposture, and fanaticism, which have been given already, in the number referred to.]

"The notorious Maria Monk was yesterday convicted of theft in New York, and sent to the Tombs for trial. She has long led a life of prostitution, and this is but one of the many charges heretofore brought against her. Since the publication of her book of 'Disclosures,' she has plunged into every excess of female iniquity."—*Philadelphia Times*, July 28, 1849.

[This unhappy woman finished her criminal career, and was called before the just tribunal of God, September 8th, 1849, being at that time an inmate of the New York prison.]

[A number of errors will be observed in the foregoing documents; these are faults of copy, the documents having been, at first, carelessly printed; and they have been purposely left uncorrected, here and there only a word being thrown in, in brackets, to supply the obvious sense.]

ADDRESS OF THE RIGHT REV. JOHN ENGLAND, D. D., BISHOP OF CHARLESTON,

TO THE SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23D, 1829.*

My Brethren:—

You are now so well acquainted with the object of our assembly, that comparatively few observations will be necessary for enabling you clearly to see how its duties are to be fulfilled. The events of the last year are not numerous, nor were they extraordinary, save in two instances, one of which is matter of serious benefit to this particular church; the other is important to our whole ecclesiastical province. I can, therefore, have but little to communicate, as both those events are well known to yourselves.

The infancy in which our church, in this state continues, is yet helpless; there are many more demands for ministerial exertion than can be at present complied with, not only because of the want of a properly qualified clergy, but also because of want of means to enable such a clergy, even if they existed amongst us, to go forth to labour. The great exertions of the few who were sent to traverse our district have been productive of serious benefit: we still discover many scattered members of our own communion, and several of them are eager to worship at the altars upon which the Lamb is mystically offered, and whence is dispensed that flesh which gives life to the world. Though we are the least numerous in proportion to our territory, of any of the churches of our province, yet it is clear that we have far a greater multitude than our exertions can satisfy; and here it is evident that we ought to labour with more zeal and assiduity to create a ministry which could suffice for our wants. Your friends, your fellow-citizens, your brethren in the faith are placed at a distance from that spiritual food which they so much desire; and whilst for some of you the table is spread with abundance, others would feel relieved by the crumbs which fall from you. Surely I need not urge more than this consideration to excite a deep and permanent interest for creating a fund, by general contribution, to send missionaries to the remote and destitute within our borders. They should themselves aid also the contribution, by their subscription to this general fund, from which you would have power to make appropriations to this end, if your treasurer had the means, as well by providing for the necessities of those missionaries who occasionally go to labour amongst them.

I am happy to inform you that I have for the first time been authorized by a zealous and useful society in France, that of the Propaganda, to draw upon their treasurer for five thousand francs. The bill has been negotiated for $933, and portions of it applied to different useful missionary objects. For this I feel myself called upon, in justice to a venerable brother, whose disinterested benevolence led him, when profiting for his own diocess from that source, to recommend us also, though he had never seen us, nor been in this quarter of our Union. I ask your gratitude and prayers for the respectable Bishop of Cincinnati, who has, without solicitation, and without communication with us, done this diocess the benefit of his interposition. The Bishop of Mobile has also, I am informed, interested himself in our behalf. This, I am led to expect, is but a commencement of their benefactions. May God protect and cherish the people who amidst their own trials are so charitable to others! It is but a small portion of the advantages which America has derived from France, and of which the Americans love to embalm the recollection. Escaped from the fangs of a ruthless and blood-stained infidelity, whilst France offers the victim of praise upon her altars, she ennobles her gratitude by her charity and her aid to rescue from their thraldom those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death.

The most ample funds for missionary [purposes] would be altogether useless, if we had not properly qualified clergymen who might be sent. I have frequently hitherto expressed an opinion that however excellent clergymen coming from abroad might be, there were great additional benefits derivable from their education at home. I particularly alluded to the knowledge of American laws, intimacy with American people, the attachment to American institutions, the habit of American discipline, the zeal for American improvement, and the devotion to American rights, together with the adaptation of the great principles of faith, of morality, and of science to American circumstances. I am not only confirmed in the opinion, but every day brings to my

* [This and the following address were accidentally omitted when the others were arranged for publication.]

mind new evidences of its correctness; and I prefer all the vexations, disappointments, expense, and delay necessarily incident to waiting for the education of a clergy upon this system, to grasping immediately what would give us more speedy appearance of relief, but would not, in reality, prove so permanently beneficial. In the seminary which we have endeavoured to create, we have had our share of imperfections and difficulties, but from it, also, we have received that ministry which now makes us a diocess, and we have the prospect of procuring others who will, I trust, emulate in usefulness those who have already gone forth. In no human concern can man calculate upon unmixed good, and uninterrupted success; we must indeed be prepared for baffled hopes and unanswered expectations, but we must also have our share of success. Much has been done by the seminary, though more was expected; but our future prospects are more flattering. It would be folly to remain dependent upon the casual aid that might be received from those places where, in large schools or colleges, after they had selected for themselves, their charity would bestow upon us those whom they found incapable or stiff-necked. Any diocess which seeks to possess a good ministry, must necessarily provide for its creation, and it is more prudent for us to make the effort at this early period, than to defer the exertion, which can never be made too soon, but the procrastination of which has too often been pernicious.

A former convention has made appropriation of one thousand dollars from the general fund, to aid this institution, but owing to the unproductiveness of the fund, not one-fourth of that grant has been paid. An association of pious ladies in this city has done much towards the comfort of the students, and their own creditable and well-directed industry has been highly advantageous. But owing to former difficulties, the seminary is yet loaded with a heavy debt,—to lessen which I have applied a considerable portion of the remittance which I got from France. I cannot too strongly press this important subject upon your consideration.

The state of the Cathedral has been greatly improved, indeed I may say that it has been altogether relieved from its difficulties by the very extraordinary and highly creditable exertions of its friends. Last year one thousand dollars of its debt had been reduced, besides the payment of interest to the amount of nearly four hundred dollars; this absorption of our means in the payment of discount upon the renewal of notes was not the only evil. There was one more unpleasant than even this to be met, in the liability to the caprice, or the unaccommodating spirit of some of the persons concerned in doing the business of our loan, and serious inconvenience was sometimes created, as we thought, unnecessarily; it was therefore determined to make an effort at once to release ourselves, both from the tax and the perplexity; and the effort has been so far successful, that at the present time the loan is free of interest, and the debt is owing principally to members of the congregation, and is to be discharged by instalments at the convenience of the body, with means arising from well-regulated sources. I have not only to express my deep gratitude to the active and intelligent chairman of the committee which so well executed this work, but also to his zealous associates, and not only to the members of our own communion who have contributed, but also to a few of our liberal fellow-citizens of other religious denominations who have kindly given their aid. This effort was the more creditable, since it was made at an unfavourable period of the year, under inauspicious circumstances, and was so perfectly successful within so short a period.

I should be happy, were it in my power to offer my congratulations to the flock at Columbia upon their church, the whole process regarding which has been so completely injudicious. It was frequently exposed to sale, and has finally been purchased by me; to effect which purchase, I am considerably involved for the amount which it was necessary to procure. It has all been paid, but the means from which I looked for remuneration to enable me to pay the interest, and to refund the capital, appear to have altogether failed; and yet, strange to say, from the district for which this church has been saved, not a single contribution has been made during two years towards the general fund: yet it is for such purposes as would afford it relief that fund was designed! We would turn our attention to the erection of other churches, but it is useless to put up edifices, unless they are shortly to be used by clergymen.

There are other subjects to which I should be glad under other circumstances to draw your observation, but at present I cannot expect that they could be attended to, especially so soon after the extraordinary aid which so many of you have lately given, but it is well to bear them in mind, and prospectively to view what will, I trust, hereafter occupy our serious care. One of our most interesting concerns is to provide for the proper education of the children of our

flocks. This is the parents' special obligation, and the pastor's most pressing and elevated duty, as it is also the patriot's and the charitable man's field of active and useful benevolence. As yet, we have not been able to do much in its regard; our children are scarcely provided in the city with sufficient opportunities of proper religious instruction—in the country and in remote towns they are still more destitute; our orphans have fallen into the power of those by whom they are estranged from the creed of their fathers, and our little females are especially exposed. It is true that more urgent wants must be first supplied; but these concerns ought not to be forgotten.

Provision should be made not only to educate candidates upon whom we may have the claims of justice, and to send missionaries to our distant and destitute brethren, but also for the competent support of the resident clergy in the districts where they may be stationed. By reflection upon those obligations, you will become familiar with their grounds, you will be able to exhibit them to others, you will spread abroad a proper spirit of zeal for those objects, you will procure the means for attaining them, and to your activity will be attributable the good which must result to future generations.

The collectors of the general fund have not in any place been as successful as they ought, but this year, more has been collected in the district of Charleston, than in any former year; and I am confident that the gentlemen who made such progress would have been still more fortunate, but that latterly during the collection for the cathedral, every other contribution was suspended; in future, there can be no doubt but the general treasury will be better filled. It is to be seriously regretted, that nothing whatever had been done outside the Charleston district, though the secretary of the general trustees more than once, by order of the board, brought the subject home to the view of the local vestries and collectors. May we indulge the hope that more interest will be felt henceforth, and our means of usefulness be augmented.

My brethren, we have hitherto by mutual confidence and zealous co-operation attained some blessings; we have not only acted harmoniously together, but we have found what must be the natural consequences of that harmony—prosperity and comfort. It is true, that some of our brethren who formed very strange notions, not only of the constitution which we have adopted, but took equally erroneous views of my mode of administration, have kept aloof for a time. They have been permitted to follow their own plans without interruption; they adhere to our faith, they observe our ecclesiastical discipline;—it is not my intention to interfere with their peculiarities; you need not envy them the results which have been the consequence; they begin themselves to be aware of the inconvenience to which they are liable. Our object is to go forward in affection, in peace, in common exertion: when they think proper to unite more closely in our general concerns, by adopting the constitution, according to which our affairs are regulated, we shall gladly receive them; until then, they shall have our good wishes, our friendly offices, and our religious intercourse. I am under the impression that ere long, these estrangements will cease. It is our duty, as I know it is your disposition, to show by courtesy, by good will, by affection, the utmost readiness to admit them to a full participation of the advantages of our union; thus will our efforts coalesce, and our prosperity be more fully established, and more widely extended. Meantime, let us continue to press on with renewed energy and refreshed zeal; much has been effected, but a great deal remains to be done. Repose is occasionally needful, but it is injurious if indulged in farther than is requisite for the reparation of strength.

You are aware that I have lately attended our Provincial Council, and you have read the letters which we have addressed to you. I need not enlarge upon their contents. Treasure up their maxims; carry their exhortations into practice. It will gratify you to learn that, although in point of numbers and of institutions, Charleston is decidedly the most deficient and imperfect diocess of these states, except, perhaps, one which has been this year erected, and whose bishop has not yet returned from Europe, yet, the zeal and activity which have been manifested in this city during my absence, and the accounts of which reached us during our session, tended greatly to uphold your bishop, to procure respect for yourselves, and to give impulse to the energies of others. May we ever be engaged in such contests, and only in such!

You have been informed that our decrees have been transmitted to the Holy See for revision and confirmation. A considerable portion of what might concern the laity is found in the pastoral letter addressed to them; the remainder principally regards the conduct of the clergy, the administration of the sacraments, and the decency and convenience of our buildings.

Great credit is due to our excellent metropolitan for his promptness in acceding to

the requisition for calling this council, and for the manner of his presiding, as well as his unostentatious hospitality for all who chose to indulge in the pleasure of its participation. For my own part, I feel it a singular happiness to be associated with such men as were there assembled, and I must say, that I have never been more edified than by the zeal, the humility, and the religious demeanour of my brethren and their assistants; and what their information has added to my stock of knowledge, is indeed considerable. It is for us, beloved brethren, a source of great consolation to behold in our day, our provincial church assuming its proper form, and growing into a state of harmonious and extensive organization. Let the example not be lost upon ourselves. We are no longer a number of jealous, scattered, contentious, and badly agreeing congregations, with no point of union but a common faith. No; we are half a million of souls knit together into one provincial church, having charity for those who differ from us, and affection for each other. Our efforts are not those of individuals, nor of disjointed societies; we are members of a body in which there exists but one vivifying spirit, and which has but one rule of common action. When any one member suffers, all sympathize; when one is invigorated, all rejoice. Our separated brethren are united and powerful in the promotion of their special views, and in the attainment of their particular objects they give to us excellent examples by their assiduity; whilst we lament their departure from the original fold, we must feel that we as yet linger far behind them in our own industry. Even the brethren of our own household of the faith in Europe, exert themselves in our behalf. Shall we not, then, be roused to bestir ourselves in our own concerns?

Brethren, in the past year, we have had some things to afflict, but much to console, and very much to encourage us. Let us be grateful to the Father of mercies, and the God of all consolation, for the comfort which he has vouchsafed, and whilst we receive good things at his hand, why should we repine if he mixes that which is less acceptable, and which our sins deserve? Blessed be his name! May his blessing also turn our labours to account.

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

Charleston, Nov. 23, 1829.

ADDRESS OF THE RIGHT REV. JOHN ENGLAND, D.D., BISHOP OF CHARLESTON,

TO THE EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SOUTH CAROLINA, HELD IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. FINBAR, IN THE CITY OF CHARLESTON, ON SUNDAY, THE 7TH OF NOVEMBER, 1830.

BELOVED BRETHREN: It has pleased the Almighty God to permit our convening again, for the purpose of consulting together how the welfare of our church in this state might be secured, and how the interests of religion within our sphere of action might be best promoted. Unworthy as he who addresses you may be, to him is entrusted the awful charge attached to the Apostolic commission: his place is amongst those whom the Doctor of the Gentiles desired to* "take heed not only to themselves, but to those flocks in which the Holy Ghost placed them bishops, to rule the church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood." He is not only commanded to† "be an example to the faithful, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in chastity;" but also to* "keep that which is committed to his trust, avoiding the profane novelties of words, and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called;" † "not to be ashamed of the testimony of the Lord," but to ‡ "preach the word, to be instant in season and out of season, to reprove, to entreat, to rebuke with all patience and doctrine;" to § "be vigilant, to labour in all things, to do the work of an evangelist;" ‖ "to uphold the form of sound words which he hath heard from those who sent him in faith, and in the love of Christ Jesus; to keep the good deposited in trust

* Acts xx. 28. † 1 Tim. iv. 12.

* 1 Tim. vi. 20. † 2 Tim. i. 8.
‡ 2 Tim. iv. 2. § 2 Tim. iv. 5.
‖ 2 Tim. i. 13, 14.

to him by the Holy Ghost who dwelleth in us;" * "to set in order those things that are wanting, to ordain priests;" so that † "the things which he has himself heard from his teachers, before many witnesses, the same he might commend to faithful men who may be fit to teach others also." So that by these means the wants of the faithful might be supplied, holding through your bishops to the head, ‡ "from which all the body by joints and bands being supplied with nourishment and compacted, groweth unto the increase of God."

Truly awful and highly responsible then is the situation of him who oppressed by the heavy load of his charge looks to you, in your several places, for that co-operation which by God's aid would increase his strength, cheer him in his toils, and conduce greatly to the attainment of the object of his ministry. To whom can he more confidently apply, than to those priests§ "chosen to the aid of his partnership and labour; men of a following order and second dignity," who were prefigured by those§ "seventy prudent men, by using whose aid amongst the people, Moses easily governed innumerable multitudes," men succeeding to those§ "teachers of faith, given by the Lord as additional companions to the apostles, by whom they filled the world with successful preaching." Sharers of his toil, partners of his cares, co-operators in his ministry, ‖ "he calls them not servants, but his friends, because they have known all things which he has wrought in the midst of them."

The voice of the faithful has added to our consultation, our lay-brethren in the faith, zealous for religion, attached to discipline, prudent in the concerns of life, who by their habits of business may be better fitted to devise the most feasible mode of raising the necessary means, of usefully directing their application to the objects which we may deem most necessary and which they shall approve, as also to be satisfied upon investigation, that those means have been faithfully and economically applied. Thus, in our several spheres, we shall unite our common efforts for the promotion of that faith to which we are attached.

You need scarcely be reminded that in this state we are only in the commencement of our efforts, and as yet scarcely organized. We cannot, therefore, have many details to lay before you respecting the transactions of the past year, nor can your attention, as regards the future, be drawn to what we would desire to effect, to any greater extent than what we believe to be at present easily attained. Though we see much which we should be glad to accomplish, yet it would be unwise to distract you with the prospects of what we could not hope to attain.

The few stations existing in this state have been sufficiently supplied, and some of the scattered flock have been occasionally visited; but still other stations might be usefully established, and our distant brethren desire and need more frequent opportunities; but our clergy are not sufficiently numerous.

Circumstances, which, though not attaching any imputation to his moral character, yet perhaps render his departure no loss, though it was a disappointment, have obliged me to grant a dismissal upon his repeated applications to a priest educated amongst us, and who had considerably advanced in his course of study. One of the oldest missionaries of the Diocess, who had been resident elsewhere for some years, has returned, and I have this day ordained a clergyman who having commenced his course of studies amongst us, went through the subsequent portion in one of our best-regulated colleges in another Diocess. Still I must inform you, that this will not add to the efficient force of South Carolina, because very serious responsibility rests upon me for another portion of my Diocess, too long neglected, though I trust without any fault of mine; and I owe it to North Carolina to give, at length, to its well-disposed members of the household of our faith, some permanent ministry. It has been hitherto one of my greatest difficulties, to provide a virtuous and an efficient body of clergy; and when I had succeeded to any extent in the effort, their distribution through the several stations, so as to fulfil my duty with impartiality to them and to the people, has been the most painful as it was one of the most delicate of my obligations. I am aware that I have in several instances been subjected to unkind imputations upon this head. They who have judged me, took only those partial views which were furnished by their own interest, their own convenience, or their own affections; whilst I was obliged to embrace a wider field, and to cause those partial views and attachments to give way to the good of my whole charge. Though I cannot expect to be more kindly judged in future than I have been heretofore, yet I would intreat that forbearance to which I am confident my

* Titus i. 5. † 2 Tim. ii. 2. ‡ Colos. iii. 19.
§ Form of Ordination of a Priest.
‖ John vi. 27.

motives are entitled, though my judgment might prove incorrect. In such cases as those to which I allude, religion demands sacrifices of this description, especially from those who undertake to* "labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto life everlasting." They can easily perceive the spirit which should animate them in that injunction recorded by St. Luke, as given by the Saviour† to the young man who desired leave to wait and bury his father. "Let the dead bury their dead; but go thou and preach the kingdom of God." Not only should they be ready as those amongst us have always exhibited themselves, to go cheerfully whithersoever they were sent, but they should continue to inculcate upon the faithful at large, the absolute necessity of a like spirit of disengagement from individual and personal predilections amongst the clergy, so that all should be "looked upon, only, as the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the mysteries of God."

But, my brethren, it is fit that we should deeply examine by what means we may be best able to provide for the increasing demands for clergymen, and also for the continuance of a future supply. I have frequently heretofore pressed these topics upon your consideration, and although they have occasionally engaged our attention, yet nothing effectual has been hitherto the result. In the efforts which I have made, a considerable debt has been incurred, which is not only burthensome in itself, but is a cancer consuming our means by the interest which it draws: I shall have the particulars communicated to you, together with the resolutions of the convention of the church of Georgia, upon the subject, and the views which I entertain respecting the means of its liquidation. In the present state of our church this is a serious and an engrossing subject for your consideration, and one to which I invite your special attention.

There were grounds for hope that we should receive from a benevolent society in France, funds which would be fairly applicable to the liquidation of this debt, but I need scarcely inform you that however you may in a political light view the late revolution in that nation, in this respect it is likely to deprive us of the expected succour, and upon this ground it will be the more necessary to redouble our own exertions.

Not only are we called upon to cancel this present debt, but you must see that it will be necessary to secure the continuance of an ecclesiastical seminary that we may have a succession for the ministry. This appears to have been altogether overlooked by our congregations. In general, they seem to consider that all their duties are fulfilled by supporting a church and a clergyman. They do not advert to the necessity of providing a successor for their present pastor, who is not immortal; they do not advert to the necessity of educating candidates to supply other vacancies, and to afford opportunities to their brethren scattered widely over the extended surface of the regions that we inhabit. They seem to think, notwithstanding their experience to the contrary, that properly qualified clergymen can be found ready at their call, without any previous exertion to procure them. Whence does this delusion arise? Most of our congregations are emigrants from the nations of Europe, in each of which provision was made long since for this want. In every one of those countries there exist colleges of ancient foundation, with ample endowments to support professors and to aid students; these have been created by the pious liberality of their progenitors, or by the munificence of their governments, and thus without any serious demand upon the present generation, there are ample means to receive candidates, and to create a ministry. These means are the property of the countries from which our people have emigrated; and in arriving here, they find themselves in new regions, in which no such provisions have been made. They do not advert to their altered circumstances, and they appear to be astonished why clergymen cannot be as easily had in America as in Europe, and deem it strange that they should be called upon here, to contribute for purposes regarding religion to which they had heretofore been strangers. It is not easy to convince them, at once, of the necessity of a contribution to effect this object.

Yet, let them look round upon their separated brethren of other religious denominations, and they will at once perceive, that owing to similar causes they also are under a like necessity. How many are the establishments which have been created, and are abundantly maintained by the Protestant Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Methodists, the various classes of independents, &c.? See how by means of subscriptions, of collections, of donations, and of bequests, they have largely placed the means of maintaining professors, erecting buildings, creating libraries, supporting candidates, and aiding missionaries, besides also erecting their churches, and providing

* Luke ix. 59, 60. † 1 Cor. iv. 1.

for their pastors. Far be it from me to expect that our small and incipient congregations should at once effect anything like this! No! I could not be so unreasonable. I only desire to show the delusion which has existed amongst us, that it was enough for each congregation to maintain its church and its pastor. I wish to have the source of this error detected, and its fallacy exposed. I know our people too well, to doubt their disposition fully to do their duty to the best of their power, when they are aware of its extent; but this is a topic upon which they have not hitherto sufficiently reflected, and I am anxious that through you it should be brought frequently and closely under their consideration. When they become familiar therewith, I am certain they will need little more impulse than their own love of religion to excite them to action; and when the present debt shall have been discharged, I have no doubt but the carrying into effect the simple provisions of the constitution, respecting the general fund, will meet every necessary demand. You will perceive from the Treasurer's report how very much that fund is in arrears, and I am firmly impressed with the conviction that the neglect has originated in want of sufficient acquaintance with the object of its creation.

The state of our seminary would have been far worse than it is, but for the creditable and useful exertions of the association of ladies in this city, who have, by comparatively small contributions, and by their personal exertions, done much to save expenses and to procure comforts for its inmates. That valuable association richly merits, and has effectually secured far higher and more useful gratitude than mine. It would be desirable if they received the countenance and contributions of their sisters in other parts of the diocess. The seminary also owes much to another society of religious females, which is as yet but in its infancy, but which, I trust, is destined to be an instrument of spiritual and temporal blessings to many in our state. May the Almighty in his mercy reward those benefactresses of both associations, who, in the true spirit of their Father, desire that the left hand should not know what the right hand doth!

Upon the subject of the seminary, I shall also transmit to you a copy of the observations which I made to the last convention of the church of Georgia. I trust you will not separate without making yourselves fully acquainted with the whole case, and aiding me at least with your views and your advice.

I cannot overlook the very generous and useful effort which has been made within the last fifteen months for releasing the cathedral from its pecuniary incumbrances. Though the buildings are only temporary, they are at present sufficiently convenient for our purpose, and the ground on which we are assembled is now emphatically our own. To others it might be reserved in future days to behold upon this location a more noble edifice; to those by whom we are now surrounded, they will always owe the grateful recollection of having in the straitness of times procured the site, if not of having also laid the foundations of what may be for centuries the mother church of a large section of the south. It would be unjust in us to withhold our acknowledgments from some of our separated brethren who have kindly aided us on this occasion. There now remains unpaid but a comparatively light portion of the original debt, for the purchase of the ground, and for the buildings that have been erected; and that portion is due to members of the congregation, who have advanced the sums by way of loan, without interest, to be repaid as the means will be furnished by the ordinary sources which have been opened for that purpose.

The manner in which this effort has been made, together with the urgency of other demands, show that, for some years, the idea of erecting a substantial cathedral cannot be entertained; and therefore, with the sanction of the vestry, the church has now been placed in that order which will enable us to use it more conveniently than heretofore. Should you desire more particular information upon this topic, it shall be furnished upon your call.

I would here beg leave to acknowledge my own grateful feelings for the manner in which the bishop's residence has been fitted up during my absence in the spring.

Though your attention is not likely to be called during your present session to any particular measures in aid of the religious institute to which I have previously adverted, yet as I am anxious you should be fully aware of its object and interested in its welfare, I shall have a special communication regarding it laid before you.

There is another topic to which I advert with sincere gratification. Hitherto the most ancient church in our state had been in a great measure estranged from us; and though perfectly united with us in faith, and in ecclesiastical government and discipline, still by a train of circumstances, and owing to some mistake, it did not accept our constitution, nor join in our common concerns. You now behold its representatives amongst you, it having, upon due consideration,

unanimously adopted the constitution of the Roman Catholic Church of South Carolina, and modelled all its regulations in conformity thereto. Thus, blessed be God! we have amongst us the most perfect harmony and the most cordial union.

I have lately received from the executor of the late Mr. Michael Calverly of Georgetown, two hundred dollars, which he left to be applied by me to the promotion of the Catholic religion in this state: I have given a sufficient discharge to the executor, to whom I feel obliged for the prompt and kind manner in which he complied with the desire of our deceased friend. I shall consult you as to the best mode of its disposal. I would recommend to your prayers and to those of the faithful at large the soul of this benefactor of our church, who, though not moving in the higher sphere of society, I trust moved on no low line of virtue. He has been more than once a member of our convention.

The church of Columbia had been for a considerable time not only in an unfinished state, but liable to serious injury from the almost ruinous exposure of the entire building. The legislature had kindly granted the privilege of a lottery for its aid, but various attempts to profit by this grant resulted in disappointment. The greater part of the materials had been procured upon credit secured by a mortgage, and some judgments had also been obtained against it by other creditors, under one of which it had been sold by the sheriff. I became the purchaser, and the person whom I commisioned to act for me took titles in his own name and mine jointly. I also procured a loan which enabled me to purchase the claim of the mortgagee, so as thus to secure the building for the purposes for which it had been erected. I was desirous that it should be so far completed as to be fit for convenient use, that exertions should then be made to pay the *bona fide* creditors their just amount, and means next raised to extricate me from the responsibility for the loan, after which the property should be conveyed to the vestry and members of the church, according to the constitution. Great credit is due to the Rev. John Barry, who, upon his appointment to the cure of Columbia, exerted himself successfully, and gratitude is due to the contributors in various parts of the diocess, who, by their benefactions have enabled him to effect much, in placing the building in a state not only of perfect security, but of considerable convenience: yet still much remains to be done in liquidating the debts which so unpleasantly affect the establishment. Though I am aware that you have not, at present, any funds applicable to this case, yet I have thought it right to have you fully instructed as to the nature of the facts.

A large and convenient lot has been purchased and enclosed by me upon Charleston neck, for a cemetery, for which purpose it has been already used, several interments having been made therein: I have expended a considerable sum for the purpose, which I expect to be repaid, either by the usual income, or otherwise; and I shall then make titles of the place to any set of trustees that might be constitutionally qualified to preserve the property for its regular purpose.

I would still impress upon your minds the propriety, nay, the necessity of using your exertions and your influence to uphold our few Catholic periodical publications; it is only through them that we can in any manner be enabled to meet, and in some degree to correct the very serious misrepresentations which a press, professing to be under religious influence, continually scatters through the land. If our religion was what it is, on the columns of those opposed numerous papers stated to be, we should indeed be held in abhorrence by all good men; we should be discountenanced by every good citizen. You are yourselves conscious of the unfairness of the picture which they draw; but that is not enough. You should aid in the effort to undeceive those who are mistaken or misled. He who addresses you has had ample experience of the great evil done by their misstatements, and is fully conscious of the extraordinary benefits which have accrued from the Catholic publications. Perhaps you need to be informed that the neglect of contributing to its support, leaves the oldest of those papers, the United States Catholic Miscellany, still in a very precarious state. Do I go too far in urging you to aid it in every way that you can?

Beloved brethren, upon a review of the last year we have much cause to be grateful to our good God, for many blessings, of which we have been partakers. We have enjoyed peace, comparatively good health, a tolerable share of worldly prosperity. Our religious rights have been fully respected, our congregations in harmonious affection, our difficulties diminishing, our sources of spiritual good developing and approaching more towards a state of sufficiency. Not only have we cause for thankfulness, because of these singular favours, but we have, in this state, experienced very little unkindness from those of our fellow-citizens whose mistakes regarding our tenets and observances, lead them to

oppose us. Let us daily endeavour to cultivate charity with all, and whilst we claim and vindicate for ourselves the right to profess and to practise the religion of our fathers, handed down through eighteen centuries, through every variety of circumstances, and still, as heretofore, the grand characteristic of the vast majority of Christendom: let us in spirit and in truth concede to others what we assert for ourselves. To God and not to us they are accountable. Though the evidence of truth, which cannot be contradictory nor inconsistent with itself, be clearly developed to our view, we cannot determine how far that same exhibition is made to them. Let us hope that He who judges the hearts of men will see much that is favourable to our brethren, and let us continue, whilst we use our best efforts for the discharge of our duty to our Creator and our Redeemer, to endeavour also to be kind, to be courteous, to be affectionate, to be charitable to our fellow-men and fellow-citizens, whilst we labour to uphold the institutions of religion; let its spirit fill our hearts, so that being made conformable to the image of our blessed Saviour here below, we may deserve to come to the enjoyment of his glory above.

Beloved brethren, may the God of peace, and of charity, and of wisdom, dwell with us and direct us, is the sincere prayer of your affectionate friend,

† JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

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larmine's proposition, "That the government of the Church ought to be chiefly monarchical," examined. He does not assert that it *is purely* monarchical; but, that it *should* be *principally*. Could not have made the former assertion without censure. According to Bellarmine, the government of the Church not monarchical or aristocratic, but mixed. In his opinion, the principal power in the Pope; according to other divines, in the Bishops; and either opinion tenable. He mentions as an orthodox opinion, that the power of the Pope in Œcumenical Council is like that of the Doge in the Venetian Senate. This opinion held by Gerson and others. Venice a republic. Argument that the Pope is a monarch because supreme. Parallel between his supremacy and that of the Governor of Georgia. Moral obligation of renouncing erroneous impressions concerning the Catholic Church. Second part of the proposition, "That the Bishops of Rome are invested with supreme power over all other churches." In a proper and just sense, this is admitted by Catholics; in the sense of despotic and capricious power, rejected. Third part, "The Bishops of Rome are invested with supreme power over all ecclesiastics," in a limited sense true; otherwise, false. Last two clauses taken in harmony with the first, and with the other propositions, are false. First proposition and its three separate members falsehoods. Second proposition, "That the Pope possesses temporal power over all the goods and possessions of all Christians, to dispose of them as he pleases, even to the transferring kingdoms from one to another," examined. Sportive treatment of a question beneath serious argument. Imaginary cession of America to King George IV., and dialogue between General Jackson and Bishop Dubourg. The proposition so far as relating to private property denied, so far as relates to kingdoms, denied also, but each case of actual transfer demands special explanation, - - - - 284–288

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SECTION V.

Sixth proposition. "The election of pastors they consider as belonging to bishops, but especially to the Pope, so that none is acknowledged who has not been ordained by them to office;" the most like truth of all that are false, and yet false. 1st part. Roman Catholics consider the election of pastors as belonging to bishops, not true; but the canonical right of election often vested in others. 2d part. Further from the truth than the first. 3d part. Episcopal ordination is valid, admitted. Primitive mode of election in accordance with 1st part of this proposition. Author regrets that it is not still the case, and disapproves the modern canons. Seventh proposition. "That the Pope is subject to no human tribunal, that he is superior to councils, and that he is infallible in the exercise of his authority," examined. Missionary fond of triple propositions, and this a good sign. 1st part. Leo XII. a sovereign, and therefore subject to no tribunal. As Pope, also, subject to no human tribunal. A general council not a human but divine tribunal. Author disclaims believing the 2d part, that the Pope is above councils. 3d part, never heard of in the Catholic Church, until it came from the little Mount Zion, in Georgia. Eighth proposition. "That the sacred Scripture owes its authority to the Church (i.e., the Pope) without whose testimony we should be no more bound to receive it,

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Missionary still thinks his report of the Warrenton discourse correct. Second disclaimer from Bishop England. Missionary's inaccuracy shown by his misquotation of the decree of the Council of Jerusalem. Vituperation. Missionary avows his previous knowledge of the disavowal of opinions imputed to Catholics. Author's opinion of the morality of repeating the charge with such knowledge. Missionary's defence of his sixteen propositions. He wishes to know if Catholic divines are more conscientious than himself. Author answers that they are so. Infallibility. That fallible individuals cannot make an infallible tribunal, asserted by Missionary, and denied by the author. Examples in point. Author's challenge to prove contradiction in faith between two Œcumenical councils. Attempt of Missionary to show that several Catholic doctrines are in contradiction to the decision of the Council of Jerusalem, which he misquotes. Author's satisfaction that he regards this as an Œcumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church. Both parties announce their intention to renew the combat, 294–297

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rius Dei Generalis in Terris, one hitherto unheard of by the author. Asserts that he is considered by Catholics, Supreme Prophet, Priest, and King. First and third titles disavowed, second acknowledged. Assertion that there are no restricted supremacies denied. Does not know the power of Leo XII. Is assured that he has all the powers of his predecessors in the Church, and all the constitutional authority belonging to the sovereign of the States of the Church. Asserts that the authority of the Pope is not defined. Asserts on the authority of one Babington, that the Pope is addressed as Dominum Deum Papam. Author believes it is a Mr. Butler who is meant. Whoever it is, he asserts a falsehood, - 299–302

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Letter from "One of the People of the South" to the "Gospel Advocate," 400–403

SECTION I.

Reply to several topics of preceding letter in order. "Miscellany" brings up facts of Irish history to show bad effects of religious persecution. Not true, as asserted in the letter, that the infallibility of the Pope is an article of Catholic faith. Not true that Catholics assert that the discipline of the Church is invariable. On the subject of dispensation, the Pope and Catholics are not and will not be at issue, as surmised in the letter. These are answers to preliminaries. Facts adduced examined. Author of the letter adduces six historical facts to support his assertion that the Popes claim the power of absolving from all oaths. His violation of the rules of logic. Supposing his facts true, they are but acts of individual Popes and not evidence of doctrine. General conclusion from particular premises. That the Popes absolved from the oath of allegiance, would not prove that they absolve from all oaths. Cases examined. They refer to Emperors of Germany, Henry VIII., and Elizabeth of England, and Henry of Navarre. Monarchs may forfeit claim to allegiance. Laity and clergy of America violated oath of allegiance to King of England. Bishops and Peers of Great Britain violated oath to James II. Conventions in England and America declared the people freed from the bond of allegiance by the sovereign's violation of his compact. Papal dispensation of same nature. Only necessary to show that the Pope had a power similar to that used by the convention. History of the creation of the title and dignity of Emperor of Germany. Terms of contract between Pope and Emperor, and power of the former to judge when the latter became, and when he ceased to be, entitled to the allegiance of his subjects. This a human, not a divine right. Character of Henry IV., or III., described by his most partial historians in dark colours. Disputes between him and his subjects. Imposes unusual taxes, in which he resembles George III., and commits simony. Is not legally emperor, and is resisted by the Germans. Similarity between the political principles of the papacy, and those of the United States. Henry's incontinence. Plan to murder his nobility. Obtains election at Mentz, and the Pope's absolution and concurrence, by professions of sorrow and amendment. His behaviour after this worse; he is threatened with deposition, and affects to depose the Pope. Is excommunicated, does penance in public, and is absolved. Violates his oath, behaves still worse than before, and is justly deposed by Gregory VII., in virtue of his constitutional authority. Rest of Henry's history in the Essay on the moral character of several Popes. Language of Urban II. and Paschal II. to be explained on the foregoing principle. Lawful interference of the Popes in the affairs of the German empire does not prove a similar right in regard to the United States, - - - 403–407

SECTION II.

Difference between the relation of Germany and the United States to the Pope has been shown. No danger to be apprehended. Catholics have filled every public and private station in the United States without suspicion. Declaration of Urban II. "Subjects are by no authority constrained to pay to a Christian prince, who opposes God and his saints, and violates their precepts," a particular proposition, restricted to the special case in view. Protestants seldom attack the real doctrines of the

Church, and are frequently guilty of the "suppressio veri." Parallel instance from a case in a South Carolinian court. A general proposition derived from Urban's declaration absurd, and condemned in the case of Wiclif and other heretics. Case and character of Henry IV. or V. Case of Innocent III. and Otho IV. Conduct of Popes in regard to these political treaties has no connexion with the Catholic religion. Canon of the Lateran Council. Two mistakes. A general council infallible only in decisions concerning faith, and the general principle of morality. The third canon respects neither. The council also a political Congress. Canon analyzed, and distinction shown between its civil and ecclesiastical enactments. Case of Innocent IV. declaring Frederick II. his vassal, and deposing him in the Council of Lyons. Frederick held Naples and Sicily as fiefs of the Holy See. His execrable conduct made his right to the imperial crown a forfeit. The Pope justified in deposing him on general and special grounds of law. The whole case has no connexion with the Catholic religion, and no bearing on the relations of the Pope and President. Proposition of Boniface VIII., "we declare, &c., it to be of necessity to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." Author's inability to refer to the passage, and give it due examination. Note on the subject, and extract from Dr. Kenrick. Three points which Catholics believe, and which are expressed by this proposition. Conclusion that the Pope can dispense with oaths a non sequitur. Pope's superiority and jurisdiction over princes. Parallel case of Dr. Hobart's jurisdiction over Governor Clinton of New York. Pope Clement's declaration in the Council of Vienne, that the emperor was subject to him. True, since he was a member, and the Pope the head of the Church. Desired conclusion non sequitur. Clement VI. deposes Louis IV. He justly refused to recognise him from a defect of title. Circumstances explained. This case has no connexion with the Catholic religion or the President of the United States. Writer's point yet unproved, - - 408–411

SECTION III.

English cases. Pope's dispensing the English from their oath of allegiance to Henry VII., adduced to prove the writer's assumption. Three cases in which, admitting the fact, the conclusion does not follow. By the feudal system, the dispensing power belonged to the Pope on other grounds than his spiritual supremacy. Tenure of Ireland rested on a papal bull. England made a fief of the Holy See by John. England a party to the agreement made at the Lateran Council. Henry accepted the title of Defender of the Faith from the Pope. The Pope's various titles for interfering with Henry VIII., have nothing to do with the President of the United States. Author's concessions. Reaction of lay-interference. Question of fact, whether the British people considered themselves absolved, and were so according to the doctrine of the Church. Instances of Lord Chancellor More and Bishop Fisher, martyrs to papal supremacy. Seven propositions. Adherence of English Catholics to Henry VIII. Case of Elizabeth. She was not constitutionally queen. The Pope refused to recognise her title because of her illegitimacy. He was the final judge by the consent of Europe. Other grounds, with the same which concerned her father, were superadded. Consent of Catholics. Spanish invasion. Testimony of Mr. Hume, 411–414

SECTION IV.

Case of King Henry, of Navarre. He and the Prince of Condé were excommunicated, and their vassals absolved from allegiance by Sixtus V. Conclusion drawn from this not legitimate. The Pope's acts, if wrong, no proof of Catholic doctrine. Belief of Catholics to be judged of by their conduct. Condition of France and Navarre. Disregard of the bull by the Catholics of these countries. Writer at a loss to know whether the Pope claims the dispensing power as spiritual or temporal sovereign. Author denies that he claims it at all. Former claim founded on special concessions. Some have sought to represent it as an inherent right. Writer accuses an inspired writer of blasphemy. Shocked that the Pope professes to hold the place of Jesus Christ on earth. Quotation from Scripture on Apostolic authority. Pius V.'s application of the language of Jeremias to himself. Author accuses him of transferring words used of Jehovah to himself. Refers to the wrong passage. The Pope compares himself to the prophet, not to the Almighty. Unbecoming artifices of Dr. Barrow and his copier, - - - - 414–416

SECTION V.

Summary of points proved. Cases adduced bear no analogy to the American Constitution. Supposing the Pope arrogated an unjust power, the Catholic people did not submit to it. A distinct act of the Pope, and the declaration of six universities, disclaims the doctrine of an inherent deposing power in the Pope. Principal calumnies against Catholic religion originated in England. Political reasons for mitigating the persecution of Catholics at the end of the seventeenth century. Mr. Pitt's overtures. Questions sent to the universities. Answer of Paris. Douay. Louvain. Alcala. Salamanca. Valladolid. Irish test approved by Pius VI. Superiority of evidence adduced over contradictory misrepresentations. Irish oath. Extract from Bishop of Waterford's pastoral. Compatibility of the oath of civil allegiance with oath of spiritual obedience to the Pope. Judgments given in various countries, and opinions of

jurists. Religious liberty in the United States leaves untouched the authority of all spiritual rulers. The clause "Salvo meo ordine," in a bishop's oath. Meaning of the clause "hæreticos, etc., persequar et impugnabo." Its omission in the United States. External motives for adhering to the Catholic religion of no weight with the author. His manner of examining religious questions. Conclusion, - - - - - 416–421

CONTROVERSY WITH A CORRESPONDENT OF THE SAVANNAH GEORGIAN, ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT ECCLESIASTICAL PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES FORMERLY RECOGNISED BY THE LAWS OF ENGLAND.

SECTION I.

Introductory remarks. Letter to the editor of the Georgian, complaining of an attack on the Church of England. The attack having been made from a Puritan, not a Catholic quarter, the retort should not have been made on Catholics. The correspondent's explanation of the royal supremacy. He asserts the exemption of ecclesiastics from civil jurisdiction before the schism, and represents the king's supremacy as a temporal authority over them. Endeavours to deny the king's spiritual headship. These statements condemned as erroneous or dishonest. Clerical exemptions and ecclesiastical courts existed by virtue of chartered British rights, not Papal bulls. Assertion that the Pope established courts in England, as head of the Church, and refused to allow the civil authority to punish criminal clergymen, denied. His judicial power in temporal affairs derived from concession. The writer's definition of the king's supremacy not correct. Act of Parliament (xxv. King Henry VIII.) Immunities and ecclesiastical courts still remain in part. King had no right to appoint bishops before the Reformation. Catholic bishops firm supporters of popular rights. Protestant bishops not so. Mockery of the congé d'elire, and statute of præmunire. Irish bishops appointed by letters patent. The king the source of spiritual jurisdiction. Distinction between orders and mission. Various acts of spiritual jurisdiction performed by Henry VIII. and his vicar-general. Episcopal commissions. Doctrine and practice of Cranmer. Execution of priests who acknowledged civil subjection to the monarch, for denying the royal supremacy, - - - - 421–425

SECTION II.

Dissenting clergy subject to civil supremacy of the king, yet deny his ecclesiastical headship. Writer's attempt to ward off odium from the English hierarchy. Undue contempt cast on the title Parson. Denial of the existence of sinecurists noticed. Estimated proportion of clergy and laity incorrect. Some Catholic offices. Sinecures among Protestants. Undue expenditure. Unfortunate refuge in the ancient titles to church property. This justly belongs to Catholics, or to the nation. South Carolinian decision. Intentions of Catholic donors defeated. Taxes on Catholics and dissenters forgotten. Implied censure of Bishop Hobart, - - 425–428

SECTION III.

The Savannah correspondent objects to a commercial paper, as a medium for communicating his historical proofs. The Miscellany offered him. His rejoinder to the arguments of the Miscellany. He disclaims having said that the Pope exercised civil authority in England. This disclaimer contradictory to some of his assertions. Proofs that ecclesiastical exemptions were derived from grants of the civil power. Laws of Ethelbert, and testimony of Bede. Enactments of Withred, and the Wittengemotte of Berghamstede. Rapin incorrectly represents this as a mere ecclesiastical synod. This opinion refuted. The origin of ecclesiastical privileges has been proved to be from the civil power in the kingdom of Kent, - - - 428–432

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SECTION V.

Laws of the Norman kings. Langton. The correspondent called upon to produce canons which support his positions. Various misstatements corrected. Regret of the author that Protestant Episcopalians should identify themselves with bad English monarchs. The correspondent advised to study British law a little more closely, to guard against blunders, 434–436

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Injunctions of Curiosity. His letter on the dedication of a Unitarian Church. Outline of Mr. Little's discourse. A long list of questions. Address of Curiosity to orthodox Protestants, - - - 436–437

Mr. Little's letter disavowing the report of his sermon and remarks, - - 438

A lucubration of an Auditor. Curiosity's reply to Mr. Little. The Auditor a false witness. Question to the editors of the Miscellany. Curiosity leaves the solution of difficulties to them. Irksomeness of the task. Contradictions between Mr. Little and his auditor. Reasons for crediting the former. Auditor's vulgarity. Admission

of his irrelevant tirade into the Washington Gazette. Obligation of the editor to insert the reply, - - - - 438–443

Auditor's cross bill of indictment. Absurdity of the argument that the body of the Church must be corrupt if the head is so. Distinction between infallibility and impeccability. The Jewish High-Priest. Catalogue of criminal Popes begins with Pelagius I., A. D. 555, and ends with Gregory XV. Twenty-seven out of one hundred and seventy-four Popes selected as criminals. Honorius II. condemned for loving learned men, and Benedict X. for his great humility, to be excepted. Proportion of Popes criminated to whole number, twenty-five to two hundred and twenty-six, or one to ten. Some of these twenty-five unjustly accused. Crimes, and wicked character of a few, no argument against the whole body. Logic which draws the same conclusion from both the virtues and vices of Popes. The honest juryman, - - - 443–445

Pope Deus-Dedit and the cure of the leprosy. Miserable and profane attempts at wit. Evidence of the sanctity of this Pope undoubted. Miracles and relics. What the Church requires her children to believe concerning miracles. Facility of ridiculing the miracles of the Scripture. Its teaching in the miraculous virtue of relics. Inventory of the contents of the Auditor's imagination. His productions duly estimated, 445–448

New tirade of Auditor. His vexation that he cannot be left to denounce Catholics in peace. Dread of the Jesuits. Catholics indebted for their equal rights, not to the forbearance, but the justice of their countrymen. Charge against Boniface V. for allowing the privilege of sanctuary. Grant of this privilege explained and vindicated. Protestant testimony to the excellence of Boniface. Privilege of sanctuary in the old law. This regulation, whether good or bad, no part of the Catholic religion, 448–453

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Charges against Boniface VII. of plundering the Church and flying to Constantinople. This man a murderer and robber, but never Pope. John XVII. accused of magic. His character mercenary and avaricious, but no proof of magic. Paul I. accused of excommunicating Constantine Copronymus, and honouring St. Petronella. Excommunicating wicked emperors and honouring saints, acts of virtue. Eulogium on this Pope from a Protestant history. Villany of Copronymus. Threatened with excommunication, but not known to have suffered its infliction. Account of St. Petronella, - - 456–458

Boniface VIII. accused of exempting the clergy of all nations from taxation by a general bull. Such an act impossible, and no such bull in existence. Author does not eulogize Boniface, but his private character does not affect the Church. Julius II. accused of throwing his key into the Tiber and brandishing his sword. No proof that he did either of these things, but his martial temper conceded, and the author does not defend him. If he be considered a bad Pope, that does not sustain the Auditor's position. Pius II. accused of differing from the Catholic Church on the celibacy of the clergy, and turning out nuns. The celibate a question of discipline, not doctrine. The second charge denied. Challenge and pledge to editor of Unitarian Miscellany, - - 458–460

Charges against Stephen VI., Romanus, John IX., and Sergius III. Inconclusiveness of the argument from special acts of Popes against their infallibility. Acts in question were not decisions of faith or morals. Some of the persons mentioned were not Popes. Historical outline. Formosus, Bishop of Porto, chosen Pope in 897. Boniface VI. and Sergius, rival candidates for succession. The former considered by some true Pope, the latter a pretender. Stephen VI. an enemy of Formosus, and caused his body to be treated with indignity. Deemed him to have been a usurper, and sacrilegiously re-ordained his clergy. Stephen an atrocious criminal. The Church, in the same age, adorned with illustrious men. During the greater part of it, governed by worthy pontiffs. Stephen strangled in prison, and administration seized by Romanus, a usurper. Theodore II. reverses condemnation of Formosus. John XI. confirms acts of Theodore. Benedict IV., a virtuous Pope, succeeds. Leo V. imprisoned by Christopher, a pretender. Sergius III., another enemy of Formosus, repeats the acts of Stephen. His character bad. Amount of criminality proved, and total inconclusiveness of the argument derived from it. Lay-influence in ecclesiastical affairs the cause of these disorders, - - 460–462

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not guilty of these charges, but John XII. is referred to. This epoch shows the unhappy effect of lay-interference. Mutual factions and usurpations of Italian and German Princes. Some good Popes but several bad ones in this age. Otho of Germany called into Italy against Berengarius and Albert. Octavian, son of Alberic, Consul and Patrician of Rome, and grandson of the infamous Marozia, obtains violent possession of the Papal See. His crimes and excesses, and deposition by a council of Bishops. Leo VIII. and his contest with John. Benedict V., succeeds the latter but is forced to submit to Leo. Unfortunate concession of the Papal election and investiture to Otho. Various accounts of the miserable end of John. Charge of poisoning unfounded. Futility of argument derived from the vicious character of John, 462–463

Alexander III. accused of excommunicating Frederick I. and placing his foot on his neck, and Celestine III., of crowning the Emperor with his feet and kicking it off. Charge apparently abandoned. Brief sketch of the conflict between the Emperors and the Hildebrandine Popes. Frederick's humiliations voluntary. Story of Celestine a fabrication, - - 463–465

Charge against Boniface III. of obtaining the supremacy from Phocas, afterwards disclaimed by Sabinianus. Acts of supremacy exercised in Constantinople long before this. Supremacy of the Roman Bishop acknowledged by Aurelian three hundred and fifty years before. Boniface merely requested the emperor to restrain the ambition of the Bishop of Constantinople. Sabinianus preceded Boniface in the pontificate. Benedict IX. accused of practising magic, invoking devils and bewitching women. He was a wicked man intruded into the Papal See by the factious laity. Singular charges of Auditor without foundation. Benedict IX. is ejected and succeeded by another bad man, Sylvester III. Their contests and election of Gregory VI. He resigns and Clement II. is chosen. Unfairness of judging the character of clergy and laity by two detested intruders. Alexander VI. accused of an unnatural crime. His character profligate and abandoned, but no proof of this crime. Nicholas III. and Martin IV. accused of violating chastity. All writers concur in ascribing to them an unblemished character, - - - 465–466

Charge against Pelagius I. of decreeing death to schismatics and heretics. Martin V. of condemning Wiclif and burning Huss and Jerome. Gregory XIII. of contriving the Paris massacre. Gregory XV. of instigating French against the Protestants, and canonizing Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Inquisition and the Jesuits. Several ridiculous anachronisms pointed out. Charge against Pelagius, who had no temporal power, absurd. Remarks on punishment of heretics. Huss and Jerome burnt by the laws of the empire. Vindication of Gregory XIII. Gregory XV. one of the mildest of Pontiffs, by the acknowledgment of all his historians. Knox, Luther and Calvin the causes of more suffering than all the spiritual and temporal rulers of the Church, during ten centuries, 466–469

Innocent III. accused of inventing Transubstantiation, ordering the pixis to be used, and bells to be rung before the host, and imposing auricular confession. Homilies, Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, etc., contradict the first charge. Its falsehood. The pixis and bells. Council of Lateran simply fixed the time when confession was obligatory. Its obligation from the earliest times proved. Clement V. accused of introducing indulgences. This matter briefly explained. Proofs of indulgences centuries before Clement. Farewell to Auditor, - - 469–472

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Author's regret at the necessity of addressing Governor Troup. Extract from his oration. Catholics of the United States insulted by him. Introduction of Feudal System into England. Previous system under Saxon Catholic kings. Edward the Confessor and other monarchs. Their obligations to Rome. Feudalism despotic. Distinction between Roman and Roman Catholic Church. Feudal system softened by influence of Catholic Church in Europe. Saxon liberties overthrown by William I. Resistance of clergy. Runnymede and Magna Charta. Becket and Langton. Feudal tyranny completely established by Henry VIII. Meaning of "Gratia Dei." Jefferson's obligations to Catholic clergy. Popes accused of preaching divine right of kings. This at variance with the accusation that they taught the dependence of kings on the Holy See. Notion of royal infallibility being taught by Popes new. Two Protestant Bishops teaching the divine right of kings promised for every Pope. Different senses of "jure divino." Americans aided by a Catholic King in their revolt. Unmeaning phrases condemned. Impropriety of carelessly insulting Catholic citizens of the United States, - 472–476

CONTROVERSY WITH THE "CHARLESTON OBSERVER" ON THE HISTORY AND DOCTRINES OF THE WALDENSES.

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Protestants desirous to find an ancestry. Fond of tracing themselves to the Waldenses. Origin of this sect from Peter

Waldo, at Lyons. Name of Insabbatized. Account of Waldo. Manners of his disciples. He himself not learned. His sect condemned by Lucius III. They come to Rome. They are not accused of anything in respect to the Real Presence. Another proof that their errors did not regard the Eucharist. Proofs of the same truth by a famous Conference, wherein all points were discussed. Articles of the Conference. The Eucharist is not there spoken of. Alanus objects nothing to the Vaudois concerning the Eucharist. Nor Peter De Vaucernay. The Vaudois come to demand the approbation of Innocent III. They begin to be treated like obstinate heretics. The Church's patience in regard to the Vaudois, - - 477–480

SECTION II.

Extract from the "Charleston Observer," giving an Old Confession of Faith. Mistakes pointed out. Original language in which several articles were written, quoted. Twelve articles of belief omitted by the Observer. These articles condemn modern Protestant churches as anti-Christian. Six different sects of Waldenses enumerated. Confession of Bohemian remnant of the sect, presented to King Ferdinand, contained the doctrine of the Real Presence. Luther, etc., praised it, but Calvin disliked it, on this account. Those who are in search of heretical ancestry, advised to trace their origin to Simon Magus, and the incredulous disciples of our Saviour, - - 480–483

SECTION III.

Reply of the Observer. His use of the term "old." Claims that the Waldensian Confession was more than four hundred years before the Confession of Augsburg. Attempts to prove that Waldo was later than the Vaudois, and took his name from them. Remarks on the twelve articles. Their different names. Attempts to trace them to the early ages. Compares the Church of Rome with the Church of the Apostles. Testimony of Renierius. Extracts from Mosheim on the Waldenses. Ditto on the learning of the twelfth century, - - 483–491

SECTION IV.

Reply to the Observer. His rejoinder establishes the fact that Protestants succeed the ancient heretics. Diffusion of Protestantism "hidden." The Old Confession had no semblance of form before 1185, and probably did not assume its present shape until 1541. Mistakes concerning Augsburg Confession. More than one promulgation of Christianity, according to Observer. Lutheran Church in existence twelve hundred years before its first germ was formed. Observer's misstatements of the author's positions corrected. Questions respecting Peter Waldo, and the name and origin of the Waldenses. Mosheim proves clearly that Waldo was the founder of the sect, and all authentic records are with him. McLean quotes no authorities in support of the opposite opinion, but simply copies unfounded statements of writers of his own school, and makes verbal criticisms. Twelve articles shown to be articles of faith. The contradictory proposition to a heresy is an article of faith. Waldenses accused the Church of heresy in accepting temporal possessions. They condemn modern Protestants equally. Also, for teaching the lawfulness of just war and of capital punishment. In this they condemned Calvinists. Also, for distinguishing clergy and laity, which is done even by Calvinists. Also, for allowing clergymen to hold estates. And for suffering clergymen to receive salaries. And for not enforcing poverty and community of goods on the laity. Also, for holding it lawful to endow churches, and to bequeath legacies to churches, and for not obliging pastors to manual labour. They condemned also the orders of the clergy, and for a long period had no ministers. They condemned magistracy as sinful, and refused assent to a contrary proposition in their treaties with the Lutherans, &c. They also condemned human learning as sinful. Observer misrepresents the universities. Singular error in translating St. John, v. 2. Author concedes that there have been Protestants from the days of the Apostles. Renier; he was a bishop of the Waldenses, and afterwards became a Catholic and a Dominican. He simply states their assertion of their own antiquity. Pylicdorf's testimony to their falsehood. St. Bernard on the Apostolics. Renier's testimony to the universality of the sect. Its extent really confined within narrow limits. Distinction made between them and other heretics, because they taught no error concerning the principal mysteries. Their show of piety consisted in receiving the sacraments in dissimulation. Sacrifices exacted of the Observer and his associates, in order to become fit for the society of the Poor Men of Lyons, 491–496

SECTION V.

Extract from Bossuet, - - 496–500

SECTION VI.

Remarks of the Observer. He excuses himself from further prosecuting the subject at present. Admonishes the Miscellany not to wander from the question. He seeks only for leading principles of Protestantism in past ages. Asserts that there is as much variation in the Catholic Church as among Protestant sects. Appeals to the Law and the Testimony. History of the Waldenses from Bossuet. No error relating to the sacraments. Insincerity of Paul Perrin, &c. Concerning the beginning of the Vaudois. The Minister de la Roque. Whether the Vaudois afterwards changed their doctrine about the Eucha-

rist. Proof of the contrary from Renier. A list of the Vaudois errors. Another, and no mention of error in this point. Another still. Demonstration that the Vaudois did not err concerning transubstantiation. Sequel of the same. Testimony of Seyssel, Archbishop of Turin, in 1517. Gross evasion of D'Aubertin. D'Aubertin's vain objection. Another proof from Seyssel. Interrogatory of the Vaudois in the library of the Marquis of Seignelay. Two volumes marked 1769 and 1770. Necessity of confession. The Vaudois exteriorly did the duties of Catholics, 500–505

SECTION VII.

Author denies having wandered from the question. Protestantism considered as a negation of the Catholic faith, acknowledged to have existed from the first age of the Church. The specific doctrines of the various Protestant sects differ, however, from those of the Waldenses. Specific proofs of the Observer have been examined. Appropriateness of the extracts from Bossuet. Other sects mentioned have nothing to do with the question. The author reveres the Scriptures and their authoritative sense, but has no respect for the interpretations of individuals. Requests that the history of the great apostacy may be given. And that those decisions of the Church which contradict one another may be cited. The editors of the Miscellany not in fault for the Observer's late reception of their last number. Whether the Vaudois discarded any of the seven sacraments. Confirmation. Extreme unction. Ablution in baptism spoken of by Renier. Confession. Eucharist. Matrimony. Demonstration that Catholics were not ignorant of, and did not dissemble errors of Vaudois. Division of Vaudois's doctrine into three heads. Doctrines which both Protestants and Catholics reject in the Vaudois. That which Catholics approve and Protestants condemn. Vaudois have changed their doctrine since the time of Luther and Calvin. New articles proposed to them by the Protestants. Conference of the Vaudois with Œcolampadius. Vaudois not Calvinists, as proved from Crespin. Proof from Beza. Change and extinction of Calabrian Vaudois. The present Vaudois not the predecessors but the followers of the Calvinists. No advantage to be derived from the Vaudois in behalf of the Calvinists. The Calvinists have no contemporary authors to favour their pretensions to the Vaudois. Vaudois books produced by Perrin. Confession of Faith produced by him, posterior to the Reformation. Demonstration that the Vaudois had none previously. They retained some of their peculiar dogmas in drawing their Calvinistical confession. Artifice of the ministers to clear the Albigenses from the charge of Manichæism by confounding them with the Vaudois, 505–514

SECTION VIII.

Conclusion, - - - - 514–515

VOL. III.

LETTERS CONCERNING THE ROMAN CHANCERY.

PREFACE.

Extract from the Charleston Courier of July 31st, 1839. Meeting of Prince William's Temperance Society at Hoopsa Church. Memorial to the Legislature of South Carolina. and Resolutions. Note of Bishop England to Mr. Rhett, respecting a certain passage of the memorial, - 13–17

REV. MR. FULLER TO BISHOP ENGLAND.

No. 1.

Mr. Fuller objects to Mr. Rhett's being made responsible for the Prince William's Memorial. Assures the Bishop that he did not intend to reflect on the present legislation of the Church of Rome. Thinks he ought not to be hurt by a comparison of Carolinian legislation with that of Rome in her corruptest age. Asks if Bishop England is serious in demanding proof of the sale of indulgences. Refers to the tax-book. Wishes to be spared the painful duty of giving proofs. Advises the Bishop in what way to employ his abilities, - - - - - 17

BISHOP ENGLAND TO REV. MR. FULLER.

No. 1.

The Bishop's reasons for writing to Mr. Rhett, already given. He simply stated his suspicions of a certain passage, which

were, that by accusing the Roman Chancery of selling licenses to sin, obloquy was intended to be cast on Catholics. Mr. Rhett supposed to be misinformed. Statutes alluded to, if they ever existed, were, by concession of Mr. Fuller, no part of the Catholic religion. Reference to indulgences irrelevant. Indulgences quite different from licenses to sin. If a tax-book existed, which affixed certain pecuniary penalties to crimes, it would not prove a license to commit sin. Fine for selling liquor, no proof that license is given to sell it. Such a book, however, unknown to Bishop England. Precise definition of the question at issue. Indulgences may be discussed when licenses to commit sin are finished. Irrelevant topics passed by, - - - 17, 18

REV. MR. FULLER TO BISHOP ENGLAND.

No. 2.

Mr. Fuller states the point at issue to be, whether there was ever a tariff enacted by the Roman Court of which the Pope was head, regulating the price for which sins might be committed. Asks if the Roman Chancery ever sold for money indulgences remitting penalties of sin. Begs the Bishop not to perplex the question by distinctions between license and tax. Denies the appositeness of his illustration from legislative fines. Suggests another. Calls his first witnesses the Protestant preachers. Saurin. Quotations from his sermons. Note of his editor on the tax book. Mosheim. Quotation. References to Robertson, Encyclopædia Americana, Buck, &c., for form of indulgence. Erasmus, Giessler, Burigni, &c. Vast sums amassed by sale of indulgences. Leo X. declares his right to do it. Tariff must have existed in secret, if not published. References to authors above cited for proof that it was published. Bayle. Extract in Pinet. Drelincourt to Bishop of Belley quoted. Bayle's account of Banck. He asserts that efforts were made to suppress the tax-book, and that it was placed on the prohibited list. Authority of certain editions maintained. Mr. Fuller thinks he has made out his case, and disowns any intention of attacking the Church of Rome, - - - - - 18–21

BISHOP ENGLAND TO REV. MR. FULLER.

No. 2.

The Bishop disavows any imputations upon his antagonist. He has apparent evidence. All that is worth notice contained in his letter. Necessity of precision. Mr. Fuller has changed his terms. Roman Court substituted for Roman Chancery. Misstatement of hypothesis in former letter corrected. The allegation was not that men are absolved from punishment, but that a Statute of the Roman Chancery licensed the commission of sin at a regulated price. Relevancy of the question of indulgences not admitted. Statute of the Roman Chancery or its authorised tax-list would be conclusive evidence. The Bishop has a copy of the tax-book of the Roman Chancery, and could not deny its authenticity, but denies that it contains the items alleged, and denies the existence of the statute. Mr. Fuller gives none of his promised quotations from the tax-book. He and his authorities quote no statute. His nine secondary witnesses admitted in default of primary evidence, and examined in order. Saurin. His declamation against the Roman Court and indulgences, if true, prove nothing against Roman Chancery, and licenses to sin. He and his editor only report common fame. His name not so highly honoured by all Calvinists as by Mr. Fuller. Robertson. Value of his testimony equivalent to that of Bayle and the Frankfort edition of the tax-book, published 1651, on which he relies. Extract showing that he does not sustain the allegation. He states that heavier punishments were commuted to fines. Religious Encyclopædia and Buck give extracts without authentication. Brunet proves the existence of Pinet's book, called "Tax de la Chanc.," &c., Lyons, 1564. The Bishop and many critics consider this the original forgery. Bayle. His statements inaccurate, and his authority slight. A Protestant or an infidel during most of his life. D'Aubigne. Speaks of a Paris edition of 1570. Good reasons for suggesting a mistake in the date. His character turbulent and his writings careless. He only refers to an existing tax-book, but does not testify that he saw it. Drelincourt. Not an Italian, or a Catholic Priest, as stated, but a French Protestant Minister. His editions all of Paris. Mistaken assertion that Catholics quoted a Roman edition of 1520. These mistakes do not affect Drelincourt's evidence, but it proves nothing. Banck. His edition a compilation from several variant copies. Witnesses reduced to Banck and Pinet. The Bishop will prove the tariff of sins a fabrication, and afterwards discuss indulgences. Assertion that the Roman Chancery endeavoured to suppress the tax-book contradicted by D'Aubigne and Drelincourt, - - - - 21–25

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

No. 3.

Exact division of labour, and scrupulous adherence to their own sphere in the Roman tribunals. A Roman chancellor differs from an English chancellor. Temporalities of sees. Some cases concerning benefices. Canonical censures. Matrimonial dispensations and revision of documents belonging to the Chancery. Tax-book of the Chancery regulates the fees of its officers to prevent exactions. Preposterous insertion of prices of sin in this book a clear proof of forgery. Propriety of confining the discussion to the Chancery apparent.

Mr. Fuller quotes D'Aubigne to prove that the first edition of the Tax-book was published at Paris, in 1520. His note-maker asserts that the first edition was 1570, and another guesses it should have been 1520. Bayle quoted to prove two previous editions—Rome, 1514, and Cologne, 1515. He asserts, but does not prove this. Banck's editions were Cologne, 1523, Wittenberg, 1558, and an Italian tract, some time after 1644. Absurdity of supposing the book published and allowed to be procured at Rome seventy years after it was suppressed. Pretended editions before Pinet enumerated. Argument against their existence from the silence of Protestants between 1514 and 1564. Luther's silence a proof that no copy existed before 1546. Calvin's silence proves the same to 1564. No evidence exists of any edition before Pinet's. Bayle's judgment of this man. He gives no account of the copy used by him. His tariff sadly out of place in the Chancery Tax-book. Reasons for charging him with forgery. His romance of history. An authentic disclaimer of the Holy See recorded soon after the publication of his book. European Protestants despise the ridiculous forgery. Editions published, pretending to be anterior to Pinet's. Du Mont's endeavour to correct Pinet's blunder, and amend the title. Other discrepancies. Banck's edition worthless, on his own testimony. Similar forgeries committed now. The Fellow of Trinity and Mr. M'Ghee. Forgery an ingenious device. Maria Monk and others. The testimony of the Protestant, Whittaker, that forgery is a peculiar crime of Protestantism. The Bishop requests that the obnoxious passage may be erased from the memorial, - - - - 25–30

REV. MR. FULLER TO BISHOP ENGLAND.

No. 3.

Mr. Fuller disappointed by the Bishop's manner of treating a great moral question. Robertson, Benson, Protestants of Paris, &c., quoted to prove that the Tax-book is not given up as a forgery. Testimony of Saurin and other witnesses reviewed. Drelincourt affirms that he has seen editions of 1520, 1545, and 1625, and possesses the first named. Bayle asserts that D'Aubigne used the Paris edition of 1520, proved by his testimony and Drelincourt's to have existed, and which must have been a Catholic edition. Testimony of Dumont and secretary of Bois le duc, proves the existence of the edition of Rome 1514. Banck's qualifications. Manuscript shown him by Sibon. Review of the Bishop's criticism on Banck's testimony. Pinet defended. His fanciful genealogies, excusable peccadillos. Digressions unpleasant. Mr. Fuller does not believe the Chancery was confined within a fixed and immutable jurisdiction. Thinks indulgences would come under Chancery jurisdiction, as absolutions from canonical censures. Gregory de Valentia, and his similitude. Comments on the case of Parrhasius. Datary and Chancery formerly one court. It is not certain that Luther and Calvin were silent concerning the Tax-book. If they had known of it, they would not have thought it anything remarkably bad. The book known to them, because mentioned by the Protestant princes among the reasons for rejecting the Council of Trent. Some minor objections answered. Assault upon Pinet's book, for its mistakes, denied. Discrepancies of editions prove they were not forgeries. Bayle impartial, because an infidel. Bishop England desired to translate and publish his article. His conclusions cited. Abbe Richard's defence against Jurieu, admits the facts alleged concerning Roman Chancery. Bayle charges acts of Chancery on the Church, but Mr. Fuller does not. Admissions of other Catholics, especially D'Espence. Recapitulation. Whittaker's charge. Provincial Letters, and accusations of Pascal against the Jesuits. Writer consents, on his part, to expunge the obnoxious passage from the memorial. Parting compliments, - - - - 30–38

Bishop England to editors of Charleston Courier, - - - - 38

BISHOP ENGLAND TO REV. MR. FULLER.

No. 4.

Bishop England not disappointed in Mr. Fuller's courtesy, industry, and ingenuity. The reverend gentleman's special charge required a special reply. Fact of interpolation of the Tax-book, and probability of Pinet's guilt asserted in former letters. Mr. Fuller's defence has three points: 1st. That Bishop England's examination of his witnesses was inconsistent and self-contradictory; 2d. That the witnesses deserve credit; and 3d. That their testimony is supported by other evidence. First point examined. Bishop charged with inconsistency, for admitting that if the editions mentioned existed, it would prove a penalty to have been inflicted on sins, and for then refusing Mr. Fuller's evidence. Bishop rejoins, that if these were proved, the allegation would not be sustained, and moreover denies that proof has been given. Another inconsistency, refusing to digress to indulgences, and digressing to M'Ghee, Maria Monk, etc. Indulgences an irrelevant subject, but the episodes introduced as proofs of a system of forgery, like that of Pinet. Drelincourt again. D'Aubigne, Bayle, and the date of the Paris edition. False translation in the case of Dumont insinuated. The Bishop was describing, not translating. Dumont's copy said to have been shown as an edition of Rome, 1514, because its title was no proof of more. Affidavits of clerks who collated for Dumont, said to have been given, were not so. They would have been false, if

they had been, for the titles of Dumont's edition and the pretended Roman one vary, - - - - - 38–41

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

No. 5.

Alleged contradictions in regard to Banck's copy, procured at Rome, explained. Mr. Fuller overthrows his own assertion, that Banck procured a copy at Rome, which he published. Mr. Fuller's estimate of Banck tried by Bayle's account. Seven editions of which he knew nothing. Comparison of his rifacciamento with a compilation of statutes will not hold. It was denied that he published what were laws. His collection omitted seven editions. He did not arrange different laws, but compiled a mass of variant documents, purporting to be copies of the same instrument. Legislature of South Carolina could not be accountable for a compilation made by a foreign enemy, and denounced as such. Absurdity of the story of Sibon. Frequent republication of the authentic Chancery tax-book. Bishop England will show it to all who wish to see it. Statement of Robertson's authorities corrected by giving new references. These refer to another subject of his paragraph. Drelincourt's assertion that he had a Paris edition of 1520, no proof. The Protestant Voet's testimony that the Catholics denied its authenticity. No evidence exists to sustain it, - - - - 41–45

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

No. 6.

Pinet. Lingard, and the Index Depravata sustain charge of forgery against him. Seven items of evidence against him. Bayle gives no testimony of his own to editions before Pinet's. What Lingard says of him. Discussion necessarily bibliographical, not degraded by special pleading. Infidels not impartial to Catholics. Abbe Richard. What Mr. Fuller says, if correct, simply proves him in a mistake. Remarks on his testimony. Edition of Cologne not attested. Semblance of official sanction to Roman edition, illusory. Paris edition of 1520 not proved by Drelincourt and D'Aubigne. Banck could not be a witness of the authenticity of the Cologne edition of 1535. Drelincourt does not prove the Paris edition of 1545. Edition of tariff in Protest of the princes, supposed by Bayle to have been copied by Pinet. Mr. Fuller's astonishing error of 15 years in the date of the Protest. Assembly of Naumburg. If the Protestant princes are proved to have published an edition of the tax-book, the guilt of forgery is transferred to them. Required conditions of a free council. No notice in Fleury and Labbe of any mention of the tax-book. Nor in the documents of the council. Book of the Protestant princes. Latin version appeared a year after Pinet's edition. No proof of its publication in German before 1507. Bayle admits it did not contain a copy of the tariff, but something like it. Probability that it was copied from Pinet. Error concerning Wirtemberg edition of 1558. Claude d'Espence. Proof that his remarks were not published before Pinet's edition. If they were, it only shifts the guilt of forgery from Pinet, without sustaining the allegation. Inconvenience of et ceteras. Array of witnesses finished. Indulgence requested, - - - - 45–52

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

No. 7.

Passage from D'Espence, decree of John XXII., and title of Silber's tax-book, found and open for inspection. Question of the distinction of tribunals taken up. Roman sense of "cognizance." Indulgences belong neither to the Chancery nor the Penitentiary. Indulgences incorrectly confounded with absolutions from censures. Faber's assertion that indulgences were originally a shortening of excommunication, denied. S. Thomas and Bellarmine on this point. Nothing to be gained by proving indulgences to belong to the Chancery. Story of the British Colonel, and his interpretation of the benefit of clergy. Remission of sins when applied to the effect of indulgences, a technical phrase with a peculiar meaning. Case of Parrhasius. Indulgence confounded with dispensation. Full explanation of this case. Assertion that the Chancery and Datary were once the same tribunal denied on the authority of jurists, and the law-officers of Rome. Richard, and his admission of Chancery taxes in 1320. Existence of these taxes never denied. Extract from an extravagant of Pope John XXII. Grounds on which some Catholics have complained of this tax-list. Luther and Calvin passed by. Proof of their knowing the existence of the tax-book, destroyed by mistakes shown to have been made in the argument. Explanation of the phrase, "cum sit depravata ab hæreticis" in the form of condemnation, - 52–58

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

No. 8.

Passage in relation to the different treatment of rich and poor noticed. Blame of a faulty translation of the word "extirpee" laid on the Protestant translator of Bayle. Assertion that the whole case is rested on the proof of Pinet's forgery, a mistake. Fact of the forgery by some one evident, and Pinet guilty in the bishop's opinion. Lingard's remarks. Arguments against the statement that the tax-book has lost credit in Europe, noticed. Robertson, Schlegel, etc. Facts proving the discredit of the book. Whittaker, and several instances not adduced against the body of Protestants. Pascal, incorrectly called an ornament of the Catholic Church, no Catholic, but a Jansenist. The Index not

the work of the Jesuits. Information that the third Lateran Council sanctioned perjury, new. Injury which the Church would have received from a silent acquiescence in the charges of the memorial. The bishop feels it his duty to explain indulgences, dispensations, etc. Acknowledges the former existence of abuses, 58–60

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

No. 9.

Exhibition of the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church, regarding absolution, indulgences, etc. Distinction between the forum internum and the forum externum. Reconciliation of the sinner with God, belongs to the first, with the Church, to the second. Decrees of the Council of Trent concerning the first point. Exclusive and irresponsible jurisdiction of approved priests in foro interno. Guilt and folly of attempting simony in the tribunal of penance. The definitions cited were known to the Protestant princes. Temporary punishment and satisfaction. Case of King David. Reason for asserting the irrelevancy of the question of indulgences to the point in dispute, apparent, - - - - 60–62

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

No. 10.

View of the external court. General terms in which laws are necessarily expressed. Hardship of particular cases. The dispensing power of the Pope. Censures explained. Absolution from them belonged to the exterior court. Abuses and their causes. Dislike of the rude and warlike chiefs of the barbarous nations, converted to Christianity, to the severe discipline of the Church. Necessity of relaxation. Councils of Ancyra and Triburia. Compositions of acts of penance for acts of charity. Tyranny of the princes over the bishops. Their willing relinquishment of the power of indulgences to the Holy See. The Pope, as a sovereign, independent. The crusades. Extensive indulgences granted to the crusaders, and afterwards to those who contributed money to the crusades. Office of the questors, and their abuse of their powers. Reforming measures. Innocent III., and the fourth Council of Lateran. Pope Clement V., and the Council of Vienne. Some writers accuse the Holy See of having grown careless in restraining the questors. Tetzel's questors probably guilty of abuses, but misrepresented by Protestants. Catholic Europe demanded the reform of abuses. Questorship abolished by the Council of Trent. General and pious use of indulgences at the present day. Undue facility in granting dispensations. Noble and beneficent use made of the money collected by ecclesiastical fines and contributions of the faithful. Reformation of abuses without change of doctrine, or schism. Unworthy sources from which Protestants draw their information concerning Catholicity. Concluding remarks, 62–68

THE REVEREND MR. FULLER TO BISHOP ENGLAND.

No. 4.

Mr. Fuller thinks the material points of his evidence untouched. Wishes to terminate the discussion. Observations. Expurgated editions of the tax-book worthless. Abbe Richard admits the tax-book produced by Jurieu, viz., the one suppressed by the Church. Classical satire upon John XXII. Indices, etc., prove the abuse of the press. Preparation of the tax-book, as a ministerial act, belongs to the Chancery. Indifference to Bellarmine's refinements. More classical wit. Absurdity of supposing all the authorities cited in defence of the allegation mistaken. Further remarks on Parrhasius, and the identity of the Chancery and Datary courts. Protest of the Protestant princes presented before 1546, and renewed 1562. Improbability of their presenting a forged document to a Catholic council. A correction in regard to Luther and Calvin. Threat of the editors of the Courier to put the discussion on the advertising list. Lateran Council quoted. Pretence of corruption, Jesuits, Pascal, and Lingard. The Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique, de Thou and Planck cited as witnesses. Mosheim, Schlegel, and the Biographie Universelle. Sixtus IV. Summing up of arguments. Mutual friends, and allusion to Mr. Legare. The bishop's promised explanations deprecated and condemned by anticipation. Another choice morceau of the classics. Conclusion, 68–72

Bishop England to editors of Charleston Courier, - - - - - 72

THE SAME TO REVEREND MR. FULLER.

No. 11.

The bishop satisfied to close the discussion with three remarks. De Thou, though a nominal Catholic, hostile to the Church. Mosheim does not allude to the tax-book, or a statute of the Roman Chancery licensing crime. Planck's testimony may pass for its full value. Accusation against Sixtus IV. a scandalous libel. Agrippa's character. Accusation which Mr. Fuller omits to make against the third Lateran Council, more Hibernico. Qualities which render oaths binding, and defects which vitiate them. Circumstances releasing from the bond of an oath. Sixteenth canon of third Lateran Council quoted. Indirect charge of Mr. Fuller on the Protestant princes, of wishing to legalize perjury. Paley on unlawful oaths. - - 72–74

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

No. 12.

Part of last letter rendered unintelligible by an accident. Sixteenth canon of Lateran

Council garbled by G. S. Faber. This garbled scrap does not sustain the charge of falsehood. "Sanctorum patrum instituta" incorrectly translated. Oaths against established laws and constitutions universally regarded as invalid. The canon with passage italicized. Garbling, interpolation, and forgery equal in criminality. Faber equally guilty with Pinet. Danger of bringing an accomplice to swear against an innocent person, - - - 74–76

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

No. 13.

Desirableness of furnishing some proofs of the system of libelling and forgery carried on against the Catholic Church. Abundance of documents at hand, and difficulty of laying them before Protestant public. Bishop willing to incur the expense of publishing an account of a recent libel case. Article from the Cork Southern Reporter, narrating the particulars of an atrocious libel by a Protestant clergyman and an editor, against Rev. Mr. Raleigh, a Catholic priest of Limerick, and the apology of the two former gentlemen in open court, - - - - 76–82

Rev. Mr. Fuller to the editors of the Courier, - - - - - - 82

THE SAME TO BISHOP ENGLAND.

No. 5.

Mr. Fuller explains one of his pleasantries. Importance attaching to the decisions of a Church which never changes. G. S. Faber eulogized. His assertion substantiated. Distinction between falsehood and perjury idle. Astonishment at the doctrine that oaths against the welfare of the state are not binding. Two eminent lawyers consulted. Case of a citizen called as a witness in an action at law against his state government. References to Paley and American Revolution irrelevant. Protestant princes correct in opposing oaths against the Scriptures. Charge against Faber, of garbling, rebutted. Statement of the Bishop's propositions. Mr. Fuller regrets having indulged in pleasantries on a serious subject. Expresses his views of the blessings of the Reformation. Sympathies for Charleston. Exhorts Bishop England to renounce the Catholic faith. Allusion to his method of disposing of De Thou and others. Regret for whatever he may have said wounding to the Bishop's feelings. Desire that he may part with him in friendship, - - - 82–85

BISHOP ENGLAND TO REV. MR. FULLER.

No. 14.

Explanation of a pleasantry accepted. Belief of everything taught by third Lateran Council concerning faith and morals required. Mr. Faber submitted to the reader's judgment. Legislation of council on a particular case, relating to one class of oaths applied by the means of a logical sophism to all classes of oaths. Enactment explained. Another sophism, extending the principle to oaths regarding testimony. Mr. Fuller first made the distinction between falsehood and perjury. Case of the witness in a litigation between two states. Nineteenth chapter of the Catechism. Applicability of Paley's reasoning to be judged of by the reader. The Bishop considers the case of the patriots of the Revolution in point. Parallel between the positions of the Protestant princes and those of the third Lateran Council. Mr. Fuller's comparison between the Bishop and Mr. Faber noticed. Obligation of destroying heretics to be hereafter noticed. Maxim of the council not applicable to oaths of allegiance. Mr. Fuller's statement of the Bishop's argument unjust. The same correctly stated. Practical refutation of Mr. Faber's libel in the persecution of Catholics by Protestants, and the reliance which they place on their oaths. Extract from Bishop England's sermon before Congress on the fourth Council of Lateran, and the persecuting laws of the Church. His disposition to derive what profit he can from Mr. Fuller's exhortation, and to attribute to him a kind motive, - - - - 85–91

REV. MR. FULLER TO BISHOP ENGLAND.

No. 6.

Mr. Fuller's visit to Rome has destroyed the credit of the Bishop's explanations in his mind. He declines giving any opinion on the Limerick case, without learning the other side. Thinks that Blackwood's Magazine ought to make an Irish Catholic weep for his country, and blush for his brethren in the faith. Requests his readers to read Blackwood. St. Bartholomew's, the Inquisition, priestcraft, and the Vatican. The Bishop reproved for severe language towards Mr. Faber. John Huss and the Council of Constance. No discourtesy intended in what was said of garbling the canon. Mr. Fuller's hardships in interpreting the Bishop's arguments compared to those of Daniel, in regard to Nebuchadonosor's dream. Conclusion, - - - - 91, 92

BISHOP ENGLAND TO REV. MR. FULLER.

No. 15.

Ill health of the Bishop, causing a delay in his reply. Mr. Fuller's practice of throwing out new charges, while affecting to take leave, reprehended. The Bishop resolved to answer the insinuations of his last letter at any cost. John Huss and the Council of Constance. Summary of the usual Protestant statements of the case. Protestant historian, L'Enfant, taken as the witness to historical facts. Assertion that the Pope and council gave

Huss a safe conduct, rests on the surmise of Cave, and is refuted by L'Estrange's narrative. Proof from the same source, that he was not decoyed to Constance by the emperor, but went with a full knowledge of his precise position. The safe-conduct not intended, or by himself understood as a bar to the execution of the legal penalties of guilt. Huss, according to his own statement, absolved from an excommunication by the Pope, on certain conditions, proved, though not acknowledged by L'Enfant, to have been violated. Statement that he tried to escape from Constance, and was brought back, made by some contemporary historians present on the spot, but disbelieved by L'Enfant. Right of the council to decide on Huss's doctrine. His punishment a matter for the civil government. No evidence that the Emperor promised to save him from the operation of the law of Frederick. Nature of the safe conduct shown from the Emperor's speech. Efforts made to induce Huss to retract. The Emperor's judgment of his pernicious principles. Summary of results. Sentence of the council. Execution of Huss by the authority of the Emperor, the Elector Palatine, and the magistrates of Constance, under the imperial laws. Bishop England laments the act. Catholic Church and persecution in the United States, - - - - - - 92–97

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

No. 16.

Bishop England regrets that Mr. Fuller should give credit to Blackwood. Glories in the conduct of the Irish Catholics. Their kindness to Protestant refugees in the reign of Queen Mary. Generous use of power after James II. abdicated the crown. Noble fidelity to their engagements at the concluding of the treaty of Limerick, and perfidious conduct of the English. Some events in the early life of the bishop's father. Amelioration of the condition of Irish Catholics at the time of the American Revolution. Writer's knowledge of the Tory faction in Ireland. Acquaintance with the writers for Blackwood, and the method of manufacturing its articles for the political press, - 97–98

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LETTERS TO HON. JOHN FORSYTH, ON DOMESTIC SLAVERY.

Introductory remarks by Mr. Read. Extracts from the United States Catholic Miscellany. The Apostolical letter of Pope Gregory XVI. on the slave trade, in Latin and English. Another extract from the Miscellany, - - - 106–112

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LETTERS TO THE VERY REV. MESSRS. MEYLER AND YORE, VV. G. OF DUBLIN, WITH A COMMUNICATION TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY AT LYONS, ON THE LOSS OF MEMBERS SUSTAINED BY THE CHURCH IN THE U. S.

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ERRATA OF VOL. V.

Page 108, second column, for "Rev. Mr. Richards," read "Rev. Mr. Richard."
" 190, end of Section XXI., for "muture," read "mutare."